



Liège Université

Faculté des Sciences Sociales

**WHO CARES FOR THOSE WHO CARED?
AN INTERSECTIONAL ETHNOGRAPHY OF GLOBAL SOCIAL PROTECTION
ARRANGEMENTS**

Thèse de doctorat présentée par Maria VIVAS-ROMERO (Boursier FNRS-FRESH) à Liège
Université en vue de l'obtention du grade de docteur en sciences politiques et sociales

Année Académique 2016-2017

Directeur : Jean-Michel LAFLEUR, Liège Université
Membres du jury : Marco MARTINIELLO, Liège Université, F.R.S.-FNRS
Laura MERLA, Université Catholique de Louvain
Jean-michel LAFLEUR, Liège Université, F.R.S.-FNRS
Valentina MAZZUCATO, Maastricht University
Anna AMELINA, Brandenburg University of Technology Cottbus-Senftenberg

“The most general statement of our politics at the present time would be that we are actively committed to struggling against racial, sexual, heterosexual, and class oppression, and see as our particular task the development of integrated analysis and practice based upon the fact that the major systems of oppression are interlocking.”

Combahee River Collective, 1979

ABSTRACT

How and through which repertoires of practices do migrant domestic workers access global social protection? And how do their gender, race, class, and generational positioning along with their transnational family relations affect this access? This dissertation deals with these questions and focuses on the case of Peruvian and Colombian Migrant Domestic Workers in the city of Brussels. Such migrants share a paradoxical positioning as they contribute productively and reproductively to the development of their receiving and sending societies but experience a lack of formal and informal social protection on both sides. This analysis first maps through a multi-sited ethnography the repertoire of practices they use to strategize their access to Social Protection in the areas of: 1- old-age and survivors benefits, 2- incapacity, 3- health & family, 4- active labor market programs, 5- unemployment, 6-housing, and education, 7- community and family support. Secondly, it theorizes these practices as Global Social Protection Arrangements that are simultaneously made out of transnational interpersonal relationships and formal support systems. Thirdly, building from the work of Anthias (2016) a Translocations lens is used to analyze how these actor's gender, race, class, religious and generational positioning within the global reproduction of labor as well as within their transnational family networks simultaneously affect the functionality of such arrangements. Concluding, it's argued that more privileged migrant domestic workers will use arrangements composed mostly of formal resources, while less privileged ones will see formal avenues less open to them and therefore have to rely on an informal arrangement. Far, from the rights based normative approach to social protection, this thesis provides a glance at how transnational access to social protection is strategize across borders. Furthermore, it's relevant in a context of increasing human mobility where inequalities in access to social protection emerge as a public transnational social question (Faist, 2016) that is suitable both for academics and policy makers.

Key Words: Global Social Protection, Intersectionality, Migrant Domestic Workers

CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	11
INTRODUCTION	13
SECTION I: SOCIAL PROTECTION, A THEORETICAL REVIEW IN THE EUROPEAN, LATIN AMERICAN AND TRANSNATIONAL CONTEXT	19
Chapter 1: Social Protection in European and Latin American Contexts	19
1. Defining Social Protection	19
2. European Social Protection and Welfare State Frameworks	22
2.1. Three Periods and Three Trends in European Welfare State Construction	23
2.2. European Welfare State Regimes: Typologies	37
2.2.1. Classic Theorization of Welfare State Regimes in Europe	38
2.2.2. Finding a Place for Southern-Mediterranean Welfare States	42
3. From Decommodification to Defamilialization? Feminist Perspectives on State-Market Family Nexus in European Welfare States	44
3.1. Adding the Gender Element to Esping-Andersen's typology	46
3.2. Gender and Feminist Conceptions of Welfare State Regimes	49
4. Crossing the Atlantic	54
4.1. Latin American Conceptions of Social Protection and the Welfare State	54
4.2. A Half Empty Glass? Latin American Welfare States, the Story Behind them	55
4.3. Latin American Welfare State Regimes	64
4.3.1. Historical and Developmental Approaches	65
4.3.2. Approaches in the Midst of Class and Labor Market Structures	67
4.3.3. Approaches located in the Nexus Between Family, Market and States	68
5. Preliminary Remarks: The Need to Link Migration and Social Protection	72
Chapter 2: Beyond National Perspectives, Social Protection in Contexts of International Mobility	75
1. Immigrants' Access to Social Protection Within Citizenship, Welfare and Immigration Regimes	75
1.1. Migration and Welfare Regimes as Synchronized Dance Partners	77
2. Citizenship and Immigrants' Access to Social Protection	82
2.1. Towards a Transnational Social Citizenship?	82
2.2. Stratified Citizenship and Access to Social Rights	86

3. From Formal to Transnational Informal Protection	94
3.1. Migration as a Family Risk Controller	95
3.2. Informal Care as a Source of Informal Protection	99
3.2.1. Global Care Chains of Protection	99
3.2.2. The Circulation of Informal Care Among Transnational Family Networks	103
3.2.2.1. Remittances	105
3.2.2.2. Ways of Caring for: Accommodation and Practical Care	107
3.2.2.3. Ways of Caring About: Emotional Care	108
4. The Transnational Assemblages and Global Resource Protection Environments	111
5. Preliminary Remarks: Towards the Study of Global Social Protection Arrangements	116
SECTION II: METHODOLOGY	117
Chapter 3:	
Theorizing Global Social Protection Arrangements Through an Intersectional and Transnational Lens	117
1. Global Social Protection Arrangements	117
2. The Use of Intersectionality to Analyze Global Social Protection Arrangements	122
2.1. Intersectionality a long Voyage: From Activism to Academia, From the U.S To Europe and Back Across the Atlantic	122
2.2. Different Geographical Settings and a Common Struggle	137
3. Intersectionality as a Corpus of Analytical Framings	138
3.1. Intersectionality as an Analytical Framing in Transnational Social Fields	143
4. Preliminary Remarks: Towards a Rhizomatic Analysis of Intersectional Translocations in the Study of Global Social Protection Arrangements	150
Chapter 4:	
Co-Constructing Knowledge: A Voyage as a Mutated Witness	153
1. Towards a Mutated Witness Approach	153
2. Visible Gaps in Transnational Methods: Beyond Nationalism and Essentialism	154
3. Searching for the Mutated Witness Figure	157
3.1. The Feminist Discussion on the Ethics and Epistemology of Knowledge Production	157
3.2. Beyond Reflexivity and Towards a Mutated Witness Approach	158
3.3. Structures of Power and Objectivity as the Mutated Witness Emerged	161
4. Co-constructing a Research Object and Methods of Study	164
4.1. Situating the Researcher Inside Transnational Social Fields of Relations	164
4.2. Co-Constructing Objects, Methods and Analytical Categories	168
4.2.1. Discovering the Research Object: May 2014	168
4.2.2. Entering the Field as the Research Object Got Defined: August 2014	170
4.2.3. Choosing Ethnography as an ontological and material practice: September 2014	172
4.2.4. Life Stories and Discovering Intersectional Inequalities in Access to Global Social Protection Arrangements: October 2014	174
4.2.5. Participatory Objectivation: An Endless Process	176
5. Discovering Multi-Sited Transnational Social Spaces: January 2015- March 2016	178
5.1. Discovering a multi-sited field of Relations	179
5.2. The Multi-Sited Lens	180
5.2.1. Sites of Relations as the Architectures of Places	180
5.2.2. Translation and Tracing Across Sites of Relations	181
5.2.3. Networks Inside Transnational Social Spaces	183

6. Global Social Protection Arrangements Inside Multi-Sited Transnational Networks	185
7. The Feminist Ethics of Knowledge, Confidentiality and Beyond	191
SECTION III: THE ETHNOGRAPHY	199
Chapter 5:	
Sequential Global Social Protection Arrangement I: “Today for you, tomorrow for me”	199
1. Introduction	199
2. Situating MDW’s Indigenous and Afro-Descendant Women and their Family Networks Inside Peruvian & Colombian Working, Welfare and Gender Care Regimes	201
2.1. Women Inside Colombian and Peruvian Working, Welfare and Gender Care Regimes: “ <i>We, the Daughters of No One</i> ”	201
2.2. Men Inside Colombian and Peruvian Working, Welfare and Gender Care Regimes: “ <i>We, the Forgotten Ones</i> ”	206
3. Women Translocated in European Working, Welfare, Gender Care, and Migration Regimes	210
4. Sequential Global Social Protection Arrangement: “Today for you, Tomorrow for Me”	224
4.1. Mobility: As the Odyssey Began	224
4.2. Remittances: One Euro at The Time	243
4.3. Worker’s Insurance and Diaspora Policies: Learning Rights and Opportunities	259
5. Preliminary Remarks	271
Chapter 6:	
Sporadic Global Social Protection Arrangement II: Helping Each Other Sometimes	275
1. Introduction	275
2. Situating White, Mestizas MDW’s and their Family Networks Inside Peruvian & Colombian Working, Welfare and Gender Care Regimes	276
2.1. Women Inside Colombian and Peruvian Working, Welfare and Gender Care Regimes: “ <i>We, las Señoras</i> ”	276
2.2. Men Inside Peruvian and Colombian, Working Welfare and Gender Regimes: “ <i>We, the Breadwinners</i> ”	283
3. Women Translocated in European Working, Welfare, Gender Care and Migration Regimes: “ <i>Unenthusiastically Professional Caregivers</i> ”	288
4. Sporadic Global Social Protection Arrangement: We Help Each Other Sometimes	293
4.1. Mobility: Moving Towards Empowerment	293
4.2. Remittances: Being There for Each Other Sometimes	302
4.3. Worker’s Insurance and Diaspora Policies: Reassuring Rights	314
5. Preliminary Remarks	324
CONCLUSIONS	329
APPENDIX	341
Appendix A:	
Tables with Social Protection Approaches	342
Table I: European & Latin American Approaches to study Formal Social Protection	342
Table 2: Formal Transnational approaches to Study Migration and Social Protection	343
Table 3: Informal Transnational Approaches to Study Migration and Social Protection	343

Table 4: Informal-Formal Approaches to Study Migrants Access to Social Protection	344
Appendix B:	
Participants' Support and Family Network	345
Figure 3: Laura Cobre' Support and Family Network	345
Figure 4: Lisette Hernandez' Support and Family Network	346
Figure 5: Valeria Rodriguez' Support and Family Network	347
Figure 7: Norma and Salma Magallanes' Support and Family Network	348
Figure 9: Ana Lilia Castaño' Support and Family Network	349
Figure 11: Catarina Zapata' Support and Family Network	350
Figure 12: Eva and Amelia Olivarde' Support and Family Network	351
Figure 13: Alejandra Gonzalez' Support and Family Network	352
Figure 16: Amaranta Nogales' Support and Family Network	353
Figure 17: Zaida Robles' Support and Family Network	354
Appendix C:	
Maps of Multi-Sited Fieldwork	355
Figure C1: Brussels Region, 19 Communes	355
Figure C2: Metropolitan District of Lima and Callao	356
Figure C3: Chimbote	357
Figure C4: Bogota	358
Figure C5: Medellin	359
Figure C6: Itagui	360
REFERENCES	361

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The Ph.D. journey is filled with expectations, fears, and excitement. Four years ago I would have never imagined where this journey would take me. I would have never imagined the immense amounts of care that I would receive from countless people across the globe. I would thus like to take a few paragraphs to thank them.

First, of all, I would like to thank my supervisor Jean-Michel Lafleur. As a master's student, he awoken my curiosity about Transnational Studies. As a Ph.D. advisor, he helped to find funding for this project and through four years, he carefully witnessed its development allowing me the freedom to do science. I thank him for his meticulous advice and constant reassurance. On a similar note, my Thesis Committee has been an essential element for the completion of this thesis. I thus thank Marco Martiniello, for his wise advice and his direction of the Center for Ethnic and Migration Studies at Liege University. I also thank Laura Merla. Her research on transnational families was an intellectual stimulus to begin this dissertation. I thank her for the invitations to share my work in international conferences, and her caring advises.

Through this journey, the support of various institutions has also been crucial. I would first and foremost like to thank the FNRS-FRESH (Fonds pour la Recherche en Sciences Humaines) awarded by the FNRS (Fonds National de la Recherche Scientifique) and created by the Gouvernement de la Communauté Française de Belgique. Their provision of a fellowship gave me the freedom to create science in Belgium and beyond. I thank them for the various traveling grants to conduct fieldwork in Peru as well as to attend various international conferences. Secondly, I would like to thank Liege University, for their provision of means to conduct fieldwork in Colombia. Thirdly, I would like to thank the IEP (Institute for Peruvian Studies) in Lima, Peru and the Universidad Externado de Colombia in Bogota. Their valuable support made the multi-sited ethnography feasible and gave me the opportunity to collaborate with outstanding Latin American scholars such as Tania Vásquez-Luque, Patricia Ames-Ramello, and Milena Gómez-Kopp. Finally, a warm thanks goes to Valentina Mazzucato and her Transnational Families Team at MACIMIDE (Maastricht Centre for Citizenship, Migration

and Development), for welcoming me as Junior Visiting Fellow. Her work, her leadership, and wise advice have had an immense effect on my work. Nonetheless, this journey has also led me to many international conferences where I had the opportunity to meet and collaborate with international researchers who have had a tremendous value for this thesis. Among them, I would like to thank Laura Oso, Anna Amelina, Ángeles Escriva, Asunción Fresnoza-Flot and Beatriz Padilla.

Another essential aspect of this journey has been the support of my cherished closed collaborators: *Mis señoras bonitas*. They are, indeed, 15 brave women and their family members. Thanks for your love, and your continuous support. In your stories, I found a sense to my existence overall.

Across this journey various colleagues and friends were vital as they provided me with their support and love, amongst them: Elsa Mescoli, Anastasia Bermudez, Shannon Damery, Patricia Ramos, Larisa Lara, Amanda Da Silva, Cristina Ramos, Karlijn Haagsman, Ester Serra, Joan Van-Geel, Emma Abotsi, Stefanie Lopez, Jesenia Verdezoto, Anna Safuta and Beatriz Camargo, Víctor Zúñiga. Thank you for your trust, the laughter and the collaborations. I thank my friends in Belgium, The U.S, Mexico, Peru, Colombia, and Venezuela. In the U.S particularly Cynthia Belton, whose editing work in this thesis and her continuous mentoring for the last 13 years has kept me right on track. In Peru and Colombia, I particularly thank Rosina, Viridiana and their families. Thanks for your unconditional friendship.

Lastly, I will like to thank my unique transnational family, with its members spread across the globe. You're my foundation and my daily inspiration. From poverty, we have upraised together through the means of education and hard work. An enormous thank you to the courageous women in my family: my Mother Maritza, my little Sister Gabriela, my Madrinita Josefina, my Tía Milagros, my Primas Yuliana and Nicole. I also thank the brave men in the family: Abuelo Nicanor, my Tíos Jose and Julian, my Primos Yulner and Chris. I also thank in advance the upcoming generations Daniel and Nathan. I hope you would take on the legacy the viejos have left for us. Last but not least, special thanks to my partner, my best friend and husband Xavier Taziaux. Words aren't enough to thank him for his care, his patience, his love, and understanding. I also nonetheless, greatly thank the Taziaux family, particularly the epicenter Jean-Luc and Bea, for being mentors and light.

Finally, Abuela Avelina Antonia Romero Andarcia, this dissertation is yours. Her migration provided us with the repertoires that uplifted us from dispossession. Today, I'm almost the Doctor she always wished she could be. Te amo inmensamente, Abuela!

INTRODUCTION

I met Valeria in Brussels on a cloudy Sunday of May 2014. From a simple view, she seemed timid and unwilling to speak to someone she considered a young girl who could have been her daughter. She is 56 years old and currently lives in Medellin, Colombia. Across her life course, Valeria has lived, worked, and accumulated various social protection resources in the countries where she has worked and resided (Colombia, Spain, and Belgium). Belgium, offered Valeria, like many of her co-nationals the opportunity to provide her reliable and affordable services in the voucher scheme domestic sector. Unfortunately, in the summer of 2015, Valeria began to suffer from arthritis and hypothyroidism. Both diseases, according to her family doctor, resulted from her 12 years of labor in the domestic and care sector. Following the recommendations of her family doctor, Valeria decided to retire and return to her native Medellin, where she is currently negotiating a pension that entitles benefits accumulated in every country she has lived and worked.

Valeria's life story is familiar to many other women that migrated to work in the domestic and care sectors of the global north. As they did so, they became the informal welfare providers for their families while pursuing migration as a strategy to protect them from poverty and deprivation of resources. However, migration didn't represent a straightforward solution. Once, they settled in receiving states, like Spain or Belgium, women like Valeria faced the reforming changes of such welfare states. Under these circumstances, in global north countries, there remain rare insiders who could access social protection fully. Indeed, migrants became part of the "others" often accused of being abusers. The global north's principles of universalism were rethought and tougher versions of insiders and outsiders inside welfare states were created. Quickly, categories such as citizens, legal residents, and undocumented workers were used to decide the entitlement of social protection rights at a national level.

In this context, migrant women like Valeria that worked in the lowest paid sectors of the economy such as domestic work have been exposed to exclusion from the mainstream forms of social welfare and protection available in receiving countries. However, their struggle to access

social protection goes beyond their entitlement to welfare provisions in receiving states. Their strategies to access social protections are much more sophisticated. Their strategies revolve around local, national, regional, civil society, community and informal family strategies. The approach put forward in this thesis is concerned with what migrants do to access social protection resources in collaboration with various formal and informal actors. Certainly, beyond the normative rights based approaches that are concerned with what migrants and other individuals should have access to as social protection rights, this dissertation moves a step further (Conway and Norton, 2004). Indeed, through this dissertation, an emphasis is put on the strategies migrants, and their family networks use to access social protection resources beyond the restriction of national welfare and working regimes that often ignore the transnational characteristics of their lifestyles.

In the light of this regard, I followed the call of the emerging literature on the subject that has begun to tackle migrants' strategies to access social protection, which involve state and non-state agents in various countries. They have argued that the "old" social question and the social policies from the nineteenth-century that spun around conflicts between workers and employers in a single nation have been transformed. We are in fact, according to Faist et al. (2015), in the midst of a new social conflict. This new social conflict expands itself across various nation states. This conflict creates a new transnational social question that involves divisions between the haves and have-nots that are far more complex than simple divisions between those who possess capital and means of production and those that do not (Faist, 2016). In fact, there are new heterogeneity markers that transnationally divide those who have access to social protection; they are complex and multiple. They involve gender, sexual racial, ethnic, generational, and class intersecting differences that play off in the various societies in which migrants and their families live their lives. In this context, scholars have argued that examining social protection in the setting of migration seems to be a crucial question both for researchers and policy makers. Since such research uncovers how migrants' strategies can protect them across borders as they either mitigate old inequalities or generate new inequalities that go far beyond traditionally analyzed class inequalities.

Inspired by the work Faist (2015) and other experts (Levitt et al. 2015), the current literature that links migration and access to social protection has begun to map the public and private strategies through which mobile individuals access global social protection resources. In this sense, although such work represents a relative contribution that helps us understand the mechanisms that protect mobile actors there are still many gaps to be filled. There is, for example, a need to empirically trace the interconnections between the public and private arrangements that provide social protection for migrants. There is also a need to understand how

migrant's location, regarding their gender, class, ethnic, generational, and religious standpoints along with their transnational connections, affects their access to social protection resources. Lastly, there is a need to understand the intersectional inequalities that are reproduced and produced globally through such dynamics.

This dissertation, thus, fills in the first two blanks by seeking to answer the following questions: How and through which repertoires of practices do migrant domestic workers access social protection resources? And how do their gender, race, class, and generational positioning along with their transnational family relations affect this access? To answer these questions I build from the life stories of 15 migrant domestic workers and 38 members of their family support networks collected in a 20 months multi-sited co-constructed ethnography. The choice to study migrant domestic workers seems emblematic of individuals who have contributed to the welfare states of their sending and receiving states both with their labor and engagement with their own families but have yet remained themselves unprotected. Nevertheless, the study of migrant domestic workers also permits to see that what might seem to be a homogenous group that's too often defined, as a "global under class" might be heterogeneous in their privileges and in their strategies to access global social protection.

Through this dissertation, I developed one working hypothesis. My argument is that the migrant domestic workers can construct two types of global social protection arrangements: "Sequential Global Social Protection Arrangements" and "Sporadic Global Social Protection Arrangements." Global Social Protection Arrangements are defined as fluid processes embedded in welfare, work, and care and immigration regimes of various states. Through arrangements migrant family networks combine strategies to access social protection in the areas of: 1- old-age and survivors benefits, 2- incapacity, 3- health & family, 4- active labor market programs, 5- unemployment, 6-housing and education, 7- community and family networks. I claim that they articulate these different arrangements with repertoires of practices that they have learned through the life course. Moreover, while examining their arrangements through a Transnational and Intersectional lens, I argue that heterogeneity markers such as gender, race, class, generation, religious affiliation, determine their use of such repertoires and their selection between the two types of arrangements. Thus, more privileged migrant domestic workers will use arrangements composed mostly of public resources, while less privileged ones will see formal avenues less open to them and therefore have to rely on private arrangements.

In order to answer to these past questions, the dissertation develops in three sections. The first section locates the stories of the migrant domestic workers in the literature that has discussed access to social protection in the geographical spaces in which they have accumulated access to informal and formal social protection. These spaces include 1- the residing country

(Belgium) 2- the countries of origin in Latin America (Peru-Colombia), 3- the in between countries in Latin America (Chile-Argentina) or in Europe (Spain-Italy), and 4- The Transnational Social Field (Glick-Schiller & Levitt, 2004:1009). This section serves three purposes. First, it's useful to find the elements of a definition of global social protection arrangements that are capable of operationalizing the strategies of migrant domestic workers. Secondly, it will serve to analyze in the empirical section the situation of migrant domestic workers within the welfare, working, migration and gender care regimes of the various countries in which they have lived or worked at. Thirdly, and most importantly it serves to justify the intersectional framing used in this dissertation to explain migrant domestic workers' access to global social protection. A careful review of the literature on European and Latin American studies on social protection, suggests that class; gender and ethnicity have been used as separate variables to understand access to social protection. Certainly, the interaction of such variables has until now only been studied in national contexts and never on a multi-sited study such as this one.

Thus, Chapter 1 starts by establishing global social protection as a proper definition to operationalize the results of this dissertation. Subsequently, I discuss the elements of such definition that have been developed in continental Europe welfare state regimes. I take as the basis for this discussion Esping-Andersen's (1990: 26-29) seminal typology of European welfare states, based on different degrees of de commodification (Esping-Andersen, 1990: 21-22). His typology permits to understand the variations of Liberal, Corporatist Statist, and Social Democratic welfare states regimes that developed in Europe, after WWII and in which the stories of this dissertation are located at (Esping-Andersen, 1990: 25-26). Consequently, I look into feminist typology and definitions of welfare states based on gender family roles and women's access to paid labor (Lewis, 1992: 159-173; Lister, 1994b: 173; Sainsbury, 1999: 49-72). I discuss definitions such as the Male Breadwinner Welfare states models, (Lewis, 2002: 342), Defamilialization (Lister, 1994b: 173, Merla and Degavre, 2016: 19) and the Adult Worker Models (Annesley, 2007: 195). These approaches bring in the relevance of women's paid labor and externalization of their care duties, which become essential elements of the empirical cases covered in this dissertation.

Successively, the discussion in Chapter 1 changes settings and moves across the Atlantic Ocean to map definitions of welfare states and social protection in the Latin American region. Here, I build from the various definitions of Latin American welfare states established by Figueira (2005), Mesa-Lago (1991), and Martinez-Franzoni's (2008) as well as other authors which have taken into account the historical, family, state public, and private market features of welfare state regimes in the region. I also introduce a critique to their work for failing to take

into account the recent achievements of new social protection definitions in the Latin American context (Riggirozzi, 2010: 70-76; Buxton and Grugel, 2009: 147). This discussion leads me to briefly talk about the new and more inclusive welfare state policies in Latin America. The new Latin American policies draw from Western conceptions of individual welfare. These new designs permit to bring in migrants and their families to the debates on access to social entitlements in the region. Chapter 1 ends with a reflection about the relative absence of migrants' needs for global social protection in the previously discussed bodies of literature. Thus, it introduces the need to map the literature that has addressed migration and social protection in views of looking for a suitable framework to understand the case of migrant domestic workers and their access to global social protection.

Chapter 2 then traces the studies that have addressed the nexus between migration and social protection, both at the national and transnational levels. I draw from the work of authors who have looked at and defined migrants' access to social protection from different lenses. I explore the notions of social citizenship (Faist, 2001: 37-58), stratified citizenship (Kofman, 2002: 1035-1034, Kraler, 2010, Morris, 2003: 74-100) and migration social policy regimes (Sainsbury, 2006: 229). I, then, delve into the work of researchers who have looked at migrants' efforts to access social protection from an informal lens. I discuss concepts such as international care transfers or global care chains (Parrenas, 2001a: 249), circulation of informal family support (Baldassar and Merla, 2014: 3-24), and migration as a source of social risk protection (Stark & Bloom, 1985: 175). Their work is important because it allows us to observe how globalization and migrant's transnational lives are shaping their needs for social protection. Their studies, in fact, invite us to look at social protection from a different angle and while considering these new realities. Driven from these reflections, I close the chapter discussing the work of researchers who build bridges between these kinds of literature. I covered the work of scholars that have analyzed how public and private support mechanisms that intertwine can form transnational social protection assemblages (Bilecen & Barglowski, 2015: 203-214), or global social protection resource environments (Levitt et al., 2015: 7).

At the beginning of section II, Chapter 3 builds from the gaps discovered in chapter 1 and 2 and discusses the use of studying global social protection arrangements through this dissertation. Building from the work of Coe (2014) global social protection arrangements are defined as a repertoire of practices that migrants and their families in this thesis, use to assure their livelihood chances. Differently, from previous works, this definition gathers elements from the sociology of migration, welfare and family studies (Coe, 2014, Levitt et al. 2015, Merla, 2014). This perspective allows me to capture migrant's agency and biography as well as the different notions of solidarity (Faist and Bilecen, 2014: 287; Bonvalet & Lelievre, 2013: 19-20)

that traverse the two Global Social Protection Arrangements analyzed. However, although the idea of a combined arrangement made out of learned repertoires might seem problem free; this is not necessarily the case. Thus, in chapter 3's last section, I explore the intersectional (Purkayastha, 2010: 29-47) and transnational framing (Glick-Schiller & Levitt 2004: 1009) that sheds light on how gender, ethnic, racial, generational, religious translocations of migrants and their family members influence in their construction of such global social protection arrangements.

In chapter 4, I discuss how I co-constructed a multi-sited ethnography in a period of 20 months to empirically trace global social protection arrangements. In the first part of chapter 4, I discuss the mutated-witness approach inspired by the work of Donna Haraway (1997) and Leila Fernandes (2013). In doing so, I show how the mutated-witness approach was useful to design with my participants the choice of methods used in the multi-sited ethnography as well as the analysis of the material collected. Far from being a confessional approach of positionality, adopting the mutated witness lens allowed me to be conscious at all times about how the participants and the researcher gender, class, and racial, ethnic and generational translocations affected the practices used to construct knowledge. In the second part of chapter 4, I discuss the ethical consequences of developing such an approach and recount my decision to be fully accountable in my engagement with a reality I challenged regardless of my intentions. I argue that such mutated witness approach challenged the usually established traditional power relations established between the researcher and the participants. The third part of this dissertation contains chapter 5 and 6. In these chapters, I trace the two global social protection arrangements uncovered through the co-constructed multi-sited ethnography.

Finally, I answer to the initial research questions. I discuss how the participants' gender, race, class, generational, religious intersecting translocations affected their construction of a particular global social protection arrangement. Subsequently, I re-engage with the literature discussed in the first section. I do so to show how intersectional and transnational lens used in a multi-sited fashion were used to analyze migrant domestic workers and their families' global social protection arrangements. However, I also argue that it could be useful to study more affluent groups such as transnational retiree migrants or professional expats who are also living their lives on the go. I also discuss the possibility of expanding this framing to study other transnational social dynamics. Lastly, I consider these dissertation' gaps and outline future lines of research that might help to cover them.

SECTION I:

SOCIAL PROTECTION, A THEORETICAL REVIEW IN THE EUROPEAN, LATIN AMERICAN AND TRANSNATIONAL CONTEXTS

Chapter 1: Social Protection in European and Latin American Contexts

1. Defining Social Protection

“She [her boss] won’t let me take a break when the strikes are on. I walked all over Brussels on the cold to get to her place. There were no buses. I came home sick. I asked for a sick leave. She said I couldn’t take one. So many years like this no sick days, no days off.... I’m gone...”

(Valeria, Migrant Domestic Worker, Brussels, 13-11-2014)

The difficulties faced by migrant domestic workers like Valeria to access Social Protection might seem novel. However, they are part of an old and heated debate. During decades, societies across the globe have debated about policies that could protect individuals from the social and economic risk they face through their life-courses. In 1948, the human right to social entitlements was officially established in the General Declaration of Human Rights and the International Convention on Economic and Cultural Rights (Faist et al., 2014). In fact, in the aftermath of World War II, a compromise emerged to enhance the welfare of citizens that participated in the nation-state project (Hemerijck, 2013a,b). Since then, social policy experts, social scientists, and politicians have striven to construct the definitions, limits, and benefits of such rights (Midgley, 2012, Faist et al., 2014, Hemerijck, 2013a, b).

In the Global North, the discussions have revolved around finding a suitable typology of welfare states, defining the needs of citizens and the limits of support (Beveridge, 2014, Esping-Andersen, 1990, Ferrera, 2005). In the Global South, discussions have dealt with the creation of functional welfare states in the times of social and political conflicts (Midgley, 2012, Martinez-Franzoni, 2008, Devereux and Sabates-Wheeler, 2008). Most recently, however, international debates revolve around the difficulties of providing social rights in the midst of economic austerity, population aging, and increasing global migration (Faist et al. 2014). Independently of the context, Social Protection has been the standard term that sums the previous debates (Lund and Srinivas, 2000).

The term Social Protection became popular when it replaced the commonly used term safety nets. Safety nets were used at the time as minimum cash transfers that could save exclusively those individuals in extreme poverty living in the Global South. The World Bank promoted the term Social Protection during the privatization waves in the Global South (World-Bank, 2001). International agencies used the term to identify common features of social entitlements in the international scenery. Since then, academic and politicians have widely used and defined the term. As suggested by Norton et al., (2001: 545) and by Midgley (2012:9) the meanings attached to the term are wide. These meanings can incorporate ideas such as social support, social justice, and risk control for working individuals and human capital enhancer. In this sense, researchers and policymakers traditionally include only formal elements of social protection in their definitions (Holzmann and Kozel, 2005, ILO, 2014, Midgley, 2012). Most recently, however, they have also begun to include informal elements of community and family support (Devereux and Sabates-Wheeler, 2008).

Overall, most scholars seem to agree that social protection is composed of private and public measures that help individuals and families face social and economic adversities through their life-courses (Midgley, 2012: 12). Social protection as summarized by Faist, (2016: 1) can include measures that protect people in the areas of: “ *production and (un)employment, education, training, and active labor market policies, senior care, health, housing, disability, family formation, and children, and old age p.12*” Researchers and Social Policy Experts also agree that there are five principles that build the basis for a social protection definition (Sabates-Wheeler and Kabeer, 2005, Van-Ginneken, 1999, Norton et al. 2001).

Social insurance is the first principle. Social insurance covers finance contributions, and it's based on an insurance principle. Individuals and households contribute to a fund of resources, and once risk occurs, they pool resources from such fund. Individuals, thus, face risk together with a larger number of similarly exposed individuals and households (Norton, et al. 2002: 543, Van-Ginneken, 1999). Social Insurance benefits are mostly linked to participation in

the labor market and allowances can cover unemployment benefits, contributions to pension schemes, and medical cost insurance (Van-Ginneken, 1999). These social insurance models have been more successful in the Global North where employment is mostly formal, and individuals can make contributions systematically (Sabates-Wheeler and Kabeer, 2005).

The second principle is social assistance. The Social Assistance principle it's based on public actions. Social Assistance policies sustain individuals who cannot contribute to social insurance. Social Assistance measures guarantee a minimum living standard and might replace income that can't be earned through work. Taxes and government assets usually finance this principle (Beveridge, 2014, Norton, et al. 2002: 543).

The third principle is labor market interventions. Labor market interventions are employment and insurance policies designed for target groups (Sabates-Wheeler and Kabeer, 2005). These Labor market interventions have been used both in the global north and in the global south. This principle is financed by international development agencies in the global south or by national taxes in the global north (Sabates-Wheeler and Kabeer, 2005).

Similarly, the fourth principle is social funds. Social funds are designed to employ vulnerable individuals in particular areas (Sabates-Wheeler and Kabeer, 2005). Usually, in social funds projects financed by development projects, it was the role of impoverished local communities and individuals to choose the areas and the target groups. The areas of action usually include hospitals, public schools, and community owned farms (Jorgesen and Vandomelen, 1999).

The fifth principle is informal family and community support. In the Global South, informal family and community support can replace or complement formal support (Sabates-Wheeler & Kabeer, 2005). Family and community support is built upon solidarity notions that are culture specific and operates accordingly.

Having all these principles in mind can help us to draft a broad definition of social protection. However, how can such definition be operationalized to fit the realities of the migrant domestic workers in this study? One way out of this dilemma is to use a definition, which reunites all of the elements mentioned here above. This definition will also consider new elements that are particular to the case of migrants (Kelle, 2010). In this sense, the term Global Social Protection as defined by Levitt et al. (2015:6) seems until now to be the suited one. Levitt and colleagues define Global Social Protection as:

“The policies, programs, people, organizations, and institutions that provide for and protect individuals in the above nine areas [they make reference to those mentioned by the

OECD: old age, survivors, incapacity, health, family, active labor market programs, unemployment, housing, education] in a transnational manner. We include grounded actors that provide for and protect people who move transnationally; transnational actors that provide for and protect grounded individuals; and transnational actors that provide for and protect transnational individuals (p. 6). “

Their definition includes elements of public support described earlier as well as new forms of support provided to migrants by, the market, community organizations, family, and friend’s networks (Levitt et al. 2015: 6). Most importantly, through the use of such definition it is possible to see the interdependence between public and private social protection resources that interact to protect individuals fully. This definition, however, must be contextualized in the following sections, in the geographical and historical settings where the migrants in this study live and work at meaning Europe and Latin America. Nonetheless, while reviewing the literature on social protection in these different contexts, I will also point out to its limits and ways of improving it through the use of Global Social Protection Arrangements.

2. European Social Protection and Welfare State Frameworks

“Here [Europe] it’s a whole another world. I mean culturally. This is not like Latin America. Obviously, this system has its weakness but the social system they have it’s unique. And you know it once you know the laws, when you know institutions well enough. I mean everything the social system gives you. Some times one is not able to value all of it. I mean you won’t find it anywhere else in the world. I know people who criticize it. I mean not even like in Venezuela where they say they have a socialist country. Nowhere else will you find a system like here.”

(Juana, Migrant Domestic Worker, Brussels, 21-10-2014)

Juana, the woman in the vignette as many other migrant domestic workers I interviewed, often praised the European welfare system. They highlighted its capacity to protect those working in the formal market. European Welfare State’s capabilities to prevent exploitation captivated migrant domestic workers. They often compare European welfare states to Latin America ones. They mention their labor in Latin America had a tendency to be either informal or unappreciated. They often condemned their experiences with Latin American welfare states affected by the political and economic crisis.

Ironically, wars, violence, and economic crisis also marked the origins of European welfare states. In fact, in the aftermath of World War II, different Europe countries began their quest towards the institutionalization of social rights (Hemerijck, 2013b: 120). In such context, T.H Marshall (1963: 174) a British sociologist known for theorisation of citizenship described social rights as:

“The whole range from the right to a modicum of economic welfare and security to the right to share to the full in the social heritage and to live the life of a civilized being according to the standards prevailing in the society (p.174).”

These rights in the words of Esping-Andersen (1990:21-22) should allow individuals to be decommodified. Esping-Andersen (1990) defines decommodification as the right to: *“maintain a livelihood without reliance on the market”* (Esping-Andersen, 1990: 21-22). However, these social rights that decommodify individuals from their wants and needs (Beveridge, 1944:10) weren't always a feature of European societies. The European Welfare States have indeed undergone a plethora of changes (Hemerijck, 2013a, Hemerijck, 2009). Tracing the historical emergence of such changes is an important part of this dissertation. Briefly, setting the scene of European welfare state regimes in history helps us to situate the story of the migrant domestic workers in the countries where they have worked and accumulated social protection resources. Thus, what follows is a historical contextualization of European welfare states. I build on Anthon Hemerijck's (2013b: 118) periodic and historical review of European Welfare States. I place emphasis on the social protection resources that evolve in each period and on the intellectual basis that supported them.

2.1. Three Periods and Three Trends in European Welfare State Construction

Most social policy scholars (Hemerijck, 2009, 2013a,b, Pierson, 1996, Ferrera, 2005, Marglin and Schor, 1990, Huber and Stephens, 2000) argue that there are two periods of European Welfare state development. The first period is the golden period of expansion from the end of World War II until the 1970s. The second period is the silver period that starts in the mid-1970s where expansion of social protection rights decreased, and austerity began due to the economic and political commotion. Anthony Hemerijck (2013b: 118) however prefers to divide the history of European welfare states into three periods:

“1- the era of welfare state expansion and class compromise, starting at the end of World War II, 2- The period of welfare retrenchment and neoliberalism, which took shape in the

wake of oil shocks of mid to late 1970s and 3- the more recent epoch since mid 1990s in which social investment policy prescription became popular (p. 118).“

Through this section, I draw from Hemerijck's (2013b: 118) chronology to contextualize the European welfare state where the migrant domestic workers in this study work and live. As highlighted in the above quotation Hemerijck's (2013b: 118) subdivided three different periods that occurred before the war. He argued that these periods were characterized by distinct policy expertise design to fit socio and political needs (Hemerijck, 2013b: 118). Hemerijck, (2009, 2013a-b), nevertheless, also points out that there is certainly no single European model of social protection or a European welfare state. Across Europe, welfare states have differences regarding their policies, the criteria of eligibility; they're modes of financing and the institutional architectures (Hemerijck, 2009). Hemerijck (2009: 73), however, like other social scientists (Ferrera, 2005:1) thinks despite their differences, European Welfare States might have common origins that distinguish them from other geopolitical regions like North America or Asia. Indeed, according to Ferrera (2005: 1) the motto of European welfare state is the need to assume risk collectively as a society. Certainly, European states share a civic and political history that affects their willingness to support social insurance policies (Ferrera, 2005). In this sense, Flora (1986:12) and Ferrera (2005: 51) have called modern welfare states "*a European invention.*" These European inventions, according to Esping-Andersen (1990:2), emerged within complex relationships between the state, the economic systems, and the legal and organizational systems. Across the following sections I will briefly develop the history of such European welfare states.

The Logics behind a Historical Compromise

Most social policy scholars seem to agree that the institutionalization of European welfare states began in the aftermath World War II (Flora, 1986: 12, Esping-Andersen, 1990: 1, 2001: 1, Ferrera, 2005: 63, Hemerijck, 2009: 71, 2013: 120). The European welfare state emerged according to social policy scholars to define democracy (Esping-Andersen, 2000: 1, Ferrera, 2005: 51). John Keynes (1973) and William Beveridge (1944), the architects of such systems, imagined and theorized welfare states that would strengthen democracy and create collective solidarity among national citizens (Esping-Andersen, 2000: 1). According to Hemerijck, (2013b: 120) both of them were influenced by the bad memories of the Great Depression and the Second World War.

The model of social protection imagined by the architects of the welfare states seemed to be perfect. In 1944, William Beveridge made his acclaimed report "*Full Employment in a Free Society.*" In his statement, he insisted that full male employment was the only way to guarantee social rights in capitalist societies. As highlighted by Hemerijck (2013b: 123) in his conception,

a full-time job of 48 hours, 48 weeks and 48 years was enough to provide male workers with social insurance and protect them against their wants. As one read through the introduction of Beveridge (1944, 2014) report, Social Insurance seems to be a fundamental instrument of social protection that emerged at the time. Social insurance was supposed to provide male employees with aid in the case of unemployment, sickness, and old age. Nonetheless, it was also meant to protect worker's families through the provision of children's allowance, comprehensive health, and rehabilitation services (Beveridge, 1944: 18). In England, William Beveridge (1944: 18), defined social insurance as the policies that would relief working man from want which he described as: "*the lack of income to obtain the means of healthy subsistence adequate food, shelter, clothing, and fuel*" (p.18). In this sense, churches and charities did not longer locally organize social insurance instruments. A new national organization of social insurance emerged (Ferrera, 2005: 54). The social insurance users were also not longer stigmatized as individuals in need of charity (Hemerijck, 2013b: 121).

Governments and trade unions supported the post-war social insurance model and supervised the fairness of it (Marglin and Schor, 1990). This model promoted a traditional view of the family with fixed gender roles and a universal moral of a working class condition (Beveridge, 1944: 15, Hemerijck, 2009: 79). The male worker was supposed to be active in the productive sectors and women would assure the families' reproductive need as they stay at home caring for the elderly, the sick, and the children. The model also protected the most vulnerable individuals with limited means-tested benefits (Hemerijck, 2009). As Hemerijck reminds us, (2013b: 124) John Rawls's (2009 [1973]) idea of justice was put to use. In this sense, inequality was acceptable when it was beneficial to the most disadvantaged individuals. Indeed, the architects of European welfare states William Beveridge (1944) and John Keynes (1973) conceived the welfare state as one in which industrialization and employment will free all male breadwinners and their families from all risk and pervasion of markets (Esping-Andersen, 1987).

Contrary to the contemporary rhetoric of welfare states as institutions that serve only those in extreme need back then, the coalitions of working class groups fought together for the universalization of comprehensive social insurance. They struggled to stabilize benefits in old age, sickness, disability, and unemployment (Hemerijck, 2009: 79). As highlighted by various sociologists welfare state benefits were a class compromise between the owners of the capital and the workers (Korpi, 1983, Esping-Andersen, 1985). Countries in Europe assumed this commitment in different ways. The Scandinavian model inherited a Beveridgian view of social rights. In the Scandinavian welfare states, one could access social rights by citizenship status irrespective of one's position in the labor market (Hemerijck, 2009: 80). Indeed, the

Scandinavian models inspired itself in an ideological consensus that led to corporatist governance and sincere welfare expansion (Hemerijck, 2009:80). Their social democratic values promoted a universal access based on the rights mainly financed by taxes (Esping-Andersen, 1990: 28). This model, however, presumes a working class status that will be incapable of mutating to another status. In this context, when new social middle classes emerged they accommodate by buying more social rights in the market and leaving social assistance to the poorest classes (Esping-Andersen, 1990, Hemerijck, 2009).

European states such as Belgium, where the migrant domestic workers in this study lived and worked, have instead according to Esping-Andersen (1990:24), alternately inherited models inspired by Bismarck and Von Taaffe. Their welfare states have Catholic and corporatist political roots (Esping-Andersen, 1990: 24, Hemerijck, 2009: 80). This corporatist-statist approach has historically linked access to social rights to the individual's occupational status. These welfare states promoted large separations between people of different class status. In these models, social assistance policies became known as the right of the least productive (Esping-Andersen, 1990:24-25). The Catholic Church actively supported the social stratification in these welfare states (Esping-Andersen, 1990). Indeed, such social stratification was able to maintain the natural order of things. Since male workers were required to work while women took care of the reproductive labor (Esping-Andersen, 1990).

In spite of the differences between different European welfare states regarding “*macroeconomic policy, industrial policy, and labor market regulations*” (Hemerijck, 2009: 79), Social Protection became an essential feature of European societies (Ferrera, 2005:1). In the Golden Age period, the goal was to give citizens equal opportunities through the means of work, education, and participation in the labor market (Hemerijck, 2009: 71). In this context, the male breadwinner model put in place fitted the realities of most nuclear families, as the men remained employed in the industries. The Welfare states of this period seem to fit homogenous societies where middle, and working class individuals came to a compromise to protect each other's welfare (Taylor-Gooby, 2002). As time went by, the international institutions assured the protection of such modern welfare states. The Bretton Wood system of money exchange regulations moderated the production of goods and thus the creation of employment (Hemerijck, 2009). Overall, Bretton Woods's institutions such as The International Monetary Fund (IMF), The World Bank (WB), The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) and the European Community prevented war and economic depression (Hemerijck, 2013a). According to John Ruggie (1994), Europeans were experiencing a period of liberalism. This context gave policy makers and politicians enough room to pursue a rich social agenda while also pleasing the exigencies of the market (Scharpf and Schmidt, 2000). Through this period as

highlighted by John Ruggie (1994: 4-5) governments asked their citizens to support economic liberalization in exchange for their protection from the risk associated with the delocalization of labor.

Moreover, although not mentioned by literature on the history of welfare states, the nexus between social protection and migration addressed in this dissertation is also visible in this period. This nexus becomes fairly visible in countries like Belgium. In fact, in the early 1950's the Belgian government began their recruitment of foreign workers both in European and non-European countries to establish their industries and recover from the war period (Martiniello et al. 2017). The immigration of foreign workers questioned a national system that was supposed to provide for their own national workers. Indeed the immigration of mine workers was seen as a way for the Belgian state not to improve the social protection of its own workers, but rather hired outsiders who were willing to work for less and under more diminishing conditions. These bilateral treaties were often questioned particularly by the Italian state that stopped their agreement after a tragic accident in 1956. Ever since, the question of how solidarity must be shared in Belgium, with both those who are considered outsiders and insiders has been on the table of discussions. Immigration in Belgium as in other European states has been intrinsically linked to the access to social protection resources such as education, healthcare, and labor market. As we would see in the empirical chapters, this last point has become even more visible in the times of the recent economic crisis.

Regardless of the controversies pointed in the previous paragraph, the Golden Age period left behind a legacy of institutionalization of European Social Protection resources. In spite of the approach put forward, whether it be Bismarckian or Beveridgean, a class compromise had emerged between workers, trade unions, owners of capitals, and states (Hemerijck, 2013a,b, Esping-Andersen, 1990). Ever since, the European social model emerged as promising features of contemporary western societies (Vaughan-Whitehead, 2015). This model distinguished itself for its capacity to develop several pillars of social and economic improvement such as the promotion of worker's rights, working conditions, social protection, labor market policies, public services, all followed by a constant social dialogue amongst politicians, policy makers, citizens, and the owners of capital (Vaughan-Whitehead, 2015:1). The model was not clearly defined at once, but rather constructed over time and developed through various treaties and

communications in which older member states instructed new members into the development of such pillars¹.

These Social Europe gains were, however, compromised by a new Silver epoch and later by the economic crises that have followed ever since (Vaughan-Whitehead, 2015). Indeed, the acclaimed Golden Age period ended with the economic inflation crisis triggered by the oil shocks in the 1970s and the welfare retrenchment that followed it (Hemerijck, 2009:79). As the OPEC emerged and oil prices raised, the European welfare states could no longer commit to their promise of full employment and provision of social insurance (Hemerijck, 2013b: 126). A more obscured epoch followed the end of the Golden Age. Taylor- Gooby (2002: 597) characterized this period as the Silver Age. During this period European welfare state models were, according to Flora (1986), “*grown to limits.*” According to Hemerijck (2009: 80), this epoch brought forward three necessary changes. First of all, labor services and rights were submitted to open competition reducing public options of welfare states. Secondly, this economic turmoil leads to a liberalization of employment, which quickly moved overseas. Lastly, as Hemerijck (2009) highlights, liberalization of markets brought forward a new type of economic individualism that slowly broke the old compromise between classes.

The Silver Age: The Irreversible Retrenchment?

For researchers like Paul Pierson (1996, 1994) the silver epoch marked the beginning of policy reforms that drove European welfare states to an irreversible retrenchment. Pierson (2001) argued commodification will become the rule in liberal welfare states; cut-backs would follow up in Nordic Scandinavian countries, and some re-calibration of social policies would occur in continental countries. At the same time social scientist Mauricio Ferrera (2005), Hemerijck, (2009, 2013) had a more positive thinking. They thought European welfare states had just begun a time of “*recalibration.*” In their view, they would adapt to the new challenges brought up by this epoch. Nevertheless, as argued by Hemerijck (2009), European welfare states would be affected by the continuous aging of European populations, declining birth rates, increase women employment, changing gender roles, individualization and permanent shift from industrial societies to a technology and service based society (Hemerijck, 2009). Indeed, as explained by Pierson (1996) and by Hemerijck (2013), as Margaret Thatcher in England and

¹ The various treaties in which the European Social Model emerged include: The Treaty of Rome, 1957, Lisbon, 2000, The Treaties of Maastricht and Amsterdam as well as other important summits held in Barcelona 2002 and respectively in Brussels, 2004, 2005, 2006. These treaties are mentioned in detail in Vaughan-Whitehead, (2015).

Ronald Reagan in the United States were elected they forever shift the meaning of social protection in contemporary western societies.

The silver epoch left a legacy of neoclassical economics. According to Hemerijck (2013), in the neoclassical economics, the collective efforts of workers to mutually protect each other vanished. The Neoliberal principles based themselves on the work Friedrich Von-Hayek (2001 [1944]) who argued the redistribution systems of the welfare state would only lead to totalitarian societies. This new economist argued that welfare states were only leading us to cultures of dependency that hurt self-reliance and individual responsibility. Welfare states were in fact no longer thought of as the tool that prevented individuals to avoid poverty (Murray, 1984, Mead, 1986). Neoliberalism brought forward the idea that social protection could only be used to protect the most vulnerable through minimum tested support benefits for which severe conditions had to be met (Hemerijck, 2009, 2013). Others thought workers should be able to protect themselves and buy any additional private social protection from the market (Crouch, 2011).

The rule changed from an emphasis on permanent employment towards a focus on flexible employment and new labor regulations, and welfare retrenchment emerged (Hay, 2004). The efforts were no longer made to create employment and protecting workers. The new logic was to protect employers without hurting the market. Markets became ever freer, and the rules of the competition were no longer the same (Pierson, 1996). Slowly, the European industry moved overseas and so did employment. The working class motto of “*we stand together*” was still defended by socialist and Christian political parties (Hemerijck, 2009, 2013a,b). However, reality seemed to be swinging in an opposite direction as trade unions began to lose strength (Hemerijck, 2013). Social policy slowly gained a bad reputation. The reputation was that only the weakest who could not find employment would need social protection (Crozier et al., 1975).

On this setting, new public management emerges at the European Union level. The European Monetary Union came into effect leaving nation states less room to maneuver their employment and social security policies (Hemerijck, 2009: 75). Social security went from being the “*freedom from want*” as described by Beveridge (1944) to the freedom to be productive. The social insurance model went from being a long-lasting assistance based on the individuals’ contribution to target social assistance with tested benefits. These new measures were designed to decrease the number of poor and activate populations while increasing the tax-based benefits (Hemerijck, 2009). The aim was to mobilize those who had been less employed in the past meaning: women, youths, and older cohorts (Van-Gerven, 2008).

The principle of Flexicurity at the workplace became standard. The social benefits would target citizens who were outside of the labor market for short periods of time (Hemerijck, 2009, 2013). This principle of Flexicurity according to Hemerijck (2013: 129-130) was supported by international labor reports of the OECD (1994). The OECD (1994) suggested that the European Welfare States had the tendency to be overprotective. According to the OECD (1994), European Welfare States had slowly instilled in people a desire for inactivity. The OECD (1994) reports insisted in recommendations to fix flexible labor cost, wage bargaining decentralization, reduced or restricted unemployment benefits, reforms in employment regulations, fixed term contracts, and lower taxations. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank also made similar recommendations. The latter insisted in less regulated markets, productivity and activation of citizens to uplift economies (Hemerijck, 2013a,b).

According to various social scientists (Hemerijck 2013b, Ferrera et al. 2000, Leibfried, 2000, Pierson, 2001), European states reacted differently in such context. Scandinavian countries, according to Hemerijck (2009), expanded the public sector and kept social provisioning and equality active. The more liberal English-speaking countries like the U.K improved private level employment, privatize social protection, and follow the neoliberal recipes given by international institutions (Hemerijck, 2009, 2013b). Conservative welfare states like Belgium maintained budgetary cuts and financed employment in the public sectors or productive industries. Their strategies, however, increased the divisions between insiders and outsiders of the labor market (Marx, 2007: 126-128). Particularly, in the case of Belgium, new policies emerged to help subsidize workers who were leaving the labor market (Marx, 2007: 126). This was the case of early pension plans, sick health insurance allowances, and unemployment benefits that were until very recently examples of such policies (Marx, 2007:126). The payrolls of social assistance grew, and many fell into what Scharpf and Schmidt (2000) considered an “*inactive trap*.” Most of these services were financed by the contribution of small middle classes that remain employed. Thus, in 1993, only approximately 23% of the national GDP was spent on such services. This social insurance has little by little have begun to disappear transforming individual social insurance benefits into minimum safety nets of social assistance (Marx, 2007:127).

Slowly, most European Welfare States followed neoliberal paths. According to Hemerijck (2013b: 131), The E.U market act of 1986 and the Maastricht convergence suggested that all countries adopt such neoliberal reforms. In the early 2000s, another economic crisis hit the European Union. This time around it was a currency crisis where high-interest rate payments kept public debt escalating (Hemerijck, 2013b). Member states were led to compensate for the loss of employment with social benefits and minimum protection. They, nonetheless, tried hard

to negotiate with workers and unions (Ebbinghaus and Hassel, 2000). The motto became “*make work pay*” (Blanchard, 2006). The logic behind this motto was to protect workers while helping them to insert themselves in the labor market. According to Hemerijck (2013b: 132), Social Protection was redefined to include resources such as: in-work benefits, employment subsidy, tax deductions, individual counseling, work-time flexibility, and human family service provision. These policies were supposed to be accompanied by harder controls. Clearly, during this time, Rawls’s (2009 [1973]) concept of justice was replaced by Ronald Dworkin (2002) principle of individual responsibility. The individual responsibility meant that citizens’ income support had to go hand in hand with policies of active job search controls and vocational training (Vandenbroucke, 2012). These new policies had significant consequences such as increasing social and economic inequalities (Hemerijck, 2013b). Ironically, though as suggested by Hemerijck (2013b), European states were spending more on social protection than ever before.

European societies moved from the logic of guaranteeing employment and mutual protection to a more individual approach. Clearly, through this epoch, European welfare states went through a process of recalibration (Ferrera, 2005). This process meant that Social Protection was re-defined from a collective need to a particular need of those who were the most disadvantaged. Welfare state systems will aim at creating workers who were active and could flexibly develop careers in multiple jobs with short periods of unemployment benefits. Such workers had to have the capacity to continuously increase their competencies to survive the adversity of the market. As suggested by Hemerijck (2013b: 133), we moved from social citizenship rights based approach to one in which individuals and their families had to earn their rights. The TROIKA as Daniel Vaughan (2015) calls it evolved as a new block of political and economic institutions made up by the European commission, The International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the European Central Bank made sure to impose fiscal austerity measures that diminish collective bargaining, reduced social assistance, and promoted flexible working environments with less social protection measures than ever. These were changes that evidently affected worst those at the bottom of the scale such as the migrant domestic workers in this thesis but also had severe consequences for the middle working families that hired them. However, in the middle of such conflict, these changes were challenged by the demographical, economic, and social problems that marked what Hemerijck (2013b) has entitled the social investment turn. In this period migrant domestic workers studied in this dissertation become key figures for certain European states that aimed at increasing the productivity of families while allowing them to have a work life-family balance.

The Social Investment Turn

Most European societies had to move on from individual male breadwinner families and accommodate to dual-earner couples or single mothers. These new family configurations needed incentives regarding caring for their children, elderly, and frail family members (Hemerijck, 2013). The new employment policies had to go hand in hand with social policy repertoires of family care and assistance. Hemerijck (2013b: 133) appoints to this new epoch as “*the social investment turn*”. The disappointments of neoliberal policies would mark the beginning of a new intent to redefine social protection in Europe. This time around there also seem to be a search for a common European social policy (Hemerijck, 1997). International organizations followed up the efforts of European institutions in their quest for a universal social protection floor (Jenson and San-Marti, 2003, OECD, 1999).

The Lisbon Strategy of financial innovation marks this epoch (Annesley, 2007). European states engaged themselves to new social principles in which states would invest less in social protection and more in social promotion (Ferrera, 2010). On the Treaty of Functioning of the European Union, in the section about the provisions general application in Article 9, European countries commit themselves to:

“defining and implementing its policies and activities [...]linked to the promotion of a high level of employment, the guarantee of adequate social protection, the fight against social exclusion, and high levels of education, training, and protection of human health.”

(European-Union, 2012, Article 9, 326/47 p. 53)

The European employment strategies that followed, supported universal principles of active aging, the employment of both men and women with equality of gender treatment; work-life balance to help dual-earner couples and increase fertility (Hemerijck, 2009:178). It all seems to indicate a move from the male breadwinner static models to dual-earner models of protection. These models thought of working careers as diverse and changing through individuals’ life courses. Some principles of austerity and the marketization of individual care needs were critical of these policies (Huber and Stephens, 2001: 234, Hemerijck, 2009: 84). This period was then, according to Ferrera et al. (2000), featuring a transition to a new recalibration. This recalibration would change the meaning of social policy in Europe. This social policy shift would have consequences for the distribution of social rights, the normative standard behind them, and the institutional and financial systems that would sustain them.

At this point, right before the 2008 financial meltdown, European states found themselves in the limbo. They debated how they would maintain important features of the Golden period

social protection while facing the new economic challenges of this social investment epoch (Hemerijck, 2009, 2013, Ferrera, 2005). Most academics and social policy advisors insisted that Europe was, by then, facing new risk with globalization, changes in family roles, increase human mobility, and the aging of active populations (Esping-Andersen, 2000:1, Hemericjk, 2013: 133 Saraceno, 1997: 15).

In this context, social policy scholars like Chiara Saraceno (1997: 15) insisted that Europe needed new caring societies implicated in helping families meet their caring responsibilities. However, Saraceno (1997) also asserted that this would not be an easy path. Modern societies, according to Saraceno (1997), would be facing challenges due to changes in social values and new trans-generational obligations. These changes would bring weakness of traditional support forms such as marriage or social security systems and budget constraints that will in some cases impede new reforms. Authors like her brought up the concept of defamilialization as an approach that could help transform European welfare states. Defamilialization² measures which were in fact earlier defined by feminist scholar Ruth Lister (1994b) as “*the terms the conditions under which people engage in families, and the extend to which they can uphold an acceptable living standard of living independently of the family*” (Lister, 1994b: 37).

She insisted that as families became more nuclear and support less available, defamilialisation was essential to allow individuals to be active in labor markets while having the choice to be liberated from their care duties. Sareceno (1997) follows this line of thought and makes the very convincing argument welfare states’ support to families should be about:

“Enabling the family and its members to take care of each other, to shoulder the obligation they freely chose to enter, without at the same time creating power imbalances, over-dependence, and close exits a degree of de-familialization could become a basis on which new forms of contract between the individuals, the family and the state might be negotiated (p. 15).”

Saraceno (1997) suggested that child-care and educations were key elements of defamilialization policies. According to her new caring approach these policies, should also be able to inverse budget dedicated to the elderly to focus more on productive children and youth (Saraceno, 1997). She pointed that the state was an important actor in such policy change but trade unions and labor market also had a significant role to play.

² The concept of defamilialization is explained in detail in Chapter 2. The concept has been the object of controversies and needs further clarification.

Esping-Andersen (2002) and colleagues original report “*Why We Need a New Welfare State*” followed Saraceno's (1997) line of thought. According to one of his collaborators, Hemerijck (2013, 2009), The Belgian Minister for Social Insurance Frank Vanden-Brouke, during the Belgian presidency ordered such report (Hemerijck, 2013:134). The report had the goal to construct policy advice by a new welfare state. This new welfare state would accommodate to the risk of modern societies. This new approach had to allow individuals and societies to adapt to changes such as demographic pyramid inversions, gender role changes, aging populations, and the disappearing of industries. In their proposal, Esping-Andersen (2002), appealed to a welfare state that would no longer be guided by the logic of de commodification from imminent risk, but rather guided by the philosophy of preventing social risk before they appeared (Esping-Andersen, 2002: 25). These changes in social policy were necessary. According to Esping-Andersen (2002, 2000) the male-breadwinner model in which individuals could have stable job biographies was over. According to Esping-Andersen (2002) and his colleagues, there was a need to attend the left out individuals meaning: women, youth, and migrants. Since, the old male breadwinner model, according to Esping-Andersen (2000, 2002), had created a profound gap between insiders of the labor market and outsiders.

Esping-Andersen's (2002) was inspired by multiple principles that argued for a life-course approach of Social Protection. In such new approach individuals' needs would be attended since their early childhood and they would be encouraged to live productive working careers while, at the same time, reproducing and caring for their families. There had to be, according to Esping-Andersen et al. (2002) and colleagues, a shift from a society in which only male worked and sustain their families to dual earner couples that were sustained in their needs to achieve a work-life balance. This means that new policies had to assure that both men and women could live productive work careers, and at the time be able to deal with their individual care responsibilities at their homes (Esping-Andersen, 2002: 160). Nonetheless, according to them, it was also critical to establish a shift in policy to better support younger generations that would be the ones in charge of assuring the endurance of the welfare state. This meant that resources had to be reallocated from assuring old individuals with life-long pensions to more investment in early child-hood education (Blanchard, 2006, Esping-Andersen, 2001). Lastly, they also recommended keeping a minimum of social assistance since, according to them no social protection policy can prevent all risks that an individual can run into in a lifetime (Esping-Andersen, 20002: 46, 2009).

The principles of “*Why We Need a New Welfare State*” are highlighted in the policy report of national institutions and European institutions (Hemerijck, 2013). The founding principle of this new approach is still Social Citizenship (Marshall, 1963). However, according

to Hemerijck (2013: 141), the individual should not only be decommodified but given the opportunity to accumulate resources that will then transform into capabilities that will allow them to face risk (Sen, 2005). Critics, nonetheless, assert that such an approach is new wine in old bottles. Since, the principle of activation and conditioned resources are also part of their proposal (Wolff and Zohlnhöfer, 2009, Cantillon, 2010). Individual countries, nonetheless, followed their advice before the upheaval of the economic crisis in 2008. These include some states such as U.K, Ireland, The Netherlands, Germany, Belgium, France (Morel, 2007). In fact, until the economic crisis according to Hemerijck (2013b: 148), countries like Belgium, Ireland, and the U.K had achieved a raise in social income. It all seemed to indicate that European welfare states were transitioning slowly to societies in which social protection and social promotion would be twin pillars as suggested by Esping-Andersen and his colleagues.

Migrant Domestic Workers in the New Service Economy

This last episode of European welfare state development seemed to indicate that a social investment approach was nowhere near the future. Some countries have moved to a sub-national management of their social rights (Schmid, 2008). The need to care for families has transformed into policies that insist in the marketization and freedom of care choice in various countries (Williams, 2012). This marketization of care brings in new actors such as the migrant domestic workers in this study whom, although are an important part of the European social policy transformations, are often forgotten by policy makers. In such case, in countries like Belgium those policies materialize after the recommendation of the “*European White Paper for Growth, Employment and Challenges of the 21st century*” (Camargo, 2015-6: 2015, and European Commission, 1993).

Within this new diversification of the economy Belgium like other member states has aimed at the marketization of domestic work and mostly recently care, aiming at an activation of unemployed populations and at contributing to the work-life balance of dual earner families (Camargo, 2015). It's in this very period of the European welfare history that migrant domestic workers come into the picture more than ever before. In this sense, domestic workers and other care workers became rather important in a country like Belgium³, where women's employment has raised at least for those working part-time and where the stay at home housewife model no longer holds the expectations of dual earner couples (Kremer, 2007: 219). In this context,

³ In Belgium starting in 1998, 28.0% of women versus 19.4% of men preferred to work part time positions to hold a life work-balance (OECD, 2001 cited by Kremer, 2007:218).

private agencies began to offer their services, subsidized by the government through their voucher-scheme services which in cities like Brussels⁴, often employ women from immigrant origins whose only solution to obtain immigration status is to regularize their status by working in such sectors (Camargo, 2015-6: 15). The “*Titre-Service*” in French and voucher-scheme in English is a sector that is partially funded by the state and the consumer’s taxations but it’s organized at the local level by private agencies (Degavre and Nyssens, 2012). These policies show the intersection between welfare state gender policy, migratory regimes, and ethnic labor niches (Lutz, 2008). These services aren’t to be considered part of the Belgian welfare state, but as argued by Camargo (2015-6) they replace the state in certain care duties, particularly when migrant domestic workers are employed in ageing person’s houses (Vivas-Romero, 2015b). These striking policies of the global city of Brussels, are however complimented by other regions in the country such as Flanders and Wallonia, where women still preferred to leave the care of their children to their own mothers or surrogate mothers that take care of their children in a more private setting while separating domestic and care duties (Kremer, 2007: 219).

As this European welfare history evolves, new actors such as NGOs, citizens, and states seem to be still in the search for a new social contract. The E.U is nonetheless according to Hemerijck, (2009) in search for a more common ground on social rights and still insisting on active aging policies, gender equality, parental leave, flexicurity at the workplace, and social investment overall. This agenda, however, seems to be challenged by more anti-European feeling. The Brexit referendum in the U.K seems to be a proof of it. The Brexit challenges the idea of European Social Protection resources that could become transnational and common. Indeed, this event will bring an end to the career of the 12% of E.U nationals who worked as care-workers in the U.K. It will also affect all E.U legislation on equality for disabled persons applied in the U.K (Buttler, 2016).

Overall, the history of European Welfare States, as we have seen through this brief review, is one of historical class compromises that reveal conventional structures but also differences. These differences, according to Esping-Andersen (1990), can be perceived regarding how political mobilizations for social rights occurred. Moreover, he thinks differences political philosophies and the kinds of collective solidarity that emerge in particular societies can also lead to different welfare state configurations (Esping-Andersen, 1990). Since the story

⁴ Brussels as it will be explained later in the empirical parts of this dissertation has been historically known for its use of domestic services. This is partially due to its particularities as a city that attracts both high skilled professionals to work in the international institutions, international corporations and other migrant populations to work as service providers of those professionals (Sassen, 1998, Camargo, 2015:73).

of the migrant domestic workers in this study is at the crossroads of various European welfare states regimes, it is necessary to briefly present a typology of such welfare states regimes to understand later their strategies to access social protection in such countries. I take the definition of regime as elaborated by Shaver (1993) and defined by Orloff, (1996: 64) as:

“Institutionalized patterns in welfare state provision establishing systematic relations between the state and social structures of conflict, domination, and accommodation. Such patterns refer to the terms and conditions under which claims may be made on the resources on the state and reciprocally, the terms and conditions of economic social and political obligation to the state. These regimes are to be found both in individual institutions of the welfare states and in common patterns cutting across domains of social provision such as health and income maintenance (p.64).”

And in what follows, I intend to discuss the variations of European Welfare States Regimes based on Esping-Andersen (1990) seminal typology of welfare state regimes. Nonetheless, since the migrant domestic worker’s stories are also in countries in Southern Europe, I also add the Mediterranean state as described by Ferrera (1996), Leibfried (1993), and Bonoli (1997). This discussion of welfare regimes serves two purposes. The first one is to help us understand the nature of the welfare regimes in Europe in which migrant domestic workers access or not social protection. The latter will be useful in the empirical sections of chapter 5 and 6 (Kilkey and Merla, 2013). The second one is to help us to delineate concepts and approaches that have been used to study the access to social protection of workers in the European context. This last purpose helps me to highlight the inability of such concepts to fully analyze the case of migrant domestic workers. Thus, allowing me to justify the framing that will be constructed in subsequent chapters to treat the original research question.

2.2. European Welfare State Regimes: Typologies

“In Spain it was better. I still had a legal contract but didn’t pay many taxes. Here in Brussels I get the feeling I pay for everyone. It’s not fair... When you think about it, we work so hard. We break our bones literally. We pay for a whole bunch of lazy people who have never done anything.”

(Valeria, former Migrant Domestic Worker, Medellin, 15-11-2015)

Migrant domestic workers like Valeria have lived and worked in various European countries. They, thus, often refer to the difference in European welfare states regarding benefits, contributions, and collective or individual solidarities. These variations and differences have

always been the subject of debates in European social policy studies. The Danish Sociologist Gosta Esping-Andersen (1990) is a Pioneer in the theorization of variations of welfare state regimes in Europe. His typology has been the subject of much discussion and often-strong criticism. I would, however, argue that it's a sound basis from which to observe the variations and definitions in welfare states in the European context. In the words of Arts and Gelissen (2002:139) his holistic approach permits researchers and scholars to have a: "*bird's eye view of the broad characteristics of a historical, social situation*" (Arts and Gilissen, 2002: 139).

His typology allows us to see the essential features of different models of the welfare state in the European context. These European Welfare States, as we would see, aren't necessarily pure and multiple variations exist. In this sense, I will also present other researcher's view about the fourth type of Welfare States Regimes not mentioned by Esping-Andersen (1990). This four regime refers to the Latin Rim countries (Leibfried, 1992), the Southern countries (Ferrera, 1996) out of which Spain and Italy are a part of. This last point is important since the migrant domestic workers in this study have also lived and worked in these Mediterranean countries and often highlight differences between social rights there and in corporatist Belgium. Lastly, to present a full view of European welfare state regimes, I will discuss the critiques of feminist scholars to Esping-Andersen's (1990) work and the typologies they have drawn from such critiques. These feminist typologies based themselves on women's access to paid labor and the division of reproductive and productive labor in our societies.

2.2.1. Classic Theorization of Welfare State Regimes in Europe

Esping-Andersen's (1990) categorization of modern welfare state regimes was one of the earliest efforts to theorize welfare states in modern post-industrial societies (Arts and Gilissen, 2002). His work became significantly important for the research on welfare states not only in Europe but also for the other OECD countries included in his study. Before, his typology researchers had been mostly concern with the nature and origin of the welfare state. According to Esping-Andersen (1990: 11-18), four major theoretical strands existed at the time. There were first those researchers who were inspired by Marx. They thought that welfare states existed to legitimize capitalism and keep the loyalty of the working class alive (Heimman, 1929). They thought of a structuralism approach which explained how different power relations between politicians, owners of capital, workers, and industrial societies made welfare states possible. In their view pre-existing forms of solidarity such as the family, the church, the communities could be destroyed by the new organizations of labor (Esping-Andersen, 1990:13). In this view, the welfare state was possible thanks to the modern bureaucracy of modern states which made

things rational, universalist and efficient while destroying traditional solidarity (Flora and Alber, 1981). The institutional approach suggested that for human societies to survive people must have been protected by a social minimum (Polanyi, 1944).

Esping-Andersen (1990), contrary to his colleagues, was not longer interested in how welfare state regimes came to be according to disentangled variables and explanations. He was instead interested in defining what a welfare state regime is as a whole. His interest was also, nonetheless, to identify different models that exist worldwide (particularly in OECD advanced economies) and understanding how they function. However, Arts and Gilissen (2002), argued that those who have define social rights and welfare in the past (Marshall, 1950, 1963, Titmuss, 1958, Titmuss, 1974, Wilensky, 1975, Flora and Heidenheimer, 1981) influenced his work. Esping-Andersen (1990) certainly takes, as his foundations to define welfare state regimes, the twin pillar concepts of *Decommodification* and *Social Stratification*. The earlier work of Polanyi (1944) and T.H Marshall on social citizenship (Esping-Andersen, 1990: 3) influenced these concepts.

To start his categorization, Esping-Andersen (1990) begins by defining welfare state regimes. It's an effort to which early social scientist refused to adhere to because of negative connotations associated with the term welfare as a poor relief only strategy (Marshall, 1963). Esping-Andersen (1990:21) defines welfare state regimes as: "*activities [that] are interlocked with the market's and the family's role in social provision*" (Esping-Andersen, 1990: 21). In Esping-Andersen (1990) view, regimes are systems composed of interlocking resources that are located between the state and the economy as a "*complex of legal and organizational features are systematically interwoven*" (p.2).

Different welfare regimes according to Esping-Andersen (1990:29), exist for various reasons that include: "*the nature of class mobilization (especially of the working class), class political coalition structures, the historical legacy of regime institutionalization*" (p.29). Thus, according to him and as highlighted by Arts and Gelissen (2002), looking back into history can make us find key aspects that explain the formation of welfare state regimes. He proposes to look into two fundamental characteristics of welfare statism that might help to explain why different welfare regimes emerge. These two characteristics are *Decommodification* and *Social Stratification*.

Decommodification according to Esping-Andersen's (1990:21) definition is: "*when a service is rendered a matter of right, and when a person can maintain a livelihood without reliance on the market*" (p. 21). Indeed decommodification resolves part of the conflict that emerges when human workers are made a commodity in the Marxist sense within capitalist

societies (Esping-Andersen 1990: 21). Since one's status as a citizen might not be sufficient to protect oneself and can often be replaced by one's class status. In fact, Esping-Andersen (1990) builds this argument while taking into account Polanyi's (1994) argument about labor that becomes a commodity and thus the cause of its destruction. Deccommodification might then be the only solution to be safe when an individual inquires a risk that prevents him or her from accomplishing his or her labor and thus receiving protection in return (Esping-Andersen, 1990). Decommodification creates complex relationships between individual workers, the market that provides their labor, the state that regulates their protection and the family that provides them with informal acts of protection (Esping-Andersen, 1990).

Social stratification, on the other hand, refers to which kinds of inequalities and solidarities the welfare state creates between markets, families, and countries. Social stratification, according to him, can create narrow individualistic solidarities or broad solidarities (Esping-Andersen, 1990:4). In Liberal regimes, the solidarity that spreads is an individualistic one, while in corporatist is one among social classes that resemble each other, and the Scandinavian countries solidarity is established among citizens independently of their status (Esping-Andersen, 1990:56).

While taking into account these two variables he developed three ideal types of welfare states (Esping-Andersen, 1990: 26-29). He qualitatively found different welfare state regimes in which varying levels of decommodification and solidarities between the market, the family and the state could be witness. In the first cluster, he found what he entitled the Liberal Welfare States, with low levels of decommodification and much exclusive reliance on the market. In this cluster, means-tested assistance, moderate universal transfers, and modest social insurance are predominant (Esping-Andersen, 1990:26). In this model, the state's benefits protect those who find themselves in the lowest strata of society and working individuals are encouraged to have self-reliance, follow "*liberal work-ethics norms*" and either buy options in the private market or contribute to mutual social insurance. In this model, the state encourages the privatization of benefits and subsidizes the market when it offers citizens health care, pensions or other benefits. In these systems the state keeps low levels of decommodification and contains some social rights and creates a social stratification of more or less equality. In these systems, there are hard divisions between those who are employed and can satisfy their social needs entirely and the unemployed or incapable of providing for themselves. Class dualism exists between these two groups, and women are usually encouraged to work mainly in the service sector (Arts and Gelissen, 2002: 6). Countries like the United Kingdom and Ireland in Europe find themselves within this first cluster.

He, then, finds a second regime to which Belgium was initially a part of but also Austria, France, Germany and Italy (Esping-Andersen, 1990: 27). In this cluster, the corporatist logic and the historic compromise between the working classes and the state are part and parcel of this regime, which according to him became “*upgraded to cater to the new post-industrial class structure*” (Esping-Andersen, 1990: 27). In these countries, the liberal obsession with the commodification of labor was never really an issue and social rights were thought of as a non-controversial issue. Social rights were attached to a particular class status, the male worker status for the most part. Catholic social policy orientation (Arts and Gelissen, 2002: 6) and corporatist statism shape this regime. These relationships between the Catholic-oriented social policy and corporatist statism had significant consequences for how social protection came to be defined. The state’s role in providing citizens is limited to organizing provisions of those who are active in the labor market. These regimes are clearly exemplified in Belgium’s social insurances that were, at first, informally organized by groups with similar ideologies and working status. During the social pact of 1944 they were conceived as locally forms of social insurance that covered specific groups of workers and were administered by mutuality and unions (Palier, 2010: 139). In this sense, Belgium like other corporatist welfare states did not really follow a Bismirckian rights based approach but rather a path of social insurance through occupational status and later developed some instances of social assistance (Palier, 2010).

Inside conservative regimes one's occupation status determines the rights to social protection (Arts and Glissen, 2002). Solidarity is then corporatist and is only given to individuals once the family has been exhausted and no other means are available (Esping-Andersen, 1990:27). Another famous signature mark of these models is that the state wants to keep, as much as possible, the traditional order of things by keeping a male breadwinner and a wife who takes care of the family’s reproductive needs that aren’t in any case subsidized by the state. Social insurance, in this case, typically excluded staying at home wives and family benefits were mostly there to encourage motherhood. Therefore, care services for the elderly and children are often nonavailable, and the state will only interfere once the family has exhausted its capacities (Esping-Andersen, 1990:27).

The third cluster he identifies is the Social Democratic or Universalist model where high levels of decommodification are prevalent. The social stratification system is intended to create high levels of inclusion dependent on citizenship status (Esping-Andersen, 1990: 28). These systems are preoccupied with human development and the maintenance of full employment of both women and men, particularly in the public sector. In this social democratic regimes child and elderly care is fully granted to families. It’s therefore according to Arts and Gilissen (2002)

only by achieving full employment that these countries have been able to maintain a universal access to social protection.

Although this typology seems very convincing at first glance, serious critiques have been addressed to it. One of those criticisms is the absence of southern European states such as Italy, Spain, and Portugal. Indeed, Esping-Andersen (1990:27) includes Italy as part of Corporatist Welfare State Regimes. He thinks Spain and Portugal are developing versions of the same regimes. He thus, however, in later work, admits they have common characteristics such as the Catholic imprint and strong levels of reliance on the family for care labor (Esping-Andersen, 1997:180). In their state of the art of Esping-Andersen's work Arts and Gilissen (2002) look at other social policy, scholars that seem to think these Mediterranean welfare state regimes have characteristics that distinguish them from conservative welfare states. They argue that there has been a substantial debate on the issue. Some think that Mediterranean countries are sub-categories of Corporatist welfare states (Katrougalos, 1996) others seem to think they should be a category on their own (Ferrera, 1996, Leibfried, 1993, Bonoli, 1997, Trifiletti, 1999). The latter have developed their typology, which resembles Esping-Andersen's (1990) typology.

2.2.2. Finding a Place for Southern-Mediterranean Welfare States

Leibfried (1993) explains different regimes in Europe according to their poverty relief regimes that can be modern, institutional, residual or rudimentary. In doing so, he defined a typology that's similar to Esping-Andersen's. He identifies three regimes: 1- Scandinavian, 2- Anglo-Saxon and 3- Latin Rim. According to him, social citizenship (Marshall, 1963) evolves differently in all three regimes, sometimes more incomplete than others causing less poverty relief. Leibfried (1993) thinks the Latin Rim has a lack of minimum social support for the poorest.

In yet another view, Ferrera (1996: 4-71) also argues Mediterranean states belong to a different regime. He, instead, looks at four dimensions of social policy to establish his typology. These categories are 1- rules of access (eligibility), 2- conditions to grant benefits, 3- regulations to finance social protection, 4- organizational and administrative arrangements in social security schemes. He established there were four welfare state regimes. The Scandinavian regime is one characterized by a universal coverage. In this first regime, citizenship status is the basis for access to social rights. The Anglo-Saxon regime is inclusive but only regarding health care benefits whereas other benefits are always means-tested. Inside the Bismarckian regime, the individual occupation status and his relationship to the market influences his or her access to social protection. There is also the southern countries regime where social protection is

fragmented and not articulated. In these regimes benefits for the poorest are almost non-existent, there is, however, healthcare access, and there are high levels of clientelism.

Bonoli (1997) makes a similar critique of Esping-Andersen (1990) model. He critiques the decommodification approach because it does not allow us to see the differences between the Bismarckian and the Beveridge models. He thinks the Anglo-Saxon model centers itself on the question how much is spent and on particular policies, while the continental European model is based more on the design of social policy. He, thus, thinks which should rather pay attention to the expenditure of GDP used for social protection and the percentage that's financed by contributions. He also distinguished four types of regimes: 1- British countries, 2- Continental European, 3- Nordic Countries and 4- Southern Countries.

Esping-Andersen (1997: 66, 1997: 171) partially agreed with these critiques. However, along these critics, other feminist and gender scholars have yet to address another review of his model that might also help explain the need for an extra category of Mediterranean states. They have insisted that taking into account the place of men and women inside labor markets and the levels of support the state offers for the *defamilialization* of their care needs can also reveal significant differences between welfare state regimes (Siaroff, 1994, Trifiletti, 1999). Indeed, in Mediterranean welfare states, families and in particular dual earner families where women work double duties have been left without any possibilities to defamilialize their care needs. Certainly, as explained by Trifiletti (1999: 51), unlike in corporative conservative welfare states in countries like Italy, families were left without options and women weren't decommodified with family allowances through the work of their husbands. This, characteristics of the Italian welfare, state according to her forced Italian women to join the labor market sometimes even informally as their husbands were unable to fully decommodify their families. Although Esping-Andersen (2002) later agreed that the family component of social policy is an essential element of the new welfare state, he did not refer to gender differences that marked the composition of welfare states in his early work (Esping-Andersen, 1990). The critique here above is an important part of the puzzle to answer the initial question of how migrant domestic workers access social protection. Since migrant domestic workers helped individual families to *defamilialize* their care needs through externalization while their own needs seem to be ignored (Degravre and Merla, 2016). Therefore, in the following section, I will briefly present the alternative typologies of European welfare states family and feminist scholars have elaborated.

3. From Decommodification to Defamilialization? Feminist Perspectives on State-Market Family Nexus in European Welfare States

“I used to work for the justice department... They blocked the judicial power. My mom had helped me to study. I was a mom and a dad. I used to work and take care of my children. That’s when this odyssey started, where was I going to go? They blocked my visa at the U.S embassy then I thought about Europe, Brussels. I got the visa and I came. I left the kids with my mother.”

(Catarina, Migrant Domestic Worker, Brussels, 21-10-2014)

Catarina’s story is typical of many migrant domestic workers. In the 1990s when social protection resources were either privatized or disappeared in Latin America, many women immigrated to provide for their children and or elderly parents. Many single mothers like Catarina had double roles as caretakers and breadwinners of their families. Catarina’s story reveals gender aspects of social protection that welfare mainstream literature initially failed to take into account. Through her narrative, we perceive Catalina’s conception of single motherhood. This notion of motherhood is one that revolves around the duty to be responsible for the economic and emotional well-being of one’s children in spite inadequate access to welfare state support.

Gender relations and orders are present in Catalina's narrative of motherhood. Orloff (1996:52) defines gender relations as: *“The set of mutually constituted structures and practices which produce gender differentiation [between men and women], gender inequalities, and gender hierarchy in a given society”* (p. 52). Such gender relations, according to Orloff (1996: 52), affect various social, political, economic, and cultural processes and institutions including welfare state regimes. These gender relations operate at different levels such as in labor relations in power and cathexis (Orloff, 1996). Scott (1986) sees gender relations as symbolic representations translated in normative interpretation and embedded in social institutions like kinship or family. Individual female and male identities can also be carriers of these symbols.

Contrary to Esping-Andersen (1990), feminist social policy scholars (Orloff, 1996, Lister, 1994a,b, Lewis, 1992, Tronto, 2011) considered these gender relations and orders in their theorizations of welfare state regimes (Orloff, 1996: 52). In doing so, feminist social policy scholars have taken into account traditional gendered divisions between paid labor and unpaid

reproductive labor and the importance of normative heterosexual relationships in the distribution of social rights (Orloff, 1996, Degavre and Merla, 2016).

Building from the notion of Gender relation's feminist, scholars argued for the explicit inclusion of both genders in the analysis and categorizations of welfare state regimes. Their discussions emerged in a context where the categories of "*male worker*" or "*collectivity of workers*" used to be the only discussed (Sainsbury, 1999: 33). As Sainsbury (1999:34) explains, the inclusion of gender in the definitions of welfare state regimes represents a significant shift in social policy studies. According to Sainsbury (1999: 34), social policy scholars until the 1990s focused on a unique individual irrespectively of their gender. The underlying assumptions scholars had of this individual neglected the particularities of women and men's relationship with welfare state regimes. For instance, this meant taking into account the specificity of women as traditional caretakers who were also by then joining labor markets.

Feminist scholars then aimed to understand women's relations to welfare state regimes. They reconsidered women as married mothers, single mothers, single workers, and or as consumers of social protection resources (Hernes, 1987, Peattie and Rein, 1983, Leira, 1992a,b, Bock and Thane, 1991, Koven and Michel, 1990, Lewis, 1992, Sainsbury, 1999). Their interests lead them to gain an understanding of how gender relations and orders shaped social policies. In doing so, they invested their efforts to re-define fundamental notions of welfare studies such as *decommodification* (Esping-Andersen, 1990) or *citizenship* (Marshall, 1963) so they could accommodate to women's experiences (Lister, 1994a,b). They argue decommodification from the market could not be the only source of social stratification (Langan and Ostner, 1991, (O'Connor, 1993, Sainsbury, 1994a,b, Borchost, 1994a,b). The concept, according to certain feminist scholars, envisions societies in which only men would sell their labor in the market as a commodity to protect themselves and their dependent families (Sainsbury, 1998, Orloff, 1996). Moreover, Esping-Andersen's (1990) citizens, according to Orloff (1996:65), are implicitly male workers. They, thus, argued that mainstream social policy scholars like Esping-Andersen (1990) considered the state's impact on class relations, but forgot about the impact of state's intervention on gender relations and vice-versa. Moreover, although in his latest work Esping-Andersen et al. (2002) addresses the family, he forgets to mention the importance of unpaid care labor and gender relations of power inside households for the stratification of social rights.

Through this section of chapter 1, I turn to the work of feminist scholars of the welfare state whose work has tried to redefined welfare states regimes while taking gender order and relations into account. Nonetheless, the emphasis is also placed on feminist social policy scholar's redefinitions of notions such as decommodification and citizenship so that they can fit

the experiences of all women. I, therefore, cover two trends within the feminist scholarship of the welfare state. The first trend is composed of those that draw from Esping-Andersen (1990) mainstream typology but added a gender component to it (Taylor-Gooby, 1991, Gustafsson, 1994, Wenemmo, 1994, Sainsbury, 1993). The second trend is composed by feminist scholars who have aimed to re-theorize welfare state regimes by taking into account new variables. The authors on this second trend will allow us to be specific when trying to address the stratification of social protection resources according to gender relations and interest (Lewis, 1992, Lister, 1994a,b, Fraser, 1994, Orloff, 1993). What follows is a discussion of the first trend.

3.1. Adding the Gender Element to Esping-Andersen's typology

According to Ann Orloff (1996), it would be unfair to accuse Esping-Andersen (1990) from completely forgetting the question of gender. Since according to her, he partially addresses the effect on gender relations on various welfare state regimes (Orloff, 1996). As highlighted by Orloff (1996: 66) in the second part of his book he considers the effects of welfare regimes on labor markets while pointing out to the cases of the United States, Sweden, and Germany (Esping-Andersen, 1990: 142- 217). In his analysis, Esping-Andersen (1990: 201- 217) implicitly perceives a gender question within employment patterns. He mentions the Swedish women's employment depends on the availability of care services, which makes employment possible for women there. Employment regimes highly marginalize German women whose experience is influenced by an industrial male worker model that seldom recognize women's care responsibilities (Esping-Andersen, 1990: 201-217). U.S women, instead, according to his analysis haven't stopped their increasing participation in the labor market (Esping-Andersen, 201-217). Esping-Andersen (1990:201-217) assumes American women high involvement in the labor market is due to the existence of private part-time employment. Thus, they could afford private care services.

Building on these discussions, some feminist scholars (Taylor-Gooby, 1991, Gustafsson, 1994, Wenemmo, 1994, Sainsbury, 1993) drew from Esping-Andersen (1990) typology and added a gender element to it. In her state of the art, on Gender and the Welfare state, Ann Orloff (1996) mentions some of their most significant contributions. Taylor-Gooby (1991), for example, contributes to Esping-Andersen (1990) typology by talking about the value of unpaid care work in different regime types and connects this with how governments deal with gender equality.

Gustaffson (1994) also follows this line of work and specifies that child-care policy in the United-States, Sweden, and The Netherlands reflect the typologies announced by Esping-Andersen (1990). As within Esping-Andersen (1990) typology, the best childcare services seem to be developed in Sweden a social democratic regime. Contrarily, in the United States, childcare services appear to be relegated to the market and privatized. The Netherlands, a corporatist model, offers a minimum of state delivered childcare services.

There were also quantitative studies based on OECD statics that also used Esping-Andersen (1990) as a basis to discuss differences regarding gender stratification of social rights. Irene Wenemmo's (1994) study of OECD countries found that there were two clusters of gendered welfare state regimes. The first cluster includes continental European countries, which correspond to Esping-Andersen typology. These countries give benefits concerning wages usually to male workers. The second cluster includes the English-Speaking liberal countries and The Scandinavian countries. These countries offer public allowances directly to mothers and women independently of their relationship to men.

Diane Sainsbury (1993) does a similar classification of gender and welfare state regimes. Although she does not specifically mention that she uses Esping-Andersen (1990) typology, her results resemble his typology. Sainsbury (1993) analyzed the effect of different programs whether it would be social insurance or social assistance on women's emancipation in four different welfare states: The United States, the United Kingdom, The Netherlands and Sweden. She shows that whether the state has a tradition of categorizing welfare rights under citizenship basis or workers status basis will have a different effect for women. Women, for example, will do best in Sweden where social rights are awarded to citizens independently of their gender. Women do worst in The United States and the U.K where social rights are granted according to a working status. Lewis and Astrom, (1992) strongly critiqued this model. They argued that the Swedish "*woman friendly*" policies show that most Swedish women are linked to the labor market either way. Ruggie (1988) also critiqued Sainsbury (1993) approach arguing that women's status as workers matters, but women are often more than workers also mothers, family members, etc.

Similarly, on an extensive quantitative study, the work of Maclanahan et al. (1995) used the "*Luxembourg Income Study*" to determine according to Esping-Andersen (1990) a cluster regime that considered the effect of poverty on women. They found that poverty had a tendency to affect a single mother more than a married woman with or without children. Their results compared different studies and seemed to be congruent with Esping-Andersen (1990) typology. They mention that Sweden reduces women's poverty and encourages them to participate in the labor market, Italy enforced marriage so women could have access to social rights through their

husbands, and The Netherlands provided free transfers to all citizens independently of their gender. Gender roles; however, seem to be the one variable in common for most states examined in their study (Orloff, 1996).

On her turn, O'Connor (1993), and (Orloff, 1993a) has also insisted in gendering Esping-Andersen (1990) typology of a welfare state. They argue Esping-Andersen's (1990) theorization of the relationship between state; the market is crucial to understand some of the gender inequalities of contemporary European societies. Indeed, this real relation between the state and the market can impact on the organization of family life mainly of unpaid care work. They, however, think instead of having class, as the unique category of social stratification one must also add gender. The gender category can help us to understand how and why certain social insurance programs such as unemployment benefits or pensions affect the lives of men and women differently. While thinking about this, they argue that it's perhaps by adding a gender level of stratification that one can think of policies that might benefit equally married or single male and women. This claim goes beyond Lewis (1992) male breadwinner model because it considers women both as a single or married individual.

Building on (Hobson, 1994: 175), the work of O'Connor (1993) and Orloff (1993a) mention that it's inaccurate to cluster together The Netherlands, The U.K, and Germany. In fact, doing so according to them would be to ignore that each one of these countries has very different policies to address single mother's poverty experiences. Since according to them single mothers have been completely left out by male breadwinner models. Orloff (1993) and O'Connor (1993) argue it's accurate to use *decommodification* but only if we add a gender perspective to it. This gender perspective would allow us to see how dependence or independence from the labor market affects men and women differently. O'Connor (1993) proposes to add two new dimensions to the concept of *decommodification*: 1- personal autonomy, 2- and independence from public dependence. Orloff (1993) thinks we should take into account how public benefits that decommodify can empower women and make them free workers capable of choosing to be either married or single mothers. She proposes we began to understand whether or not decommodification could give women the right to family making independently of their relationship to their male partners.

The critiques of the models that used Esping-Andersen (1990) typology as a basis mentioned that the countries used in such studies could also explain their results. Such countries, often, were the same as those used by Esping-Andersen (1990) and thus resemble his typology. The work of Borchorst (1994b) and Leira, (1992b) demonstrates these arguments. These two researchers examined Scandinavian states and found a difference concerning the effect of social policies on gender equality regarding childcare provision. Denmark and Sweden

had high levels of support and encouraged women's participation in the labor market while Norway was less supportive. Leira (1992b) argued that this had to do with the diversity of motherhood conceptions, which varied in all three countries. Similarly, Shaver (1993) found that there were differences within the so-called Liberal regime type. Shaver (1993) found difference regarding women's access to healthcare in the United Kingdom, Canada and the U.S. Shaver (1993) concluded that this had to do with each country's culture of reproductive rights. On her turn, Ann Orloff (1996) also found that different models of motherhood could explain various social protection policies that establish resources for the support of lone mothers in Liberal welfare state regimes. In the U.K, Canada, and Australia some childcare policies still exist, while the U.S was moving towards a more profound privatization of childcare. These past critiques suggest that individual elements of social protection resources are specific to gender relations and interest which ultimately contribute to the stratification of social rights (Orloff, 1996: 68-69). In the following section, I discuss the work of feminist scholars who have developed a new categorization of welfare state regime while using concepts such as care work, motherhood, personhood, family rights and defamilialization.

3.2. Gender Feminist Conceptions of Welfare State Regimes

The search for variables that could account for the difference regarding social stratification for men and women in different welfare state regimes is a complex exercise. Orloff (1996) argues that to start such re-categorization of welfare state regimes one must be aware of women's and men's gender interest, which will differ regarding material and symbolic interest. In this sense, according to her, it is important to take into account Molyneux's (1985) consideration of gender interest. According to Molyneux (1985), gender interests could be materials, which are those, interest that if met can ameliorate one's economic situation but would not fundamentally challenge the gender order of things. There are, according to her, other interests that are strategic (divisions of care work inside the household) which if met are those that challenge the gender order of things.

When one considers both practical and strategic gender interest it is possible to see a new cluster of gender regimes that have to do with class differences but also with other types of differences. In this sense, feminist scholars (Lewis, 1992, Sainsbury, 1999, Orloff, 1996) argued that researchers should be able to take into account the effect of gender relations in the formation of welfare state regimes. Jane Lewis (1992) is the pioneer in trying to categorize welfare state regimes regarding difference on gender interest. Lewis (1992: 162) based her model of welfare state regimes on whether states hold on to male breadwinner and female

housewife model or not. In strong male breadwinner models, women would stay at home and would depend on their husbands for support and social security entitlement as mothers or widows. Lewis (1992) modified breadwinner models best benefit women's gender interests. According to Lewis (1992), modified breadwinner models are better to be able to perceive women and men as dual earners. She uses this model to compare France, Sweden, Britain, and Ireland. She finds that Sweden, Britain, and Ireland are committed to the male breadwinner model, while France does this less. Sweden, instead, tends to attend more of a dual or modified breadwinner model. One might be tempted to think that Lewis (1992) models resemble Esping-Andersen (1990) model, however, she found striking differences between countries such as Germany and France, which are supposed, to be corporatist types. Lewis (1992) shows that gender does not always correlate to class, but some dimensions separately influence welfare state regimes and the social rights they offer to men and women. One of these dimensions is, for example, women's accomplishment of paid work and their subordination to the male breadwinner.

Sainsbury (1999) (1994c), instead follows Lewis (1992) line of thought and develops a typology of welfare state regimes based on: family ideologies, the basis for entitlement (workers or citizenship status), access to employment, wage policies and the organization of care work. In doing so, Sainsbury (1994c, 1998) makes a typology that resembles Lewis (1992) typology. In her first cluster are male breadwinner models, and her second cluster is an individualistic model where care is provided publicly to both men and women. Particularly important, to Sainsbury's typology, is the gender notion of *citizenship*. She evaluates how The U.S, Britain, and The Netherlands design specific policies for men and women and perpetuates gender divisions of labor. In the male breadwinner model the gender ideology celebrates marriage and the traditional family. The benefits are given to married women because their husbands contribute with their labor to social insurance schemes. Instead in the individual model, there is not ideal family form. Moreover, male and women are both held responsible for working and accumulate their benefits, and they thus equally required doing a minimum of unpaid care work. In the individual model, the basis for entitlement is no longer work, but rather *citizenship* and *residency*. Sainsbury (1999) thus challenges the notion of *social citizenship* while adding a gender element to it. She considers women in the dual-earner model as full citizens with rights of their own. In doing so, Sainsbury (1999) uses citizenship to analyze how the gender division of labor gives births to different models of welfare state regimes.

Shelia Shaver (1993) follows a similar trend, but instead identifies welfare state regimes according to how their policies affect personhood and body rights particularly regarding reproduction and the gender organization of work. She remarks the importance of the social

organization of care work and the social and emotional relations attached to it. In different welfare regimes according to Sheila Shaver (1993) rights will be more or less individualist, specifically those related to health. According to her, healthcare benefits are often based on the welfare regimes gender interest regarding personhood. Shaver (1993) argues, this leads to different sexual divisions of labor and leads women to either be dependent or independent according to whether or not they are involved in procreation within heterosexual families.

Following a similar trend, Lagan and Ostner (1991) make a gender extension of Leibfried (1993) categorization of Bismarckian, Anglo-Saxon, and Latin Rim welfare states. They take as their basis for their establishment of welfare state regimes whether or not states have institutionalized public provisions for everyone as *citizens* or whether traditional households and their paid labor are still the basis for entitlement. They insist that traditional family forms or individualism achieve different regimes. They argued that women could be treated either as paid workers or unpaid care workers inside the home. Their assessment criteria for each category, however, according to Orloff (1996:71) are not very clear.

On a similar line Nancy Fraser (1997, 1994) develops a proposal for welfare regimes with gender equity. Fraser (1987: 103- 121, 1994) makes explicit that certain gender interest should be taken into account when categorizing welfare state regimes. Nancy Fraser (1997, 1994) considers different principles. The first one is Poverty as experienced by men and women. The second one is the prevention of women's exploitative dependency to men. The third one is Gender Equality and Income. The fourth one is Leisure and respect. The fifth one is the promotion of women's participation in all areas of public and private life. The sixth one is the involvement of man in care and reproductive task as much as women are. In fact, she thinks welfare state policies should be designed to make men be more like what women are now earners and caretakers. According to her, it's only by doing so that they would be a real social stratification for men and women and divisions between breadwinners and caretakers would disappear.

Ruth Lister's (1994a, 1994b, Lister, 2003) work on *defamilialization* is also intended to categorize welfare state regimes according to the degree of independence they award individuals, particularly to women. Lister (1994ab) like other authors that influence themselves on her work (Degavre and Merla, 2016) awards a particular importance to care labor in women's access to welfare state regimes' resources. She insisted on drawing a parallel between the concept of *decommodification* from the market to the idea of defamilialization from family relationships and duties. Lister (1994b) defined defamilialization as: "*the degree to which individual adults can uphold a socially acceptable standard of living independently of family relationships either through work or social security pensions.*" (p. 173).

Lister (1994a,b) concept of defamilialization seem to be useful to categorize welfare states according to the freedom they award individuals from their family relationships and duties. However, according to Degavre and Merla (2016), the concept has been highly controversial and debated. Degavre and Merla (2016) argue that the notion can acquire different meaning since women's family experiences and duties are complex and diverse. Some researchers have, for example, found the concept useful to describe the situation of lone mothers as individuals who persist in the labor market independently of their precarious situations as caretakers and workers (Hobson, 1994). While others saw defamilialization as the way to free women from the burden of care, which relies on the role of second-class social citizens (Esping-Andersen, 1999), Bamba, (2007: 327) follows this line of thought and argues women should be able to externalize their care duties to be more productive. Bamba (2007) argues that "*defamilialization is the extent to which welfare state enables women to survive as independent workers and decreases the economic importance of family in women's lives*" (p.327).

According to Degavre and Merla (2016), *defamilialization* cannot be just about freeing individuals from care duties. They highlight the case of migrant domestic workers who help native women to externalize their care duties while obtaining a certain degree of defamiliaization that allows them to join labor markets in Belgium. However, welfare states often forget migrant domestic workers needs for defamilialization a reality that has also been highlighted by other gender and migration scholars (Parrenas, 2001, Hochschild, 2000, Lutz, 2011, Escriva, 2005). In other words, one woman's freedom cannot be achieved at the expense of another woman's oppression. Indeed, as migrant, domestic workers engage in paid care labor abroad through systems often financed by states in the case of countries like Belgium, they strive hard to accomplish their unpaid care duties sometimes from overseas. Their difficulties are often associated with the absence of adequate social protection resources both in sending and receiving states (Salazar-Parrenas, 2006).

Degavre and Merla (2016) suggest then that defamilialization should be about giving individuals the freedom to live productive lives at the workplace while also being able to care for families if they wish to do so. According to them defamilialization in Belgium, takes places in two forms. The first is through the use of policies that allow working individuals to externalize their care duties with public support. This is the case of the voucher scheme system in Belgium, which allows working women and men to have hourly support in their domestic needs⁵. This kind of measures were first established as a solution to fix unemployment issues

⁵ Here I make reference to the Titre-Service or voucher-scheme system in English which was defined as a triangular strategy involving the Belgian state, the cleaning agencies, customer and domestic workers that in urban settings such

while at the same time giving working adults the chance to defamilialize certain domestic chores (Vandenbroeken, 2012). The measure however in cities like Brussels, served to regularize the status of female migrants from third countries or other E.U countries that were already a growing majority in the sector (Camargo, 2015). The second way to support defamilialization is by giving women and men the chance to take time from work permanently or temporarily to perform their care duties themselves. This last way of defamilialization in Belgium is achieved through the offering of parental leaves policies (both for working and no working and working men-women). This can also take place by allowing working parents to part-time credit policies to engage in the care of their children or sick relatives (Merla and Deven, 2016). Belgian women however, have traditionally been the ones to use these policies although the number of men using them is slowly increasing (Merla and Deven, 2016). However, it is still Belgian women that are taking up part time jobs; career breaks more than men or in some cases organizing the externalization of domestic work duties. This last form of defamilization in a city like Brussels, takes place mostly as migrant women take on these jobs in the voucher scheme system (Camargo, 2015, Vivas-Romero, 2015a,b, Safuta, 2016)⁶.

In this context, Degavre and Merla (2016) make an analysis of transnational defamilialization of both Belgian women and migrant women while taking into account two aspects: 1- macro level policies and their implication both for migrant and for native women, 2- micro-level relations between individuals who are either in need or supported by *defamilialization* policies (Degavre and Merla 2016: 19). Their approach can also allow researchers to take into account women's and men's social protection needs while taking into account the diversity of class, ethnicity, and gender. Degavre and Merla (2016) argue that their approach joints that of other social policy scholars that believe social protection resources in a "*hypermobile world*" should be available transnationally (Williams, 2011, Kofman and Parvarti Raghuram, 2010). Their approach also joins Joanne Tronto (2011) ethics of care, which idealizes a society where individuals are given social rights according to their ability and compromise to care for others (2011:175). Degavre and Merla (2016) argue to re-conceptualize defamilialization so that it can: "*Extend the coverage of defamilialize policies to migrant*

as Brussels are often migrant domestic workers (Camargo, 2015, 2015-6). More information on the subject will be given in chapter 5. The term voucher scheme is the English translation used by various scholars in Belgium (Camargo, 2015, Vandenbroucke, 2012).

6 In Belgium, 28% of women preferred to be employed part-time versus 19% of men. Women do this obtain a work-life balance while staying active at care duties at home (Kremer, 2007:219). Belgian women in certain cities in Flanders also rely on the care of grandmothers who work overall 26 hours a week on care duty for their daughters children or else use small day centers attended by surrogate mothers (Kremer, 2007: 219).

domestic workers while facilitating their access to resources that sustain family solidarity in geographically non-proximate situations” (p.306).

Their conceptualization is an important part of the answer to the research question in this dissertation. As we would see later on if transnational and public *defamilialization* were available to migrant domestic workers, their global social protection strategies would be largely improved. These questions of access to *defamilialization* for migrant domestic workers and the work of other researchers that have address how migration policies condition individual’s capacities to informally care for their families will be address in the following chapters.

4. Crossing the Atlantic

Until now, I have discussed the essential features that help us categorize the welfare state regimes in which the migrant domestic workers of this study accumulate social protection resources. We were able to trace the features of the Belgian welfare state categorized as corporatist by Esping-Andersen (1990). We also traced the familiaristic features of Southern European welfare states categorized as such by various social policy scholars (Ferrera, 1996, Leibfried, 1993, Bonoli, 1997, Trifeletti, 2009). Moreover, we also concentrated on the gender characteristics that could help us identify Belgium as modified male breadwinner state (Lewis, 1992) with some degree of defamilialization which could be favorable or not to migrant domestic workers (Lister, 1994b, Degavre and Merla 2016). Moving along, it’s now necessary to cross the Atlantic oceans and discover the essential features of migrant domestic worker’s countries and regions of origins welfare states and notions of social protection.

4.1. Latin American Conceptions of Social Protection and the Welfare State

“The girl in the picture is Marielita. We took the picture the day before her mother left [To Europe]. I think she was 9 years old. She had her First Communion dress on. We had celebrated her birthday, her first communion and her mother’s departure [breaks into tears]. How much pain! How much suffering! On our way to the airport I couldn’t help but to think to myself: filthy governments, with so much money and they can’t even take care of their people! I saw all of them kids crying their souls out for their momma. I just dammed all of them governments, all of them! Why do they do this to our families? They split us up.”

(Sonia, mother of a Migrant Domestic Worker, Lima, 03-03-2015)

Sonia, the woman in the quote, is the mother of a migrant domestic worker. I interviewed her in Lima, the fall of 2015. Sonia like other family members I met in Peru or Colombia had a tendency to point out to the unfulfilling promises of Latin American welfare state regimes. They point it out to migration as a viable solution to fulfill their families' social and economic needs. They highlighted the inability of Latin American labor markets to absorb workers. They also stressed their non-working health and pension systems and the high levels of unpaid care work that women bear on their shoulders. They, nonetheless, also pointed out to the progress in this last decade, and the changes in policies regarding pensions and housing.

The difficulties women like Sonia face to access social protection resources are rooted in the continent's post and pre-colonial history. The continent's history is one filled with racial and gender divisions that affect individuals' access to social protection (Mesa-Lago, 1978:16, Figueira, 2005:4). As Fernando Figueira (2005:4) eloquently puts it, it's a continent in which elites since post-colonial times have been troubled by the idea of reaching a compromise between different working classes, various ethnic groups, and different genders. Ironically, only a few Latin American social policy scholars (Figueira, 2005, Mesa-Lago, 1978, 1991, 2008) argued that the history of the welfare regimes can be traced back to pre and post colonial times. They argue it's necessary to time the emergence of Latin American Welfare State Regimes considering such point of departure (Mesa-Lago, 1978: 6). Building from these past arguments this section sites the story of the migrant domestic workers in this dissertation in five historical periods of Latin American Welfare State Regimes development. I, however, by no mean adhere to the conceptualization of a homogeneous Latin American welfare state regime (Martinez-Franzoni, 2007, Martínez-Franzoni, 2008). Therefore, later, I also delve into the categorization of such welfare state regimes. These two endeavors serve three purposes in this dissertation. Firstly, they help us to situate the story of Peruvian and Colombian migrant domestic workers strategies to access social protection in their countries and regions of origin (Merla and Kilkey, 2014). Secondly, as the empirical parts unravel it will help us to see the type of resources they have been historically granted or denied. Lastly, it helps me to justify the framework I will use to answer the initial research question within the already existing literature on the subject.

4.2. A Half Empty Glass? Latin American Welfare States, the Story Behind them

Simone Cecchini and Rodrigo Martinez (2011: 27) highlight that most Latin American social policy scholars agree on three periods of welfare state development in the continent (Marchesi, 2004, Cohen and Franco, 2006, Andrenacci and Repetto, 2006). The first period begins at the end of the 19th century with the developments of nation states with some scarce

social protection resources for workers in the primary good industries. The second period starts right after the Great Depression in the 1930s. The second period has a few successes, such as the creation of social security institutions and the institutionalization of social assistance for the poorest (Cecchini and Martinez, 2011). The third period corresponds to the 1990s, and until the 2000s, where external debts and fiscal austerity marked the beginning of a more neoliberal approach and safety nets instead of social protection in the region (Cecchini and Martinez, 2011). According to Cecchini and Martinez (2011:28), development models such as primary goods, substitution of importations, or fiscal austerity are at the heart of social policy created in each period.

Although, one could agree with such periodization there a few factors that could challenge it. In fact, I would argue a different typology for two reasons. The periodization suggested by the authors cited here above lack the historical contextualization of the post and pre-colonial times. This last point is essential, since according to Carmelo Mesa-Lago (1978:17-20) these post and pre-colonial periods are the very foundation of most social policy in the continent. Secondly, the typology here above also lacks a contextualization of recent demographical and social changes such as high levels of female internal and international emigration, as well as other changes in the family and the gender sexual division of labor. These last points are essential since it they strongly shaped some of the most recent features of social policy on the continent.

Taking this context into account and drawing from the work of earlier experts (Mesa-Lago, 1978, Cecchini and Martinez, 2011). I, instead, present five periods of Latin American social policy. The first period is a pre-colonial and post-colonial period that starts in 1500 and until the years of independence in the mid 18th century (Mesa-Lago, 1978). The second term is a republican period that runs from the mid 18th century and until the 19th century, and it's characterized by the development of social policy and national identities (Cecchini and Martinez, 2011). The third period starts in the 1950s until the 1980s after the great depression. This third period includes the movement from charity-based approaches to social security programs for urban classes (Cecchini and Martinez, 2011). The fourth period begins in the 1980s and runs until the end of the 1990s. This fourth period is one privatization and structural readjustment. The fifth period starts at the end of the 1990s and until the mid-2000s (Cecchini and Martinez, 2011). This fifth period is one leftist turns in the continents where new universal and nativist approach to social protection in the region were tried out (CEPAL, 2000, Ocampo, 2001, Riggiozzi, 2010). This fifth period also involves a partial recognition of migrants not only as essential elements of economic and social development but also as actors in need of

social protection. This fifth period is, however, challenged by the imminent return of right-wing politicians, which states such as Brazil or Argentina have experienced in the past few years.

From Pre-Colonial to Post-Colonial Times

According to Carmelo-Mesa Lago (1978: 17), the social security systems of the 20th century in Latin America inherited much of their structure from colonial and pre-colonial socio-economic structures. Indeed, social, gender and ethnic hierarchies characterized such social security systems (Mesa-Lago, 1978:17). At the top of the latter, there were imperial functionaries, the military, the mine operators, landowners and other intellectual professions that were predominantly white. In the middle of the scale, there were *mestizos* (people of mix white, indigenous and African descent) and *libertos* (freed slaves usually from African origins) who learned handcraft professions from their masters. At the lowest part of the range were the Afro-populations of imported slaves and the Native Americans who worked in manual jobs, in households as servants, in mines and other industrial occupations or in the agriculture (Mesa-Lago, 1978:17).

Mesa-Lago (1978:17-20) argued that according to how people were positioned on the scale they had access to different social protection resources that had both post and pre-colonial roots. Access to these social protection resources had to do with one's occupation and the place of one's residence whether rural or urban spaces. Additionally, one's occupation was also ascribed to one's gender. One of the most important social protection institutions in most Spanish colonies included the *Ayllus*, and *Calpullis*; developed initially by pre-colonial Aztec and Inca civilization (Vitale, 1983). *Ayllus* and *Calpullis* were the first social assistance and insurances in the continent. They mostly gave access to working land within agrarian cooperatives. The landowners then shared crops among the less privileged in the communities. This *Ayllus* and *Calpullis* were kept during colonial times and renamed *Cajas* or saving funds. During colonial times they were used to give indigenous populations cash for the food they produced (Mesa-Lago, 1978: 17-18).

The *Beneficiencias* were also another important social protection resource that was inherited from colonial times (Mesa-Lago, 1978: 17-18, Peluffo, 2004, Carvajal-Castro, 2007). In the 16th century, Spanish philosopher Juan Luis Vives transformed the traditional church "charity offers" into a system of indoor aid for the poorest (Mesa-Lago, 1978: 17-18). This system is at the roots of charity-based social assistance in the continent. In the 18th century, guided by this principle, the Spanish created homes for orphans and elderly of indigenous and African origins. There, women of indigenous and African origins had an important role. Private funds by the church users supported these systems. These systems survived most of the 18th

century and later in the 20th century became of one the most effective ways of protecting the health of the most dispossessed individuals in the continent (Mesa-Lago, 1978: 17-18).

In this same order of resources, the *Leyes de Indias* (Indian Laws) were the first health and risk insurances in the continent. According to Mesa-Lago (1978:19), as news from the new world announced abuses and work exploitations, the Spanish designed a new system of insurances. In 1680, the Spanish Crown legalized the work risk and insurance regulations making landowners responsible for safety regulations, cash transfers, and medical assistance when needed (Mesa-Lago, 1978). This law was also the precursor of employee's pension since it obliged employers to give Indians a pension after 50 years old, although they rarely made it to such age. These laws, however, were according to Mesa-Lago (1978:17-19), the first example of Latin America's "*divorce between legal theory and practice*" since they were hardly ever put into place correctly. Along with these policies, there were also *Gracias-Mercedes* or allocations that involved those employed in particular occupations, mostly in the military that received rewards from the Crown in rewards for their loyalty (Mesa-Lago, 1978). These rewards consisted of assigning Indians or Africans who work on their private lands or other funds of minerals. These Gracias, however, disappear as the empire faced war and crisis (Mesa-Lago, 1978).

The *Cofradias* or *Montepios* instead, according to Mesa-Lago (1978: 19-20), were perhaps the closest approach to what later became the social security systems in the continents. These models copied the Spanish model, and had religious and political importance (Mesa-Lago, 1978). These were mutuality organized by people's professional class: militaries, merchants, marine workers, and craft workers, who lived in urban centers. They acted like social insurances in times of crisis and covered family sickness and or burial expenses. There were also *Cofradias* organized by the church for the poorest employed in lower class status sectors. Some have disappeared with time, but according to Mesa-Lago (1978), some survived the post-colonial period. The *Montepios*, on the other hand, gave access to different occupations to health care in hospitals build by each mutual.

According to Mesa-Lago (1978: 17-20), the colonial period gave birth to a triangular stratification of social protection resources. At the top of the latter was a small elite represented by the intellectual white classes that had the most available resources regarding social security and health (Mesa-Lago, 1978:21). In the middle, larger segments were Mestizos and Mulattos, who worked in manual occupations, who moderately access social security and welfare systems build by the church and their employers (Mesa-Lago, 1978: 21). The indigenous and African population occupied the last level of the pyramid. The public charity and social assistance organized by churches usually protected these last two groups (Mesa-Lago, 1978: 21).

The Republican Period: Creating Nation States

During the early 1920s, Latin American societies were also in search of a national identity that would glue together their often-fragmented societies (Cecchini and Martinez, 2011: 29). The industry of exportations of primary goods⁷ and importation of several consumption goods created the identity of workers (Cecchini and Martinez, 2011: 29). The industry was in charge of producing primary goods that would travel across oceans and be transformed in the global north.

Fernando Figueira, (2005:10) suggested that this industrial period lasted from the 19th and until the first decades of the 20th century. In this period, Latin American countries supported the creation of social insurance models that protected blue-collar workers in the industries (Figueira, 2005:10). The countries in the region developed some social insurance, coverage regarding health and education inspired by a Bismarckian model (Cecchini and Martinez, 2011:29).

The models created during this first period of industrialization were, however, not homogeneous. Differences existed regarding how governments allocated their resources. Figueira (2005:12) argues that, while some countries were only spending 18% of the GDP in social insurance policies, others were spending up to 8%. In this context, the people of indigenous origins that lived in rural settings continue to be unprotected. Mesa-Lagos (1991) argues that such systems supported the highly stratified societies inherited from colonial times. In such societies, risk protection was mostly available in the urban areas while in the rural areas, people were protected either by the public charity established by the Catholic Church or by the efforts of families and communities.

The Industrial Period: Universal Social Security?

As it happened in the European context, the great depression transformed the content of social policy for the Latin American region (Cecchini and Martinez, 2011: 29). Contrary, to the European continent, Latin America suffered the outputs of the crisis as its products were not longer needed by the western economies in crisis. In such context, according to Raúl Prebisch an

⁷ Here primary goods refers to those materials that are available for cultivating raw material, before the manufacturing process, these include products that come from: agriculture, fishing, mining, forestry (Economics-Help, 2016).

economist working for the ECLAC⁸ (Latin American Commission for Economics in Latin America and the Caribbean), a Latin American Structuralism Theory was developed. The Keynesian approach marked such approach and the model of substitution of imports inspired by Raul Prebisch and the ECLAC (Figueira, 2005: 10, Figueira & Martínez-Franzoni, 1998). Prebisch discussed that since colonial times the center had been in charge of refusing the colonial peripheries from producing their own goods in industries that would create development and employment (Toye and Toye, 2006). The economists was, by then, convinced that Latin America will too become an industrial continent were goods will not only be imported but also produced an exported (Cecchini and Martinez, 2011). Some nations in the regions supported these efforts to industrialization and absorbed some of the urban populations into these new industries (Figueira, 2005:10). Nonetheless, as we would see in the empirical chapters, this also caused the mobility of underprivileged rural populations, particularly of women to work in domestic sectors in urban spaces.

During this period the planning of welfare policies had a great impact in how working classes would access social protection resources (Franco, 1996). In fact, some of the welfare policy designed during this period resembles those of conservative European welfare states. In these new systems, male breadwinners would assume the responsibility of protecting themselves and their family members (Esping-Andersen, 1990). The emphasis in universal social protection with some degree of social assistance for the poorest becomes key in this period (Cecchini and Martinez, 2011). These social insurance policies, like unemployment policies, become available in the states with the largest history of social rights such as Uruguay with a system of family allocation and in Mexico through the National Institute of Social Security and less in the countries of origin (Peru-Colombia) of the participants in this dissertation (Cecchini and Martinez, 2011: 30). These policies, as highlighted by Ferreira & Robalino (2010), were destined for the consumption of food and other valuable goods. Nonetheless, the resources available to accomplish these promises weren't often enough. Social protection resources, however, became a priority for workers and trade unions that also begun to gain strength during this period (Cecchini and Martinez, 2011). During this period, Social Protection policies

⁸ The ECLAC refers to the Economic Commission of Latin America and the Caribbean; it's one the five-region commissions of the United Nations. The commission was founded in 1948 and its main aims are to promote the economic and social development of the regions and their international cooperation with other countries inside and outside the region. Nonetheless, some of the most important economist and social scientists have worked and developed their most important thesis on the economic and social development of the region at the ECLAC. The most important examples come from the Latin American School of Structural Development lead by Argentinian economist Raul Prebisch (ECLAC, 2013).

continue to be administered by the state (Franco, 2003). This period then, gave birth to state led systems with high levels of bureaucracy that made it almost impossible for the policies to be feasible (Cecchini and Martinez, 2011: 30).

The 1980s or the Globalization and free market period

The 1980s was the globalization and free markets decade (Cecchini and Martinez, 2011: 28). This epoch was marked by a great accentuation of external debts in most countries in the region. This context accentuated the uneven distribution of resources while affecting severely rural populations of indigenous and African origins (Cecchini and Martinez, 2011). The decade of the 1990s took on a neoliberal turn as international organizations discussed the future of the Latin American region embedded in external debt (Cecchini and Martinez, 2011).

Through this period, efforts to protect citizens were not longer in the order of social protection but rather of safety nets capable to temporarily rescue those who were most in need (Cornia, et al. 1998). Efforts were not longer devoted to creating welfare state institutions, but rather to manage the existing ones, privatize health and education sectors, and efficiently manage the budgets (Cecchini and Martinez, 2011). The politicians in the region were inspired by the Washington consensus⁹. They spread the idea that the market and its invisible hand will redistribute resources best (Cecchini and Martinez, 2011: 31). Policy changes in this period insisted in the individual choice of choosing schools and hospitals whether public or private and then being subsidized by the government (Cecchini and Martinez, 2011: 32). Various countries in the region adopted this neoliberal optic. The governments in the region promoted co-funded private pensions that individuals could also buy in the market (Cecchini and Martinez, 2011: 32).

Additionally, through this period, most countries in the region became dual countries (Cecchini and Martinez, 2011). These countries became dual states in the sense that the state shared its social welfare responsibilities with markets, international organizations and families. The states still organized some services like pensions or other social insurance institutions but in a less convenient way, and social development ministries managed other safety nets projects that were specifically designed to target the poorest (Cecchini and Martinez, 2011). The safety net projects supported by institutions like the World Bank became widely known policies particularly in the area of family allocation for families with school age children in countries

⁹ The Washington Consensus refers to the 10 economic prescriptions given by IMF (International Monetary Fund), WB (World Bank) and The U.S department of Treasury to insist in structural adjustment policies of public sectors in global south countries experiencing economic and social crises in the 1990s (Williamson, 2002).

like Chile or Mexico (Cecchini and Martinez, 2011: 31, World-Bank, 2001). Overall, Neoliberal prescriptions inspired the famous “*of one size fits*” all policies (Williamson, 1994).

Concluding, during this neoliberal decade, institutions like the ECLAC (Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean) were quick to remind governments that they could not step behind and install such neoliberal policies without taking into consideration the social and economic consequences brought by them (Cecchini and Martinez, 2011: 34). According to Cecchini and Martinez (2011: 34-35), the ECLAC reminded Latin American governments of their compromise with International Human Rights conventions and Social Citizenship (ECLAC, 2006). As years went by, most states began to look for policies that could increase both, economic competitiveness in the times of economic globalization and social advancement that could protect their populations (Cecchini and Martinez, 2011: 33, Lechner & Calderón, 1998, Marchesi, 2004). However, many Latin American women such as the actors in this dissertation looked for other individual solutions, and opted to emigrate abroad while looking for the means to protect their families.

The 2000s Universalist period: Including everyone?

Most Latin American countries according to Cecchini and Martinez (2011: 33), started the 2000s with dualist approaches to welfare states. Some countries argued for a Universalist approach to social rights. These approaches, however, led Latin American political leaders to rethink better ways to allocate social protection resources according to specific needs (ECLAC, 2000, Ocampo, 2001). During this period, states were even willing to consider the differences between male and female workers, urban and rural populations and the quality of the services versus the quantity (Cecchini and Martinez, 2011). As Cecchini and Martinez (2011: 33) remind us at first, the main actors of this period regarding social policy design became the state, the private sector, and international organizations. These actors articulated themselves and thought of new public and private social protection resources. The actions of this period were mostly visible in the labor market as flexicurity at the workplace gained importance as a way to offer citizens at least temporary *decommodification* through temporary employment (ECLAC, 2006, Uthoff & Externo, 2009). Nevertheless, the ILO equal social protection floor, which assured that all individuals would have a minimum standard of living, also became very popular (ILO, 2008).

This fifth period is also characterized by a move from the neoliberal approach to left wing governments. These left-wing governments re-establish the conversation in themes like inclusion, social citizenship and redistribution of resources (Kozloff, 2008, Riggorozi, 2010). These new conversations were probably best established by countries in the southern cone. The

Venezuelan Bolivarian model which intended to discuss new venues for institutional and legal reforms and the acquisition of new social rights, became the pioneer in doing so (Buxton and Grugel 2009). The Bolivarian model, however, did not intend to overthrow neoliberalism but rather to re-start a new civic and social participation of Venezuelan citizens (Buxton, 2009 and Grugel, Riggiozzi, 2010). Slowly, though, the Venezuelan government broke ties with international organizations and social policies were renewed and organized by locally administered “*Misiones*” (Kozloff, 2008:21). Gradually, other Welfare state regimes in the continent followed similar paths. The governments in the region revise their models and considered new methods to define social protection resources. These new ways of conceiving policies imply that the administration will change from the centralized organization of distribution of social rights to local management of social protection resources.

Andean countries such as Ecuador became the major players in the region’s new definitions of social protection resources (Larrea, 2008, Acosta, 2008, Acosta & Martinez, 2009). They developed the Sumak-Kawsay or Good-Living approach (Larrea, 2008). Contrary to earlier methods formulated in the western world, the individual’s wellbeing is no longer at the center of interest (Larrea, 2008). Instead, the Sumak-Kawsay highlights a triangular relationship of well-being between people, nature, and communities (Larrea, 2008:81). The mottos of public, collective, and balance along with the responsibility with one’s family, community and mother earth or Pachamama filled the conception of such social protection resources (Young, 1990:254). In this sense, National Development policies in countries like Ecuador that were often influenced by the advice of International Organizations began to follow their line of thought (Avila-Santamaría, 2009).

The Good-Living approach prioritized forgotten indigenous and Afro communities. The native and Afro populations renegotiated their access to water and land to become the protectors of their wellbeing (Ramirez, 2011, Appadurai, 2004). It was, thus, essential to rethink means of redistribution and allocation of social protection resources. This new approach required genuine ways to conceive citizenship (Larrea, 2008). Such conception, however, also fed itself from Western notions such as capabilities (Sen, 2005), and conceptions of redistribution of reciprocity outside the market (Polanyi, 1944). The idea behind this, being that Ecuador as other Andean countries had to rethink their societies regarding how individuals could care for each and their environment while contributing to everyone’s wellbeing (Acosta, 2008, Acosta & Martinez, 2009, Leon, 2008). The local community and not the market and other private options were held responsible for the country’s wellbeing (Acosta, 2008).

T.H Marshall’s view of social citizenship (1950) seems to be critical in the Ecuadorian Sumak-Kawsay and the Bolivarian approach. In this sense, citizens became members of

collective communities with social rights and but also duties. The ideas of equality and justice no longer seem incompatible but rather essential to construct more egalitarian societies (Larrea, 2008:32, Fraser, 1994, Fraser, 1997). Fraser's idea of recognition of human beings and redistribution of rights is also at the heart of these two approaches. This need to create plurinational, post-colonial societies that rethought their mechanisms of redistribution of social protection resources spread quickly through the continent (Riggorozi, 2010). The Countries in Southern cone such as Bolivia, Peru, and Argentina, remained the main protagonists of such approaches (Riggorozi, 2010).

The Ecuadorian and Venezuelan ideas were followed by other Andean states such as Bolivia and in less measure by other countries a more neoliberal agenda such as Peru and Colombia. In the case of Peru, the election of the first president of Inca origins Ollanta Humala created new hopes that disappeared as his mandate evolved. While in the case of Colombia, the hopes of a new peace agreement and the government of President Juan Manuel Santos also brought the idea that peace can only be formulated if social inclusion and thus more access to social protection resources were implemented. Likewise these new incentives are still being developed and one cannot judge its evolution yet. Indeed, changes would not emerge rapidly. These renewed agenda on social protection, however, as Stiglitz (2003) reminds of, is challenged by the need for a new social contract. This social contract must include new ways to tax capital and to redistribute resources after doing so (Barrientos & Santibáñez, 2009). This universal rights based approach had also to take into account the new challenges faced by Latin American societies. These problems include the insertion of women to national and transnational labor markets, the aging of the populations, and the still current uneven distribution of unpaid care work among families. Some of these challenges, particularly, the cases of migrant workers and their relatives have been taken into account by national policies and laws regarding international mobility and return of Latin American citizens. In this sense, the Colombian laws of migration and return and the intra-regional Mercosur social security convention are essential to advance in such challenges (Brumat & Artola, 2015, Colombia-Departamento de planeación national, 2009, Ramos & Lara, 2014). The subsequent chapters will further discuss these last points.

4.3. Latin American Welfare State Regimes

As one reads the literature on Latin American social policy, authors in the region, appear to be skeptical towards the idea of categorizing Latin American states as welfare states (Figueira, 2005: 9). The omnipresent social inequalities and the absence of states in its citizen's

well-being can explain this skepticism (Martinez-Franzoni, 2008: 68). Indeed, as explained by Martinez-Franzoni (2008:68), if scholars think of the welfare states as structures that protect citizens from the risk inquired in the market through public policies, then it would be difficult to categorize Latin American states as such. However, according to her, one might adopt a different view and still classify Latin American countries as welfare state regimes (Martinez-Franzoni, 2008: 68). Martinez-Franzoni (2008:68) follows the approach of Gough & Wood (2004), and thinks of Latin American welfare states as regimes composed of practices that serve to redistribute resources to improve the wellbeing of individuals. Welfare state regimes, according to her view, might be administered and constructed by various actors that include states, communities, families, NGOs and market actors (Martinez-Franzoni, 2005, 2008). Moreover, inside such welfare state regimes, the logics of redistribution of resources might be linked to the individual's class and occupational status or their gender. This definition is necessary for the Latin American context where not only formal, but also informal mechanisms are critical in individual's achievement of access to social protection.

Taking this notion of welfare state regimes into account, this section aims at discussing the main categorization of Latin American Welfare State Regimes. I, first, briefly delve into those that have drawn a typology of Latin American Welfare State regimes while taking into account the history of economic and social development of each state and categorize them accordingly. Secondly, I present the approaches of those that have built on Esping-Andersen work and brought forward similar typologies based on class and economic structures. Thirdly, I discuss Juliana Martinez-Franzoni (2007, 2008) approach, which takes into account levels of decommodification, commodification, and defamilialization to draw a more accurate typology of Latin American Welfare State Regimes.

4.3.1. Historical and Developmental Approaches

Fernando Figueira (2005:10) suggested that economist Carmelo Mesa-Lago (1991) was the first Latin American scholar who attempted to categorize welfare state regimes in the region. In 2008, on a lecture for the "*International Meeting on the History of Insurance Companies in the World*," Mesa-Lago (2008) exposed a typology he had been working on since 1991. Mesa-Lago (1991, 2008) tried to classify welfare states regarding their development and maturity of social protection resources. He, thus, categorized the first set of countries as pioneer countries, which included Uruguay, Argentina, Chile, Cuba, Brazil and Costa Rica (Mesa-Lago, 2008: 7). These countries, according to him, were the first to create social protection policies regarding social insurance as well as social assistance. In this first cluster, he used the case of Cuba to

illustrate a country that initiated a social insurance and pension system since the 1920s and in even after the revolution in the late 1950s covered approximately 55 to 65% of the economically active population (Mesa-Lago, 1996). Cuba also remained an important example of universalization until the late 1980s, since Social Protection resources were spread to multiple populations both in the rural and urban settings (Mesa-Lago, 1996).

He, then, categorizes what he thought were an intermediate group and included countries such as Panama, Mexico, Peru, Colombia, Bolivia, Ecuador, and Venezuela. This cluster had almost universal policies and coverage on basic social protection resources in terms of health and education, but high social stratification existed between rural and urban sectors (Mesa-Lago, 2008). He, then categorized a third group of latecomers or low group, which included almost all countries in Central America and other nations in the Caribbean such as The Dominican Republic and Haiti. His typology concludes that there was a strong correlation between the degree of social insurance and the level of economic development for each of these countries (Mesa-Lago, 2008).

Mesa-Lago's (1990, 2008) work inspired other scholars who also tried to come up with their typology of Latin American Welfare State Regimes. Huber and Stephens (2005) drew a typology while looking into how states invested in social protection and how fiscal efforts supported those investments. Huber and Stephens (2005) argued that only Argentina, Uruguay, and Costa Rica were successful in implementing a universal allocation of resources. While in a similar line of thought, Gough & Wood, (2004) insisted in comparing Latin American Welfare State Regimes to other countries in Asia or Africa with similar patterns of social and economic development. These studies highlighted the similarities among these states with low resources allocated for social protection.

Armando Barrientos (2004: 121- 168) kept a similar line of research and followed the historical evolution of Latin American Welfare State Regimes from corporatist welfare states based on occupation to liberal welfare states. Barrientos (2004) explored the role of international organizations, civil societies, and governments in such paths of economic and social development. He concluded that most Latin American Welfare State Regimes had become occupational welfare state regimes with strong social security systems. However, he found that economic and political crises had eventually led them all to become liberal type welfare state regimes. Barrientos's (2004) work was, according to Martinez-Franzoni (2008: 70), a remarkable contribution since actual practices that made those welfare state regimes were taken into account. His typology, however, over generalized Latin American welfare state regimes, which according to Martinez-Franzoni (2008: 72), was inaccurate. Since Latin

American countries had extreme variations regarding how they allocated resources for social protection.

Overall, these typologies inspired by history and socio-economy policy development according to Fernando Figueira (2005:11) fall short in their exercise. He argued that, as explained by earlier social policy scholars such as Esping-Andersen (1990), one couldn't simply look into history to explain variations regarding differences in welfare state regimes. It's necessary to look into models of class stratification of social protection resources that developed across those historical periods. Figueira (2005:11) like Esping-Andersen (1990) argued that one needs explicit variables to explain the stratification of social protection resources, which will eventually shed light on different models of welfare state regimes.

4.3.2. Approaches in the Midst of Class and Labor Market Structures

Fernando Figueira (2005:12) developed his typology of Latin American Welfare State Regimes or what he considers *Social Policies*. He builds on the work of Esping-Andersen (1990) and tries to understand how different variables of path dependency and historical sequences lead to the development of various models in the region. He uses three key variables and takes as a starting point the period of industrialization after the 1970s (Figueira, 2005). These variables range from coverage and how much is spend, to how it is spent and into which social protection resources. He then reveals how different welfare state regimes create exclusionary or inclusionary models and levels of *decommodification* (Figueira, 2005).

His typology drives him to conclude that there are three types of Latin American Welfare State Regimes. Firstly, there are Stratified Universalist systems that can correspond to Esping-Andersen's (1990) Conservative Corporatist (Figueira, 2005: 19). This first model includes countries such as Uruguay, Argentina, Chile and Costa Rica. These systems have high levels of industrialization but with almost no unemployment insurance resources, and only have some social insurance assets like pensions that cover mostly urban elites (Figueira, 2005).

Secondly, he categorized Dual Regimes based on elite's who have social protection resources that are linked to their work in urban areas and where popular rural sectors were often excluded. These countries, nonetheless, have universalized education and health that have been made available to their entire populations (Figueira-Martinez, 1998:197). These dual regimes included countries like Mexico, Brazil, and Peru. These countries also had social assistance models based on public charity organized by the church (Figueira, 2005).

Countries that had dual regimes like Peru, developed pension systems that were at first publicly funded and slowly became mix systems. These mix systems promoted private and public options for the pioneer workers and later in the 1990s evolve into mainly private contributory pension systems into which neither states nor employers were obliged to contribute (Mesa-Lago, 1993: 8). In a country like Peru, this resulted into highly stratify system where in 1993, only 3% of the working population was covered by such systems and only 5% of the total national population (Mesa-Lago, 1993:8). In a similar case, Colombia developed an equally fragmented pension system where only 30% of working individuals contributed to private pension plans (Mesa-Lago, 1993:21).

Lastly, he categorizes what he considered exclusionary states, such as Bolivia, Ecuador, Dominican Republic, Panama, and all countries of Central America except for Costa Rica. In this last group, less than 20% of the population was covered by social protection measures. They had, however, for the most part, universalized access to public education (Figueira, 2005: 198). These states are often seen as predatory states where bureaucracy made it impossible to decentralize access to social protection resources that covered a small number of elite citizens in urban centers (Figueira and Martinez, 1998: 198). Most of these countries, regardless of their categorization, followed two paths after the political and economic conflicts of the 1980s. They either followed a road towards privatization of social protection or evolve into mix systems with public, private and semi-private elements (Figueira and Martinez, 1998, Figueira, 2005:10).

4.3.3. Approaches located in the Nexus Between Family, Market and States

The approaches discussed in the previous sections had insisted on how class and socio-economic development of Latin American countries had led them to be a particular kind of Welfare State Regimes with differences in their allocations of social protection resources. In fact, previous approaches didn't take elements like gender roles, or the uneven distribution of unpaid care labor within families into account. Although some tried to see the effect of class and ethnicity they did so in separate frameworks (Figueira, 2005, Mesa-Lago, 2008).

To fill these last mentioned gaps, social policy scholar Jennifer Pribble (2004: 19-20, 2006), made an effort to take gender into account as she examined how different countries in the region distributed social protection resources such as family allocations, maternity leaves, and child-care. Pribble (2004, 2006) looked into such resources in Chile and Uruguay. Her findings suggested that there was a similar level of investment in such programs in both countries. However, different degrees of the sexual division of labor existed in both countries. Pribble's

(2004- 2006) analysis was relevant because it did not only take into account how much was spend but how and the quality of expenditure.

Juliana Martinez-Franzoni (2008) insisted on following Pribble's (2004) line of thought. However, her argument was that it was not just about how much and how governments spend in social policy. According to her, a useful typology of Latin American Welfare State Regimes should be able to take into account how policies affect peoples' access to real resources. In this sense, Martinez-Franzoni (2008: 72-73) found it important to create a typology that took into account the complex relationship between markets, families and the states' policies. She argued that these institutions made up regimes that were responsible for individuals' standard search for relief from risk.

Martinez-Franzoni (2008:73) methodology benefited from the already existing statistics about social protection access in 18 countries of the region. She thought all of these 18 countries, although within different regimes, had a few things in common. They all had inefficient labor markets, with weak or non-existing social policies, and female unpaid reproductive labor that fill in the blanks left by government policies (Martinez-Franzoni, 2007, 2008). Thus, building on previous notions of access to social rights addressed by Esping-Andersen (1990), Figueira, (1998), and Rudra, (2007) and other feminist scholars Orloff, (1996) she aimed to create her typology.

Martinez-Franzoni (2007, 2008) took into account notions that had already been developed. She took into account the degree of *commodification* of labor or in simpler terms whether people had access to formal labor whether in their countries of origin or abroad (Martinez-Franzoni, 2007: 24, Rudra, 2007). She thought this last variable was significant in a continent in which labor had a tendency to be informal and thus she evaluated this by looking into whether or not people had access to formal labor. Next, she took into account the degree of *decommodification* (Esping-Andersen 1990) based on whether or not people had access to social insurance or social assistance (Martinez-Franzoni, 2007: 25). She looked into how the market, the international cooperation agencies, or the state distributed such services (Martinez-Franzoni, 2007: 25). Lastly, she looked into these countries degree of *defamilialization* while examining the division of unpaid care labor in households among different sexes (Martinez-Franzoni, 2007: 25-26). She evaluated this last point through the results of a public survey while looking at how many families had working women and men or rather absent partners and how much time was dedicated by both to a reproductive task (Martinez-Franzoni, 2007-2008). She also took into account whether or not families had access to public care services. She considers these last three variables as practices that allow individuals to free themselves from social and

economic risk. Martinez-Franzoni (2008) places a significant emphasis on the family, which she perceives as the unit that articulates these three variables.

Her analysis included 37 indicators, which were similar to those used by Esping-Andersen (1990) to investigate the case of Europe. These indicators, according to her, were hypothetically tested rather than empirically tested (Martinez-Franzoni, 2008: 74-80). Thus, she argued that if there were enough differences among the countries then will be an opportunity to identify groups with different characteristics (Martinez-Franzoni, 2007, 2008). Her findings of common conglomerates led her to locate three worlds of welfare regimes (Esping-Andersen, 1990) on the Latin American continent.

At the first conglomerate were statist countries (Martinez-Franzoni, 2007:9). These statist countries were Costa Rica and Uruguay. These statist countries had a high degree of commodification and decommodification as well as high degree of access to education. In the sense, that they had both very low levels of unemployment and at the same time very good options to access social insurance for those individuals who were working. In a country like Costa Rica in 2007 only 4.6% of the population was unemployed, and 55.8% of the population worked in the formal labor market with some access to contributive social insurance and minimum social assistance (Barrientos and Hinojosa-Valencia, 2009: 11-12, CIA, World Fact Book, 2015). The criteria to allocate resources were however highly stratified and dependent on occupational status (Martinez-Franzoni, 2007, 2008). Conversely, statist countries had a low level of defamilialization as women began to conduct both productive and reproductive labor.

In the second conglomerate were statist productivist countries such as Brazil, Costa Rica, Mexico, Panama, and Uruguay (Martinez-Franzoni: 2007: 15-16). These countries have high degrees of decommodification also based on one's professional status with particular resources allocated to education and social insurance. The male breadwinner model (Lewis, 1992) is typical and there are relatively low levels of defamilialization (Martinez-Franzoni, 2007, 2008).

On the last conglomerate are familiarist countries (Martinez-Franzoni, 2007, 2008). This conglomerate is composed of two groups. The first group consists of Bolivia, Paraguay and all countries in Central America except Salvador and Guatemala. The second group consists of Colombia, Peru, Venezuela, Dominican Republic, Salvador and Guatemala (Martinez-Franzoni, (2007: 16). The countries in the last conglomerate have the lowest levels of decommodification with high levels of transnational decommodification through the use of remittances (Martinez-Franzoni, 2007, 2008). They also have low levels of commodification with high levels of transnational commodification or high access to labor abroad. In these countries measures of defamilialization are almost non-existent and individuals rely mostly upon the care work of

women and the extended family (Martinez-Franzoni, 2008: 81-86). In these countries, particularly in Peru and Colombia healthcare and pension reforms became mix systems with private and limited public options that were only available to working individuals (Mesa-Lago, 1996, Barrientos and Hinojosa-Valencia, 2009). These policies became highly problematic since large numbers of the population remained either unemployed or employed in the informal economy in urban settings without any contributions or access to Social Protection (Iregui and Otero, 2003: 895, CIA-World Fact Book, 2016b,c)¹⁰.

Despite the differences among the conglomerates Martinez-Franzoni (2008: 88) insisted that all welfare state regimes in the continent shared similarities. They all show similar limitations regarding how they decommodify and commodify people. There seemed to be a stratification based on one's occupation status or place of residence (Martinez-Franzoni, 2007, 2008). So, most individuals rely on a mixed range of resources that could be access through the market, the family-community, and the states. She also insisted on the role of emmigration and mainly remittances which were not explored enough during her research but had a vital role particularly in the countries in the third conglomerate (Martinez-Franzoni, 2008: 90). She also admitted that to better look into how individuals were defamilialized more qualitative research should be done to confirm her findings (Martinez-Franzoni, 2008:90).

Overall, the work of Juliana Martinez-Franzoni (2007-2008) reunites class, gender and market structures to establish an attractive typology of Latin American the Welfare States Regimes. Her work although partially also adopts a transnational approach as she takes into account how both commodifications of labor access in international labor markets and decommodification of families through remittances shape the structures of Latin American Welfare State Regimes (Martinez-Franzoni, 2007-2008). Although Martinez-Franzoni (2008: 89) admits that a more qualitative approach is it need to understand how people eventually access constellations of welfare state regimes and meet the social protection needs of their families. Moreover, her work also forgets to take into account the ethnic and racial structures of Latin American societies, which as highlighted by Mesa-Lago (1978) have played a historical role on the distribution of social protection resources. Her work also falls short in taking into account the recent efforts of Andean countries to create universal social protection resources. Certainly, had she taken into account these factors as well as more recent statistics her typology would have resulted in very different results.

¹⁰ In Colombia, approximately 17% of the population is unemployed and in Peru the percentage is of 8.8% of the population (CIA-World-Fact-Book, 2016)

5. Preliminary Remarks: The Need to Link Migration and Social Protection

This chapter has served two purposes in this dissertation. The discussions on the history and typology of European and Latin American welfare state regimes have helped us to trace the story of Andean migrant domestic workers inside such regimes. First, we were able to position them in the institutional context of European welfare states such as Belgium and other Mediterranean welfare states in which they have lived and worked in the past. This has allowed us to situate them as workers who helped to defamilialize the domestic needs of native workingwomen and families in cities such as Brussels through the voucher scheme system (Camargo, 2015, Safuta, forthcoming, Vivas-Romero, 2015a,b). The same could be applied to their situation in other countries where they previously lived and worked such as Spain or Italy. Last but not least we were also able to situate them inside Latin American Welfare State Regimes in which their position has been even more stratified in terms of their condition as women pertaining to a particular ethnic group and from a working class status, which can be consider as one of the reasons for their lack of social protection and thus partially explain their transnational migration (Mesa-Lago, 1978, Boccagni, 2011). These last points will be substantial in the empirical part of this dissertation when I briefly contextualize these women's strategies to access social protection in such welfare state regimes.

Secondly, this chapter has led us to discuss the main approaches used to study the nature and access to social protection both in Europe and Latin America. While accomplishing this second purpose, we realize none of these frameworks could be applied to investigate how migrant domestic workers access global social protection¹¹. Since they cannot examine how different markers of difference such as gender, class, race, generation and transnational ties simultaneously interact to influence access to social protection resources. On the one hand, some of the frameworks discussed in this chapter exclusively took into account class structures (Esping-Andersen, 1991, Bonoli, 1997, Ferrera, 1996) in national contexts to study the stratification of social protection resources. On the other hand, others took into account gender divisions of labor to perform a similar exercise in national contexts (Ruggie, 1988, Lewis, 2001, Siaroff, 1994, Sainsbury, 1994c, Saraceno, 1997, Shaver, 1993, Orloff, 1996, Pribble, 2004,

¹¹ Table 1 in Appendix A serves as summary of the approaches to social protection discuss in chapter 1.

2006). In this sense, Martinez-Franzoni (2007, 2008) framework could have been an accurate framework since her work combines class and gender variables in her analysis and partially undertakes a transnational approach. However, her framework focused exclusively on the policy level and missed the informal negotiations individuals endure to access social protection. Nonetheless, as explained in the last section of this chapter her work also fails to take into account new efforts to universalize social protection in the region as well as racial structures of power that have been key in the distribution of social protection resources (Mesa-Lago, 1978, Figueira, 1998).

In this sense, having had survey these bodies of literature, one can argue that a framework that would sharply investigate how different markers of difference, interact with the individual's agency permitting them or not to access social protection resources in different geographical spaces is still missing. Finding, such framework is relevant to answer my initial question. Thus, in order to find the missing pieces to construct a viable framework the discussion moves once again into a different geographical space, meaning the transnational social space (Faist, 2011). Since, recent research that has examined access to social protection in contexts of mobility might help us find a more viable framework (Baldassar & Merla, 2014, Faist et al., 2014, Levitt et al., 2015).

Chapter 2: Beyond National Perspectives, Social Protection in Contexts of International Mobility

1. Immigrants' Access to Social Protection Within Citizenship, Welfare and Immigration Regimes

“My kids know that life was hard here without my papers. I got out of the hospital and I went back to work. I mean straight up. I spent maybe 3 or 4 days in a center for recovery. I begged the doctors to let me stay. I didn't have any papers, no insurance, no nothing... I couldn't rely on anyone. I'm my only help. I had to work for them [her family] and for myself as well. I knew I needed to save up for the future. I always project myself ahead of time. Since, I'm here but the future is there as well...”

(Catarina, Migrant Domestic Worker, Brussels, 21-10-2014)

Catarina, the migrant domestic worker in the quote, is now a documented resident in Brussels. She has a temporary working visa. She has, thus, access to various formal social protection resources most importantly to health care and the rights to accumulate for a pension. However, back in 2014 when we first met, Catarina was still undocumented. She was also recovering from a hipbone replacement surgery. The urgent Belgian medical aid covered the surgery and the immediate recovery treatment (KCE, 2015). This rare insurance¹² is a social

¹² See page 234 for a detailed discussion on contributive and non-contributive social protection resources in Belgium.

assistance resource in Belgium that in cases of extreme emergency is granted to undocumented migrants. Catarina was, indeed back then, in a complicated situation. She kept worrying about whether or not her application for a working visa would work out. Certainly, the Belgian authorities denied her first request due to her disabled status. She later appealed and received her regularization through a working contract with her employer.

Catarina's situation is common to many undocumented migrant domestic workers in Brussels. They informally provide families their domestic and care labor, but remained themselves unprotected due to their undocumented status. In fact, they remained outsiders in a welfare system that was created to give only insiders such as citizens' access to social protection (Marshall, 1950: 28-29). As Marshall (1950:28-29) reminded us only those who are members of national communities are entitled to equal opportunities and rights. Yet, the increasing volume of transnational migratory patterns challenges this perception of national rights to social protection (Levitt et al. 2015: 1, Faist, 2016: 324). Catarina's story is an example of such challenges. Certainly, as migrants like her establish their family and working lives in two or more countries, they often find themselves at a crossroad of complex decisions.

For a while, the complexity of the nexus between migration and social protection shown in Catarina's story remained unexplored (Sainsbury, 2006: 1) by most mainstream comparative welfare scholars (Pierson, 2001, Esping-Andersen et al. 2002, Bonoli 1997). Feminist scholars only recently mentioned the issue of a care crisis in western societies and the role of migrant women like Catarina (Kofman and Raghuram, 2012, Degavre and Merla, 2016). However, most aspects of this situation have remained unexplored. As highlighted by Dianne Sainsbury (2006: 1-2), Western scholars have rather worried about figuring out the effect of immigration on national welfare states (Wilensky, 1975: 57-8, Alesina and Glaeser, 2004: 133). They worried that immigration and the multicultural policies, outlined to welcome migrants into labor markets, will corrode the collective solidarity of citizens in nation states with distinctive logics whether liberal or corporatist (Alesina and Glaeser, 2004, Menz, 2006, Nannestad, 2004).

Fortunately, however, as studies on migratory movements advanced, researchers have begun to look into immigrants' entrance and integration rights (Hammar, 1985, Brubaker, 1989, Castles and Miller, 1993, Koopmans, et al. 2005). In line with this research, the conversations slightly turn to see how immigrants' access to social protection in their receiving states (Faist, 1995, Sainsbury, 2006, Kofman, 2002). Social policy, migration, and family scholars have since then tried to understand the exclusion or inclusion experienced by various categories of migrants from public and private social protection resources. Their work is worth discussing through this chapter for two reasons. Firstly, this chapter serves to situate the question of migrant domestic workers' access to global social protection resources in the literature on

migration, family, and social policy. Secondly, this chapter serves to select elements that will be used to create the global social protection arrangement definition employed in the empirical section of this dissertation.

This chapter, thus, discusses the work of researchers who have analyzed migrants' access to social protection from various lenses. I first review the work of those who have explored the role of immigration and welfare state regimes in migrant's access to labor markets and ultimately to public social protection (Sainsbury, 2006). Secondly, I discuss the work of researchers who questioned the fact that a simple entrance category can be the sole determinant of immigrants' access to social protection. These researchers have instead discussed how *social citizenship* (Marshall, 1950, Faist, 1995) or *stratified citizenships* (Kofman, 2007, 2010, Morris, 2003) can lead to very different access to social protection.

Thirdly, I look into the work of researchers who have looked into the informal ways in which migrants protect themselves and their family networks (Stark and Bloom, 1985, Parrenas, 2001a,b, Baldassar and Merla, 2014). I review the literature on migration as a source of *human capital accumulation* (Stark and Bloom, 1985). This discussion is followed up by a discussion of the informal global care chains in which migrant women often locate themselves at (Parrenas, 2001, a,b). Lastly, I examine the work of scholars who have theorized the informal *circulation of care* in transnational family networks (Baldassar and Merla, 2014). I, then, point out to the gaps left by this literature that kept their focus on the informal circulation of care practices. They have, thus, partially left understudied the connections between informal systems of care protection and formal ones. Having had discussed the gaps left by transnational family and care scholars, I address the work of researchers who have recently intended to start a conversation between these past bodies of literature. I discuss the new literature that uncovers how different assemblages (Bilicen and Barglowski 2015, Amelina, 2016) or global resource environments (Levitt et al. 2015) help migrants and their families' access social protection. This literature also takes into consideration how migrants' gender, class, ethnic origins and transnational connections might affect such access.

1.1. Migration and Welfare Regimes as Synchronized Dance Partners

“When I first came I needed it to get my papers. Without papers you cannot do anything here. I mean you're afraid. It's like you're in a state of psychosis, always thinking you're going to get caught. Once I had my papers I had to integrate. I had to learn how to earn my rights. I had access to some benefits as a political refugee but not all. For example, social

housing or healthcare, but come on, that's not enough. The idea is not to get caught in the cleaning market forever, even though that is still what happens..."

(Juana, Migrant Domestic Worker, Brussels, 21-10-2014)

In the past vignette, Juana, a migrant domestic worker, relates the process of changing immigration status in Belgium. Juana's change in immigration status meant she was able to gain access to formal social protection. Indeed, in a conservative welfare state like Belgium access to social insurance resources are attributed to legal residents or citizens based on their working status (Esping-Andersen, 1990). Nonetheless, as the political and economic context change migrants' rights have been questioned and put to test (Lafleur and Stanek, 2016, Gsir et al. 2016). Indeed, since the changes in the nationality law in 2012 first generation migrants like Juana are obliged to show proofs of economic and social integration to get their citizenship and eventually access to full social protection resources (Moniteur Belge, 2012, Adam and Martiniello: 2013).

The realities experienced by migrants like Juana are, indeed, multifaceted and necessitate the lens of sociology and social policy. The work of Diane Sainsbury seems to be pioneer in addressing such questions in such way (2006, 2012). Sainsbury's (2006, 2012) shows how different migration regimes result into different modes of entry, which give migrants either full or partial memberships inside receiving countries' welfare states. These welfare states then decide on the social protection resources that they are willing to give to different categories of migrants (Sainsbury, 2012: 5). Sainsbury's (2012: 2) research question concerns the impact of national welfare state systems on immigrants' social rights, economic wellbeing, and inclusion. Sainsbury (2006, 2012) builds on the work of comparative welfare scholars (Esping-Andersen, 1990). Through her work, Sainsbury (2006, 2012) discusses the cases of the U.S (liberal welfare state), Germany (conservative corporatist) and Sweden (democratic universal welfare state), which she thinks, are ideal examples. She nonetheless also builds from the category of *immigration regimes* mentioned by Castles and Miller (1993) such as imperial, ethnic, republican, or multicultural. According to Sainsbury (2006, 2012), the interactions between these welfare and immigration regimes have created different categories such as labor migrants, economic migrants, refugees, asylum seekers, political migrants, family members and ethnic citizens¹³. Immigrants then, according to Sainsbury (2006, 2012), have rights according to such status. Her methodology consisted on a comparative example of the main historical developments in both histories of welfare and immigration regimes in these three countries. She

¹³ The category of ethnic citizen is particular to Germany and the aftermath of the World War II.

insisted that by analyzing the progressing evolution of both migration and welfare regimes one could be able to see how they have created different patterns of stratification in immigrants' access to social protection (Sainsbury, 2012: 5-6).

The first welfare and immigration regime described by Sainsbury is the multicultural and liberal welfare state regime of the U.S (Sainsbury, 2006: 231). In the U.S, access to social protection resources is based on the individuals' participation on the market and on their self-reliance. This approach to migrants' access to social protection is consistent with the logic of the welfare state that has been predominant since the late 1990s, when the Immigrant Responsibility Act (Cornell University Law School, 2017) was imposed on migrants and their economic sponsors (Sainsbury, 2006, 2012,). Thus, initially, access to the territory is restricted but once access is gained immigrants could easily navigate between statuses and access social protection as they purchase services in the market. Inside these welfare states like the U.S, immigrants' rights became the link to their occupation and the types of benefits they could obtain from such occupations (Sainsbury, 2012: 24-27).

In this context, Sainsbury (2006:232-233, 2012: 24-34) was able to perceive three categories of migrants with differentiated access to welfare state benefits in the U.S liberal regime. Firstly, there were naturalized citizens with access to full rights. Secondly, there are economic migrants that obtained their rights according to their occupation and their type of economic sponsor or employer. Thirdly, there are immigrant family members whose rights were also tight to the rights of their family members' sponsors. Fourthly, there were asylum seekers whose rights were probably the most vulnerable and depended on certain cash allocations. Fifthly, refugees, whose status, ameliorated in the past decade and have almost every access to contributive as well as minimum social assistance. There is, however, a particular smoothness in the transitions from status with up to 5 years of wait for citizenship. However, this transition can only be assured if the immigrant shows they are capable of being self-reliable and not depend on the state for social assistance. Thus in the U.S, the immigrant category attached to a principle of self-reliance seems to be rather important when granting immigrants access to social protection.

Sainsbury (2012) extends this analysis to another similar welfare and migratory regime the U.K. She mentions that unlike in the U.S, the U.K social protection resources are not entirely based on market options. They have, like the U.S, restrained access to the territory but once immigrants' are settled like the rest of the population they could acquire medical care and disability benefits through National Health Services (Sainsbury, 2012:46-47). The U.K has also insisted that every foreigner or national be signed up for the private pension payments and other benefits such as sick leaves and statutory parental leaves (Sainsbury, 2012: 47). Unlike the U.S, however, the U.K created a separate system for Refugees and Asylum seekers, which

conditioned and differentiated their access to social protection (Sainsbury, 2012: 47-48). She then concludes that in the U.K. instead control in access to social protection is made mostly by migratory regimes that condition entrance. The combination of migratory and welfare regimes result into differentiate access to social protection resources between categories such as citizens, resident, refugees and temporary status migrants (Sainsbury, 2012: 52).

Sainsbury (2012) instead, described Germany as a corporatist state that could be similar to Belgium. There are very few benefits in Germany that can be obtained in the market and most benefits are attached to an individual's occupation status (Esping-Andersen, 1990, Sainsbury, 2006:231). Germany's immigration history is similar to other European states such as Belgium (Rea, 2007:105). It's a country where Guest workers programs were probably one of the most strong immigration policies (Sainsbury, 2006: 235). From the 1950s until the 1970s, most immigrants came in through such Guest Worker programs and, eventually, gained social protection resources through their occupational status. Unlike in the U.S, migrant workers could easily access pension rights, family allocation, and health care. However, the rights of migrants remained restricted in the sense that they had contributed for shorter periods than German citizens and, thus, accumulated fewer benefits. Social assistance was also not awarded regarding residency, but instead can only be accessed by nationals that obtained their nationality by bloodline, generational, or ethnic attachments to the nation. Once, the guest-worker program was put to an end, restrictive immigration laws made it so that the only ways to enter the territory and reside were either family reunification, work or study visas. According to Sainsbury (2006, 2011), the only exceptions to this have been the special treatments made for Ethnic Germans and recognized refugees who were in most cases able to access full social protection resources. However, even so, laws have been made stricter under the current economic situation and the afflux of refugees. In Germany, this context, according to Sainsbury (2011), has resulted into three categories with differentiated access to social protection: economic migrants, family members, ethnic Germans, refugees, asylum seekers and undocumented migrants. Nonetheless, the transitions from one status to the next and ultimately to citizenship with full access to social protection have been made harder. In Germany thus, occupational and gender appear to be more determinants to grant Immigrant's access to social protection.

Lastly, she described Sweden as a democratic and universalistic welfare state, which developed fewer differences between different categories of immigrants and their access to social protection (Sainsbury, 2006: 237). In Sweden, since the 1990s, a logic has been established to create as less as possible membership status abolishing the differences between Swedish citizens and immigrants. Thus in Sweden, according to Sainsbury (2006: 237-238),

differences only has existed between 1- citizens of Nordic border states, 2- political refugees, and immigrants with a permanent resident permit. The transition between such statutes has also been easier and not necessarily tied to one's self-reliance. In 1975, legal residents were also awarded political and cultural rights. However, ironically citizenship remained attached to bloodline attachments and could only be obtained after an extensive period of residency with no language test or oath of the alliance. Moreover, in 2001, Sweden declared in their nationality law that migrants could also keep their previous citizenship.

The access to social protection resources in Sweden has, thus, not been so attached to a particular status but rather to residency (Sainsbury, 2006:235). However, individual rights such as family allocation remain active, and differently, than in Germany, where these rights are given to both men and women irrespectively of their working or household chief status (Sainsbury, 2012, 2006). Even regarding long-term pensions, immigrants have been given allocations to compliment their contributions. Nonetheless, the economic crisis have also touched the country since the 1970s, they have become slightly stricter regarding access to the territory and social protection. However, unlike in Germany or the U.S, in Sweden immigrants weren't accused of being welfare abusers (Sweden, 2006, 2012). Sweden has, instead, introduced new temporary status for asylum seekers with particular rights attached. Regardless, Sweden has become stricter and harmonized their asylum-seeking procedures with the rest of the European Union making the entrance to their territory and benefits harder to obtain. In the late 1990s and early 2000s, however, Sweden refused to accept certain conditionality for family reunification, keeping the universal right to a family life a priority (Sainsbury, 2006: 239). Their approach has meant that there is a relationship between immigration regimes of entrance and social protection resources that are access both through contributive means and through social assistance. In Sweden the resident status, seems to be more important than gender, occupation or ethnic distinctions. Indeed, in Sweden immigrant women's status has not been historically attached to their husband's status and they have received social protection regardless (Sainsbury, 2006, 2012).

Overall, as Sainsbury (2006: 239) herself argued, her approach gave the very first insight of how different welfare state regimes created different access to social protection for various categories of migrants. In this sense, her perspective represents gains for both migration and welfare studies that had seem to ignore the topic until then. Sainsbury (2006) showed, at the policy level how different immigration and welfare regimes, created different conditions of access to social protection resources along gender, ethnic, and class-occupational lines. Thus, contrary to earlier work that assumed that all welfare and immigration regimes will create similar dynamics that will lead towards the exclusion of immigrants, Sainsbury's (2006) shows

that some differences do exist. Though, there is an intimate connection between both immigration and welfare regimes. The refugee status until the work of Sainsbury (2006, 2012) seemed to be perhaps, the one with most difficulties of the entrance but perhaps the most privileged one regarding access to social protection once awarded. Sainsbury's (2006, 2012) work, however, falls short in two aspects. Firstly, it only helps us understand immigrant's access to social protection resources at the policy level. Secondly, it assumed that formal status was the only void of inclusion and integration for immigrants' access to social protection. These gaps were filled in by the work of the researchers presented in the next section, who have questioned how the status of citizenship can be a stratify condition that leads to either exclusion or inclusion in access to social protection.

2. Citizenship and Immigrants' Access to Social Protection

2.1. Towards a Transnational Social Citizenship?

"They first gave us a 3 year-identity card, then a five-year one and eventually the nationality. I remember before that, it was hard. I mean they first denied everything. We lived in fear. Many times I introduced the wrong documents. I had a disabled child... I needed full treatment for her, which was expensive..."

(Lisette, Migrant Domestic Worker, Brussels, 7-09-2014)

As I moved through my fieldwork, I realized that for migrant domestic workers like Lisette, the path to obtain citizenship was a tough one. They often battled to change their status and eventually gain access to citizenship and thus full access to contributive and non-contributive social protection resources. Thomas Faist's (1995: 177-195) work is a pioneer in studying this correlation between immigrant's access to social protection resources and citizenship. His work is concerned with the distribution of social protection resources among different categories of migrants who are juridical foreigners and eventually aspire to become full social citizens (Faist, 1995: 178).

In his work on *social citizenship*, Faist (1995:177) builds from T.H. Marshall Definition of social citizenship. He argued that individual countries have created different levels of access to social rights for various kinds of social citizens. Faist, (1995: 178) differently from Marshall (1950), considered how nation states restricted such access to social citizenship to insiders and

immigrants. Faist (1995) draws from Baubock (1991) to define that social citizenship operates at two levels. There is the first level of the political and social rights, which gives access to contributive social protection resources automatically, and then a membership level, which slowly, provides access to non-contributive resources, as well as to political and cultural rights (Baubock, 1991). Immigrants can gain access to those two levels of social rights if they can officially incorporate in transnational labor markets (Faist, 1995: 177). Faist (1995) thus aimed to understand how and through which mechanisms and statutes nation states restricted immigrants' access first to their national labor markets and eventually to social citizenship which differently from civil citizenship encompassed immigrants' access to cultural, political and social rights (Faist, 1995: 178). Faist, (1995: 178) took into account the current geopolitical context and the advancement of bi-national and transnational economic and labor agreements as well economic and political integration in places like the European Union or the United States.

Indeed, for Faist (1995), access to social citizenship might be linked to one's nationality or a legal status. He mentioned there are differences between citizens with full social citizenship and non-citizens (Faist, 1995: 179). The first difference concerns the types of access to social benefits. Indeed, as immigrants gain a documented status they, first, are granted with contributive social protection rights instead social assistance rights that are paid by tax contribution are awarded only when citizenship status is acquired. This controlled access to social assistance it's explained by their nature of national solidarity to which only civic citizens can access (Faist, 1995: 179). Faist (1995) described what he considers is a pyramidal system of access to social citizenship. In his view, there are first arrivals migrants that are more prompt to have benefits that are contributive than to those who are granted by poverty such a social assistance rights which are financed by the citizens' taxes. These first arrival migrants might then become long-term residents that can be categorized as, Martiniello (2000: 371) suggested, as *denizens*. Denizens are long-term residents that might have access to full national social protection resources but not to political rights. Moreover, in places like the E.U denizens are excluded from supranational social protection resources. At the bottom of the scale are, what Martiniello (2000: 372) called, *margizens* or what Faist (1995: 179) described as aliens. They have barely any access to social protection. According to Faist (1995), loyalty is created between immigrants and welfare states as they escalate or not in their position and acquisition of social protection resources.

According to Faist (1995:178), states have had a tendency to control migration given the argument that it could retrench the level of social rights available for everyone. Undeniably, the passage of the latter statutes is different in every state and depends on their welfare and migratory regimes. In his view, to surpass the different levels of citizenship, an immigrant

usually goes through four stages of control to at last full access to social citizenship (Faist, 1995: 179-180). The first stage is an integration one in which, immigrants acquire the right to reside and work in a particular country regarding entrance to the labor market, family reunification, asylum seekers, or as undocumented migrants. The second process of selection is one in which, immigrants are awarded different status either as workers, refugees, or family members, which has an impact on the immigrant's incorporation and thus his-her access to social protection resources. The third realm concerns those rights immigrants obtain depending on their status. These rights can be present in the areas of labor market access, housing, social assistance, job training, and culture rights and they have a direct impact on the immigrant's socio-economic segregation or integration. These three realms are, according to Faist (1995), constructed differently depending on various states; they can be either pluralist, inclusionary or ethnocultural exclusionary. However, according to Faist (1995), immigrants don't just escalate these stages in a subsequent manner. Thus, an actual analysis of immigrant's access to such stages should include an analysis of welfare state boundaries towards immigrants and their impact on their socio-economic status. Finally, those researchers interested in these questions, according to Faist (1995), might also get a full view of this by examining immigration regimes including looking at naturalization processes and the development of public policies of affirmative action.

Concretely, Faist (1995) evaluates the evolution of such social citizenship by looking into the cases of the U.S and Germany. These two countries, according to him, have restricted labor migration, which could eventually threaten the level of social rights for nationals who contributed to the shared pool of resources. Nonetheless, he considers the uniqueness of Germany as a country that, like Belgium is located inside a political, social, and economic space such as the European Union. Indeed, as highlighted by various political scientists, although mobility and access to social protection have been guaranteed by the mobility agreements for national citizens, this has not been the case for non- E.U nationals (Faist, 1995, Kofman, 2002, Morris, 2003, Kraler, 2010). Indeed, Germany is part of the European Union a political, social, and economic space that has moved forward to protect the social, economic and political rights of E.U citizens. Indeed, with regulations such as 1612/68 that protects the rights of workers and their families in the E.U, and Regulation 1408/71 and 574/72, that assure the coordination of social security systems in the E.U the project of a *transnational social citizenship* seemed to be advancing. However, this is not the case for E.U nationals that are long terms residents, they cannot move with the same freedom across the European Union, nor do they have the same political rights as an E.U national. In Faist's, (1995: 191-193) view only if political and social rights in the E.U were also awarded to third-country nationals could the project of E.U transnational social citizenship be completed.

The U.S has a similar experience, since although the U.S and its main immigration countries in Latin America are involved in NAFTA (North American Trade Agreement), the conditions and access to workers in such space to social protection have not changed. Nonetheless, Faist (1995) argued that the U.S and Germany are complementary cases of western democracies that have developed two different models to regulate access to social citizenship. Germany, according to Faist (1995), developed an ethno-cultural model of belonging. In Germany immigrants' path towards full inclusion depends on their intergenerational blood ties to the German nation. Indeed, in a country like Germany different social rights have emerged according to one's status whether privileged groups, temporary labor migrants, asylum seekers, and undocumented migrants (Faist, 1995: 182). Moreover, in E.U, countries such as Germany, where there is some supranational integration of social protection, some resources might apply only to E.U nationals but not to non E.U nationals that are long-term residents. Even if lately the rights E.U citizens in Germany like in other E.U states, have been targeted as an economic burden. Although, this doesn't apply to countries with which Germany has signed association treaties such as Turkey (Faist, 1995: 183). In Germany, however, priority was, for a while, given to those with Ethno-Cultural ties to the nation such as ethnic Germans, who had suffered through the Second World War and refugees who might be targeted by International Human Rights (Faist, 1995: 181). In this sense, access to legal residency status is awarded upon working status, and naturalization is hard to obtain since it's based on bloodlines and intergenerational ties to the nation.

The U.S, on the contrary, developed what Faist (1995: 179) entitled a “*pluralist inclusionary*” model, in which the path to citizenship has been historically easier and could be obtained through one's birth (*ius solis*). However, entrance to the territory has often been restricted and thus, access to citizenship as well. The nature of the U.S welfare state as a liberal one might explain this rapid inclusion. In the U.S, instead, the statuses are divided into more categories that include: lawful permanent residents, temporary labor migrants, refugees and de-facto refugees, and undocumented migrants (Faist, 1995: 182). Unlike in Germany, a conservative state in which individual rights are based on one's inclusion to the labor market and seem to be public in the U.S, most social protection is obtained in the market. Ironically, however, in the U.S undocumented migrants have access to public education and can claim benefits after a work-related accident, even if this at the expense of exposing themselves to deportation (Faist, 1995: 185).

Thus, drawing from Baubock's (1991) definition, of citizenship Faist (1995), concludes that in Germany and the U.S two levels of citizenship exist meaning: 1- the civil and political-social level, and 2- the membership level. Access to these two levels in Faist (1995) conception

means access to full social citizenship as envisioned by Marshall (1950). Germany and the U.S give immigrants access to social citizenship basing themselves on different conceptions of political citizenship. In Germany, the first set of rights is obtained through residency and occupational status while progression to the second round of rights is almost impossible to achieve. Indeed, Germany bases its full access to citizenship on ethno-cultural conceptions of intergenerational blood ties (*ius sanguineus*). Differently, the U.S rights are acquired with entrance to the territory and long-term status of residency of the first generation working migrants, while second generation migrants automatically gain full civil and social citizenship.

Faist's (1995) work leads us to reflect on the problematic aspect of social rights that are conditioned purely by the membership, particularly for migrants that might be members of various societies. Certainly, as one reads his work, various questions emerge. Shouldn't then there be a distinction between migrants' political rights which can be national and other cumulative and acquired social rights, which can be, acquired a transnational level? Or should immigrants just like nationals have full access to social citizenship and if so, under which bases? The work of Faist (1995) allows us to reflect in such questions and represents an advancement in the study of formal access to social protection while looking at the differentiated access to social citizenship. Nevertheless, while Faist's (1995, 2000) work solely focuses on the stratification of social protection resources based on access to social citizenship, others have developed an approach that uncovers the gender, ethnic, and class hierarchy of stratified rights resulting from processes of exclusion and inclusion (Morris, 2003: 75). They argue that these hierarchies classify migrants and impact on their realization of rights associated with their particular locations. In this sense, their work might represent an important part of the puzzle that will help me to construct a theoretical framework to answer my initial research questions.

2.2. Stratified Citizenships and Access to Social Rights

"We came here without papers. I lived many years in fear. I saw the police and I didn't run, but I was scared. I was the only thing my children in Colombia had. I had to be strong. We weren't like all those people that come to study or work. They don't have to scrub toilets and clean other people's behind."

(Lara, Migrant Domestic Worker, Brussels, 1-11-2017)

Lara, the women in the quote, makes reference to the gender, class, and ethnic stratification lines that are imposed on migrants like her. At the end of the 1990s, certain social researchers argued that in the midst of globalization international human rights will be imposed

on all nation states (Sassen 1998:10, Soysal, 1994). So, that migrants like Lara would obtain their social protection resources based on international conventions that guaranteed them. According to such researchers, bi-national, transnational and international labor and economic agreements would protect migrants like Lara. This thesis, however, was highly critiqued by researchers who instead argued that nation states can still have instruments to control human mobility, and that such power can come through the control of access to national welfare state services. Indeed, nation states could still decide how they wanted to stratify their different categories of citizens versus non-citizens (Morris, 2003, Kofman, 2002, Kraler, 2010). In order, to analyze how such stratification developed, such researchers have examined the different sets of family and immigration policies that aim to control both mobility and access to social protection.

Lydia Morris' (2003: 74-100) seminal essay "*Managing Contradiction: Civic Stratification and Migrants' Rights*", introduces some of the main theoretical elements that would allow us to see how such citizenship stratification occurred. Morris (2003) borrows the concept of *stratifying citizenship* from Lockwood (1996) and aimed to conceptualize a citizenship that could go beyond the classic social citizenship approached developed by Marshall (1950) and adopted later by Faist, (1995). According to Morris (2003: 91-93), the concept of *social citizenship* assumed that citizenship could offer the same advantages for all men and women regardless of their class, gender or ethnic status. Morris (2003:74) instead argued that even in what some authors had entitled as the age of mobility and migration (Castles & Miller, 1993) or as the age of internalization of rights (Bobbio, 1995) states still held power to create a differentiated status that stratified cultural, civic and social rights of both its citizens and noncitizens. She thus analyzes this capacity of states to stratify rights through an analysis of migration and welfare policies in 3 European states, meaning: Great Britain, Germany, and Italy. She examined to what extent individual social rights had the capacity to become stratify both in national and transnational contexts while creating a differentiated system of rights. She took into account both national legislations and transnational and international laws and procedures. She mentions that researchers such as Freeman (1995: 896) had already argued that in the midst of universalism of social rights, states will be facing a dilemma between the acceptance of such universal rights and the aspiration to still manage and controlled the human mobility inside their national territories.

The author situates the cases of countries such as Great Britain, Germany, and Italy where social rights are in theory transnational at two levels. First, they are transnational at the international level where conventions on the rights of mobility and protection of migrant workers exist. Secondly, they are transnational at the European level where the "*Treaty of the*

European Union in Amsterdam” (European Communities, 1997), promotes the creation of a single market and thus freedom of mobility for workers and their family members within the union (Morris, 2003: 76). Most, E.U states, however, according to the author have had a hard time while trying to maintain their national laws and marrying them with such transnational prescriptions. They have created their systems of stratification through other means for example by promoting their national criteria with respects to family reunification procedures which are until today the most popular procedure of entrance to the European Union (Morris, 2003). Along similar lines, states have also created ways to control their procedures of entrance of refugees. The right to asylum seeking and eventually access to refugee status has developed in political spaces such as the European Union. Indeed, The Amsterdam Treaty and the Dublin Convention restrict the choice of country for asylum applicants (Morris, 2003). At the same time, every country in the European convention decided which social protection resources applied to asylum seekers as well as the process from temporary rights to eventually permanent rights. In this sense, the only social protection resource that can say to be somehow transnational and international is the right to healthcare (Morris, 2003). The right to healthcare is the only right that individual states guarantee for undocumented migrants, for instance in Belgium in extreme cases of emergency migrants are granted an urgent medical aid (Medimigrant, 1996, KCE, 2015). This right to healthcare is included in the “*International Convention on the Protection of Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of their Families*” (OECD, 1999, UN 1900,). Lastly, although European citizens are supposed to have certain privileged within this system of stratification, non-E.U national seem to be denied those same rights. Moreover, the more rights that are created for Non European Nationals, the more control that’s imposed on the entrance of new migrants and in their acquisition of social protection resources (Martiniello, 2000, Sassen, 1998:14). Thus, universal personhood ironically leads to more stratification of rights for newcomers.

As the work of Sainsbury (2006, 2011), Morris (2003) also looks into the interaction between three regimes. First, the migration regime, which grants access to the territory while paying specific attention to three modes of entrance: family reunion, asylum-seeking procedures and labor migration. Secondly, she looks into how that migration regime grants migrants access to the labor market, which eventually gives them access to accumulative social protection resources. However, differently than Sainsbury (2006, 2011), Morris (2003) looks precisely into how the stratification of different categories of citizenship that are gender, class, and ethnic results into migrants’ differentiated access to family reunification and ultimately to social protection resources. Indeed, Morris (2003) brings in the lens of *civic stratification*, to explain how states respond to the political construction of national rights while at the same time negotiating their independence from transnational and international conventions.

According to Morris (2003: 79), the process of stratification of civic, political, and social rights can create a unique relationship between different categories of individuals and the state (Lockwood, 1996). This relationship takes place at two levels. Firstly, there is the formal level of exclusion or inclusion. At the first level in a continent such as Europe, there exist three levels of exclusion and inclusion. Inside a European state, one can either be a full European citizen with rights in one's country of origin or in any other country within the Schengen space. There are also E.U nationals or *denizens* (Martiniello, 2000), which are long-term residents with rights inside one particular nation-state but not within restricted rights regarding mobility and social rights at the European level. And finally, some *margizens* who belong at the limits and for some reason or another have no access to either right and can only exceptionally access their rights to health care. The author mentions that transitions from one status to the other were made stricter in the last decades (Baubock, 1991). Indeed, transitions, from one status to the other, depend on migrants showing their capacity to be independent of any source of social protection provisions. Secondly, beyond these formal levels of exclusions, there is the informal level of exclusion that challenges formality at some instances.

Morris, (2003) exemplified her framework with the used of three case studies, Italy, Great Britain, and Germany. According to her, Italy, as recent country of immigration, has the less developed system in terms of how they accommodate migrants inside their territory according to a particular status that gives them access to variety of rights. Indeed, in Italy there is a sharp distinction between migrants regularized by work contracts, who can access family reunification and access to contributive social protection. Additionally, there are asylum seekers and undocumented migrants who are completely left to their own luck. Migrant women, in this system of stratification, tend to be underprivileged and privileged at the same time. Indeed, while some were able to access regularization through a regular domestic work contract, others are still dependent on their marriage status or caught in the informality of the Italian labor market (Morris, 2003: 83-84, Bonizoni, 2014, Kofman, 2002). Britain, instead, a country with a post-colonial history of immigration, has had several stratification systems to divide migrants and their subsequent access to social protection. In Great Britain entrance, to the territory and residence, permits are strictly conditioned by generational and blood attachments to the nation or economic independence. However, although decisions in admission are made faster, so it's the transition from a temporary status to legal resident, which eventually assures access to contributive and non-contributive social protection (Morris, 2003). In this system, however, the transition from legal resident to citizenship is complicated and depends mostly on self-reliance or generational and bloodlines attachments to the nation. Germany, a country with a more ancient immigration history has strict guidelines from entrance since the end of the guest worker program as highlighted in previous sections. In Germany, the conditions on entrance seem to be

that of employment, the request of an asylum, the claim of having Ethnic ties to the German state (Ethnic Germans) or familial links in the country. This has, according to Sainsbury, lead to various categories of migrants with differentiated access to social protection, that range from full citizens, to permanent residents, asylum seekers to margizens, and undocumented migrants.

These three cases, according to the author, show how rights such as family life, equal social protection, and to international protection for asylum seekers, which are universal, becomes stratify regarding ethnicity, gender and socio-economic status (Morris, 2003:84). Indeed, immigrants have to proof they are worthy of obtaining social protection resources by being independent workers that won't shake the order of things inside nation states. This situation, according to Morris (2003), has created in a political space like the European Union various statuses such as full European citizens, denizens (long-term residents), and margins. Morris (2003) ultimately argues that the thought of a universal personhood with international and social protection resources can be questioned (Morris, 2003). Since the desire for a universal personhood can be put to the test against nation states' willingness to govern immigration flows.

Lydia Morri's (2003) work leaves space for some criticism. Firstly, her work also couldn't have taken into account recent changes inside the European Union such as the Brexit referendum, which might have put end to the transnational rights of European citizens living in the U.K and vice-versa. Thirdly, also recent changes in marriage laws with the inclusion of gay marriages might also lead us to see the rupture of particular stratification of rights. Secondly, the descriptive analysis of policies could have benefitted from empirical data that showed the process through which migrants navigate through their stratify positions.

The work Eleonor Kofman (2002: 1035-1054) has filled in some of the gaps left by Morris's work (2003). In this sense, Kofman (2002) also builds upon a policy analysis and some empirical work to theorize the *civic stratification* of social and political rights in the European Union. Kofman (2002:1036) contextualizes her work at a time in which certain Eastern European countries were gaining access to the European Union, and the global south was experiencing an economic deprivation of resources, which stimulated human mobility. There was also, at the time, according to Kofman (2002), an increasing pressure of nation states to control human movement while at the same time there was pressure respecting international human rights conventions in what respects asylum seekers and rights of migrant workers (Kofman, 2002: 1036). Her work, thus, attempted to see how in such context multiple statuses were created each with their sets of stratifying social protection resources.

Differently from Morris (2003), Kofman (2002) developed her study in France, Italy, and the U.K. Kofman (2002) like Morris (2003) also points out to the differences between these countries regarding their immigration history. Similarly, she points out to Italy as a new immigration country with criteria of entrance under the Turco-Napolitano law (EURWork, 2002) which guarantees access to social rights that is somehow ambiguous (Kofman, 2002: 1038). Italy, according to Kofman (2002), has adopted a restrictive approach with particular regularization periods that guarantee a status for immigrants who demonstrate an attachment to the labor market. At the same time, she points out to France and the U.K as countries with a longer immigration history and well-defined systems of stratified rights for their immigrant populations (Kofman, 2002: 1037-1039). In the U.K, for example, there are a few policies of anti-discrimination that assure the transition between migratory statuses but this has been coupled with restrictive entrance policies and faster dismissal for those not accepted (SOPEMI, 2001). In this sense, asylum seekers, through their procedures, are granted cash payments but aren't incorporated into national welfare systems (Kofman, 2002: 1038). In France, a very restrictive approach to "*zero immigration*" was implemented after the 1970s, with the Pasqua Debré Laws, (1993/4, Legi-France, 1993, Kofman, 2002: 1038). This law abolished the appeal procedure for asylum seekers, placed greater control on temporary immigrants, and on second-generation immigrants to obtain citizenship (Hollifield, 1999). Slowly, though the socialist government that came into power modified these laws, putting the emphasis on family reunification, the right to family life, the support to refugees, and the regain of *ius solis* citizenship for second generation citizens (Lebon, 2001).

Once again, Kofman (2002), like Morris (2003), points out to the fact that a universal personhood with political and social rights seems to be an illusion. She, then, describes a typology of entrance status with a pair of social and political rights attached to them. According to Kofman (2002: 1041), in the different countries she studied there are first Labor and skilled workers who tend to be for the most part denizens or long-term residents that usually meet the criteria to access almost full rights except political and cultural rights. Secondly, there are family members and guests who might become denizens if their sponsors demonstrate to have enough capacity to provide for them and depending on the context have full social rights and limited political and cultural rights. Thirdly, there are asylum seekers who can in some cases have access to limited social rights. Additionally, there are students and visitors who have access to those privileges that they can prove to be worth it of. Finally, there are the less privileged marginals who have completely fallen out of the margins of the system.

Kofman (2002: 1044-1045) explains that transition or award of such status happens along ethnic, class, and gender lines. In the case of refugees, individual government's limitation,

regarding which social rights they grant to refugees are decided along lines of nationality or religious standpoints of individuals. Although, this isn't done officially, individual governments in the western world have imposed quotas of the different groups they might or might not accept (Kofman, 2002). Gender also constitutes a line of stratification since migrant women usually enter through family reunification and depend on their partners (Kofman, 2002). It's also migrant women according to Kofman (2002), that often end up working in the informal sector of the economy in feminized jobs in the care and domestic sectors. Thus, these positions of migrant women in such informal sectors, also conditions their change in status inside the immigration and welfare regimes of receiving states. Indeed, as the author explains in countries such as Germany, the immigrant spouse working permits can usually take a long time to process. Some, studies also show that men get quicker access to refugee status since authorities place greater trust in them and they tend to be the leaders of family application for asylum status (Kraler, 2010, Kofman, 2002).

This stratifying dynamics are unlikely to change according to Kofman (2002). As she explained as long as most receiving countries fail to ratify international conventions such as the "*Convention on the Rights of all Workers and their Families*" (UN) these lines of stratification will remain there. According, to the author hope for a transnational system of rights does exist, for example, regarding what could eventually become a real *European citizenship* that could cover both citizens and long-term residents of member states. This transnational system of rights, however, is not the case since denizens (long-term residents) and margizens (undocumented) immigrants continue to be excluded from most social rights at the European level. Thus, the transnational social citizenship imagined by Faist (1995, 2001) seems to be a long lost promise. Since, according to Kofman (2002: 1046), these lines of stratification also work for those who are full European citizens. The author argued that as long as there are informally segregated labor markets regarding gender and ethnicity, then citizenship would continue to be a debated status. Since indeed, a citizen right to social protection access or even their right to a family life can be constrained by their eventual access to the labor market. There are, according to Kofman (2002), efforts to surpass the civic stratification and move on to a transnationalization of rights at the European level. Indeed, the Treaty of Amsterdam and the E.U anti-discrimination policy agreements could be seen as examples of it. However, the recent economic and political events in the E.U might challenge this.

In turn, Albert Kraler (2010) also draws from the civic stratification perspective build by Kofman (2002) and Morris (2003). He, however, draws from an empirical analysis that focuses on how civic stratification affects migrant families' access to family reunification. He argued that the civic stratification along which family reunification is granted and influenced by the

migrants' gender and socio-economic status (Kraler, 2010). Unlike the past two authors, Kraler (2010:9) plays particular attention to gender as a stratifying factor and evaluated the consequences of such policies for migrants and their families. He also, differently than Kofman (2002) and Morris (2003), assesses the impact of policies on the survival and daily reproduction of migrant families. He argued that immigration policies primarily constraint migrants' opportunities to shape their lives while restricting their access to various areas of social protection such as labor market access and access to social assistance, whenever available (Kraler, 2010:11). Nonetheless, unlike earlier authors, he also paid particular attention to how migration policies can also constrain migrant families' abilities to reproduce themselves. The author borrows the terminology of stratified *reproduction* from Colen (1995). By stratifying reproduction, he refers to the families' abilities to constitute themselves as families while gaining access to various social protection resources (Kraler, 2010: 15). He analyzed these past questions in Austria, Czech Republic, Denmark, France, Germany, Italy, The Netherlands, U.K, and Spain.

The results of Kraler's (2010) multi-level study are, in fact, very similar than those of the previous authors who focus only on the policy level. He argued that civic and reproductive stratification takes place at two levels. The first level is the one, which grants the permission to enter a territory with their conditionality and restrictions which are made along different ethnic, gender, labor skills and socio economic status (Kraler, 2010: 69). This permission to enter are, then, based on a common ground of acceptance and tolerance established by the larger group of citizens who are already settled in particular states (Dauverge, 2008:123). There is then a second level in which, this process of entrance, the permission to reside and obtain various social protection resources is granted or not. These two levels, according to the author, generate different memberships that are partial or not and made according to various lines of civic stratification (Lockwood, 1996, Morris, 2002, Kofman, 2002).

With respects to family reunification, Kraler (2010) argued it is the largest national group that decides which kind of family life is acceptable and who can be granted permission under these lines (Kraler, 2010: 50). These ways of seen family have always been constructed along gender lines (heterosexual couples with infants), and women who are dependent on a male partner have had a tendency to be given a priority in national policies of family reunification (Kraler, 2010). Initially, in countries with guest worker programs like Belgium, women were immediately given citizenship upon marriage and would be granted all social rights (Kraler, 2010: 66). The status of women has certainly changed, but marriage and family reunification remain one of the last open doors for migrants to access European territories and eventually gain access to social protection (Kraler, 2010).

According to Kraler (2010: 23), as the gender face of migration changes, some states have also permitted that men benefit from family reunification making gender lines blurry. However, other lines of civic stratification, such as ethnicity or religious attachments, have become important although not officially. Moreover, citizenship has also become a stratifying line. Since for example, non-E.U nationals aren't able to access family reunification in the same way as someone with European or full citizenship. Indeed, as conditions for family, reunification augments the migrant families regardless of their status. They face enormous constraints while trying to meet the economic criteria asked. These socio-economic divisions were particularly visible in the case of single migrant women who might have, according to the author, faced the necessity to work multiple jobs to meet the family reunification conditions. Kraler (2010:68) concludes that, migration policies are more than ever defining what family, intimacy, reciprocity, and social reproductive rights thus packaging migrants' universal right to a family life. These lines of stratification according to Kraler (2010) lead to new polarization regarding who can be admitted, given the right to reside, access social protection resources, and thus, have the right to do family. These stratification lines, as highlighted by the past, exposed authors are not transnational but rather decided at the national level.

3. From Formal to Transnational Informal Protection

The bodies of literature presented in the first two sections, in this chapter, represent advancements in the research on migrants' access to social protection. Indeed, they have demonstrated how different migration and welfare state regimes create distinctive categories of migrants whose access to social protection is stratify at the formal levels according to their migratory status (Sainsbury, 2006, 2011), gender (Morris, 2003, Kofman, 2002, Kraler, 2010) or ethnicity and social class (Faist, 2001, Morris, 2003, Kofman, 2002, Kraler, 2010). However, their focus on formal ways of protection, in the receiving contexts located in Europe and North America, leaves important questions unanswered. As highlighted by Sabates-Wheeler and Feldman (2011:13), the study of migrants' social protection encompasses much more than the resources they have acquired in receiving states. Indeed, the study of transnational migration demonstrates migrants often live a life that spans the border of one particular nation-state (Glick-Schiller and Levitt, 2004). In fact, as it is shown in the empirical section of these dissertation migrants' social protection resources are public, private, family and or community based. Although migrant access to social protection might seem like a novel topic, migration scholars have for a while examined at least the informal practices through which migrants attain

theirs and their family's wellbeing. Thus, the upcoming section of this chapter flips the coin to review the literature that has examined such dynamics.

3.1. Migration as a Family Risk Controller

“The money Laurita sends is for her old days. Lord knows, here everyone is left on their own luck. She has this project of building a hotel near here. I will show you the building. It's going to be really nice. This is going to be an investment since she won't have a pension. She thinks I spend money on my health but on reality I'm saving up everything she sends for her future.”

(Sonia, Mother of a Migrant Domestic Worker, Lima, 03-03-2015)

Sonia, the women in the quote, regularly talked in our interviews about the informal efforts her migrant children had made to protect themselves and their families. In light of their efforts, Sonia like other migrant family members, watched after her migrant's children's investment. Indeed, all of the participant's family networks I interviewed considered migration as a strategy that, sooner or later, will result in enhanced human capital and increase their livelihood chances (Massey et al. 1993: 436). The strategies I observed in Sonia's family network aren't a new reality. Already, in the late 1980s, migration scholars using the New Economics of Migration (NEM) approach were theorizing such dynamics (Stark and Levhari, 1982, Katz and Stark, 1986). Contrary to the neoclassical theories that sought to explain migration by microstructural dynamics of inequalities between different regions in the world, NEM experts instead focused on the family as the unit that held the power of decision over seasonal movements (Massey et al. 1993: 436). NEM scholars analyzed migrant's families' agencies to make decisions that could have a positive impact on the livelihood chances (Stark and Bloom, 1985:173). Migrants, according to this theory, were able to see migration as the way to face the social risk that could affect their family's productive and consumption activities (Stark and Bloom, 1985). Nonetheless, migration appeared as a strategy for migrant families to overcome the adversity of steep recessions in their local labor markets or in the agricultural sector (Stark and Levhari, 1982, Katz and Stark, 1986).

Households, according to NEM scholars were able to calculate risk as stated in their observation by looking at how family member would be used as human capital and send over to migrate (Massey et al. 1993: 432). Since the migrant in the family will be able to send remittances that could protect the family in various areas. The migrant was, then, perceived as a family's human capital (Massey et al. 1993: 436). In this sense, remittances could be seen as a

way for migrant families to invest in new technological devices to better the production of family farms and improve their income and their livelihood chances (Stark and Bloom, 1985: 174). Thus, once remittances became periodical they were a way for families to deal with any constraints in the local economy. The researchers argued that migration could be explained by the fact that, the farmers in developing countries were often not protected by any market crop insurance or by any government subsidies (Stark and Bloom, 1985: 175, Massey et al. 1993: 436). So, those families had to inquire in migration as a source of insurance (Massey et al. 1993: 436). Instead, in developed countries, farmers were assisted by the market and the state and didn't have to engage in international migration dynamics. Migration then could be seen, according to Massey et al. (1993: 437), as a way in which families were able to deal with both constraints in the labor market and in the crop production business.

Their theory applied both to migrants involved in agriculture, and those who simply worked for the agriculture or other sectors. Since they argued, migration could also be seen a family strategy of workers to deal with periods of unemployment (Massey et al. 1993: 437). Again, they explained that contributive unemployment programs in developing countries were usually able to sustain unemployed workers. However, in the absence of unemployment programs in developing countries, individuals were forced to migrate to support their families. Thus, the desire to have the back door option of migration could have helped to explain international migration (Stark and Bloom, 1985).

Finally, certain researchers working with the NEM perspective also argued that as migrant families became visible in their local communities; this created a culture of migration (Katz and Stark 1986). Since, the growing consumption habits of individual families could have a negative correlation with the other families in the same community who would be subject to fewer livelihood chances and more risk (Stark and Bloom, 1985: 173). Thus, the migration experience of some families could act as an incentive for other families to send a family member abroad (Katz and Stark, 1986). Researchers working on the NEM approach then developed a meso level explanation of migration as a source of informal protection for migrants and their families. They didn't give one single account, but rather insisted that migrants could use the capital obtained through migration to assist their families in various areas and in the long-term improved the livelihood chances of all its members. According to NEM scholars, the family as a consumption and production unit seems to be key to explain migration (Massey et al. 1993). The researchers working under this approach argued that international migration would be a less successful strategy if sending countries and regions improved their citizens' access to formal social protection resources (Stark and Bloom, 1985, Massey et al. 1993).

The NEM approach represented an important way to operationalize migrants' efforts to protect themselves and their families. However, it left significant questions unanswered; U.S and Europe migration scholars have already mentioned some of them (Hongdagneu-Sotelo and Avila, 1997, Baldassar and Merla, 2014). First of all, would similar strategies work in urban contexts for migrants who weren't necessarily involved in agriculture but rather in other sectors of self-employment? Secondly, would these theories be valid in other regions of migration, since these theories based themselves on empirical work in the Mexico-U.S migration circuit? Thirdly, would their results be any different if gender relations were taken into account to evaluate the family's livelihood strategies and patterns of international migration? Fourthly, were migrants alone in their efforts to protect their families or did they also depend on larger social networks of migrants that improved their informal access to social protection in the migratory processes?

The Network Migration scholars that will be presented next took into account this past fourth question (Hugo, 1981, Taylor, 1999, Massey and Garcia-España, 1987, Massey, 1990, Gurak and Cases, 1992, Massey et al. 1993). These scholars took, as their units of analysis, larger networks of relations that were able to sustain migrants informally by giving credits to migrate, provided information regarding access to the U.S, and once settled, provided access to jobs and housing (Massey et al. 1993: 448). According to Massey et al. (1993: 448-449), the network theory migration scholars argued that regardless of macroeconomic conditions in labor markets, in sending and receiving countries, the culture of migration entertained by such social networks would sustain international migratory movements. Social networks were also responsible for the diversification of migrant profiles as more people became incorporated and informed by such networks. Thus, international migration became a strategy sustained by the informality of networks (Massey et al. 1993: 450). Undoubtedly, although it wasn't theorized precisely as such, the Network scholars provided empirical examples of how social networks become a major source of informal protection for migrants.

Similarly, cumulative causation theorist argued that international migration sustained itself by mechanisms that included migrant and their family networks strategies (Myrdal, 1957, Massey, 1990, Stark et al. 1986, Taylor, 1999). According to these researchers, migration patterns feed themselves and are cumulative of its causes (Massey et al. 1993: 451). Indeed, as families with migrant members increased their access to better income, more productive land, access safer agriculture structures, increased their human capital and enhanced the education of young family members, other families in the communities will have more incentives to migrate (Piore, 1979, Myrdal, 1957, Greenwood et al. 1987). Thus, every act of migration subsequently promotes a new migration as networks are enlarged and families better their livelihood chances

(Stark et al. 1986, Stark, 1991, Taylor, 1999). They also, mentioned that those who were able to migrate were those with better access to both economic and social capital in the forms of social networks. In this sense, regardless of macroeconomic conditions, it's a culture of migration and the need to access public and private social protection that would ultimately govern human mobility.

Indeed, the perspectives here presented are valid ways to operationalize and explain migrants' informal efforts to protect themselves and their families. However, all the researchers presented in this section have a few gaps in common. I argue that addressing such gaps is important to find the missing parts of the theoretical framework that will allow me to answer the initial research questions. The researchers cited on this section overemphasized the productive strategies of migrants to protect themselves informally. They thus, ignored those informal reproductive care practices that are also essential to the reproduction and livelihood of migrant families. Certainly, they didn't take into account the gender relations that as will we see in the empirical part of this dissertation are critical in migrants' efforts to organize the social protection of their family networks. Moreover, their work mainly focused on seasonal movements in a particular context of U.S-Mexico migratory circuit of male migrants, in the late 1980s until the early 2000s. Since then, new migratory patterns have evolved that don't necessarily include the main sending and receiving countries, but rather multiple countries. Furthermore, the gender composition of migration has shifted, and women and children have become, themselves, leading actors in international migratory movements (Vivas-Romero and Sánchez, 2017).

The transnational family scholars addressed in the next section have dealt with such gaps. They have indeed taken as a center of their discussion new gender migratory patterns. As they have done so, they have operationalized the informal care practices migrant families put to use to increase their livelihood chances productively and reproductively. Their work is relevant to be discussed, at this point, since it contains some of the key elements that will be used to analyze the informality of migrants' strategies to protect themselves socially.

3.2. Informal Care as a Source of Informal Protection

3.2.1. Global Care Chains of Protection

“I left when I was 27. I wanted to improve my life but also the life of my old parents. My mom got sick when my father died. I sent money every month but my brother tells me isn’t enough. I can’t touch her. I can’t hold her. I told him it was better to bring her over but she was back then taking care of his kids. Now, mom is a weight on their shoulders. I tell him: “You see it was better to bring her over” I feel awful. I take care of all them old people here in Brussels. It’s awful! Since, in their faces, I see my mother’s face.”

(Zaida, former Migrant Domestic Worker, Brussels, 4-02-2015)

Zaida, the woman in the quote, is a 53 years old former domestic worker. Since early on her life, Zaida felt it was her responsibility to care for her elderly parents. Zaida was the eldest daughter and the first one to obtain a university degree. Nonetheless, her brothers had to take care of their families and migrate to either Europe or the U.S to do so. As a young woman in Peru, she graduated as a registered nurse and contributed to the economic and physical well-being of her family. However, when the structural adjustments crisis hit in the 1990s, the Peruvian public sector Zaida was fired from her job at a public hospital. Zaida then, considered the option of moving to Italy where her oldest brother was already established. In Italy, Zaida faced the contradictions of a segregated labor market and worked as an informal care and domestic worker for the first ten years. Later, Zaida married, had children, and moved to Belgium after the economic crisis in 2008. Nevertheless, Zaida continued to be responsible for the wellbeing of her 90 years old mother who had Alzheimer. Zaida now sends remittances to pay for Paloma, her mother’s informal caretaker who is also herself an internal migrant in Lima. The critiques of her sisters in law highlight the fact that her economic engagement in her mother’s treatment cannot replace the physical care she could give if she were in Lima. Zaida, on her side, is planning to leave her two daughters alone in Brussels while they finish studying and move to Lima to care for her mother.

Zaida’s story is a good example of the global care chains explored by various family and migration scholars in the late 1990s and early 2000s (Parrenas, 2001a,b, 2005, Hoschild, 2002, Yeates, 2009, Zimmerman et al. 2006, Escriva and Skinner, 2008). Indeed, as native women in the global north joined formal labor markets, migrant women migrated to provide the later with their informal care and domestic services. At the same time, their migration also provided their families with access to social protection resources in the areas of education, health, and housing. Since, in their countries of origin welfare systems, had been as mentioned in chapter 1 nearly

inexistent (Figueira, 2005). The Care scholars argued that, as welfare states in the global north and the global south experience shortages in their care offers, care became a transnational commodity (Enrenreich and Hochschild, 2002: 27). Informal care as a commodity was then transferred from the periphery in the global south to the global north just like gold or diamonds had done so in colonial times (Enrenreich and Hochschild, 2002: 26-27).

The metaphor of a care chain was first used by Arlie Hochschild (2000) to describe the uneven distribution of care that connected families in the global north and the global south. Hochschild (2000) defined global care chains as: “*the personal links between people across the globe based on paid or unpaid care work.* p. 131” The care chain began as women like Zaida, migrated north to take care of a more wealthy woman’s children, elderly or sick relatives. At the same time, the same migrant woman left her own children or dependent relatives under the care of a less privileged woman in the country of origin. Hochschild (2000:131) explained that, as one looked down the care chain was less and less valued. Indeed, for the wealthier woman in the global north, care was an expensive duty that could be well paid. The migrant woman could, then, give her love and care to those children who deserved it because their parents could pay for it. In the bottom of the chain were the less privileged actors where the children and dependent relatives of migrant women who lost the love and care of their mothers. These dynamics explained how globalization and the need for informal care connected various families across the globe (Holton, 2008: 43).

Although the care chain scholar’s arguments were well, sound other scientists who were examining similar dynamics debated them. Rhacel Parrenas (2001a, 2001b, 2005) work partially challenged the assumption that migrant women could only exchange care with the children if they were physically present. Through her work, Parrenas (2005: 317-336) highlighted that although these international care transfers existed, migrant women could still find ways to engage in motherhood practices to protect their children informally from afar. Nonetheless, Parrenas (2001b: 361) still argued that migrant women experienced “*diverted motherhood*” as they gave their physical love and care to the most worthy recipient, the children of the women they worked for in the global north. Parrenas (2001a,b, 2005) highlighted that as migrant women joined the new international division of labor, they became the underprivileged actors of capitalist systems that commodify all things including love, care, and emotion (Parrenas, 2001a:243).

The Global Care Chain and International Care Transfer lens is rather a significant advancement in the literature on migrants’ access to informal care. As these authors highlighted the insufficient role of welfare states in sending and receiving countries, which eventually caused care, drains in the global south and care surplus in the global north (Zimmerman et al.

2006:9). The care scholars focus on the network structures through which care traveled and benefitted some more than others is a significant contribution (Yeates, 2012). However, a few critiques were made as authors followed up and continue using this approach. Firstly, the global care chain focused on a very particular profile of migrant women who were transnational mothers (Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila, 1997). According to Yeates, (2012:145) this is not always accurate since, as demonstrated by later research, migrant care or domestic workers might share other responsibilities as transnational daughters or simply single women, and they might not always have motherhood duties to comply with (Vivas-Romero and Sanchez, 2017, Escriva and Skinner, 2008, Lafleur and Vivas-Romero, forthcoming). Moreover, the unique focus on migrant women might reinforce the essentialism of care as a function that can only be performed for women and by women (Yeates, 2012: 145). Indeed, the first work on global care chains had a tendency to over-normalize heterosexual transnational households of migrant domestic workers and forgot to address questions about how international migration might have transformed this (Parrenas, 2001a,b, 2005, Zimmerman et al. 2006, Enreinheich and Hochschild, 2002). Later, work on transnational families addresses this last issue by presenting the absent or present care role of stay behind fathers, which was transformed by the immigration of women (Kilkey, 2014).

Another important critique addressed to the care chain literature was the focus on informal domestic work (Yeates, 2012: 138). According to Yeates (2012:138), state of the art migrants involved in care, chains might be men or women in formal care professions such as a nurse, medicine, social work, etc. The migration of such migrants to work in formal care business, might be formally organized by bi-lateral treaties between states or by individual treatment for migrants working in such care sectors that experienced a shortage. Yeates (2012) also insisted, on the fact that, third sector actors such as NGOs or even churches might also organize such migration for care work. Otherwise, states might also privilege the migration of women employed in the care and domestic sectors, rather than the immigration of men. In this sense, care workers might individually have certain privileges to access transnational public social protection. Care-workers might also move along the latter of care professions, and advance as they do so in their access to public, private and family and community social protection resources.

However, Yeates (2012) also points out to the fact that this might equally lead to care drains in the migrant's country of origin, where they have, indeed, trained and lost qualified health professionals. These dynamics, according to Yeates (2012: 138), still benefit more families in the global north who can solve their work-life balance issues while profiting from the inexpensive and reliable labor of migrant men or women. Indeed, as Helma Lutz (2008)

suggested, the immigration of a migrant woman results from the interaction of three transnational regimes. First of all, there are the migratory and working regimes that condition the migration of women and subsequently their access to a particular sector of the economy. Secondly, care regimes that naturalize care practices as underpaid female labor. There is, thus, according to Yeates (2012), a *transnational political economy of care* in which countries through the world are insisting in mercantile care. Yeates (2012: 144), nonetheless, also makes emphasis on the fact that the recognition of such uneven dynamics has lead actors such as CARICOM, WHO, World Health Assembly and others to engage in transnational activism to promote fair transnational exchanges of care. At the same time, the remittances of men and women who migrate for care-work have also led sending governments to take actions to protect their citizens abroad socially. An example of this Diaspora engagement with remittances is the case of the Colombian government. The Colombian government allows its emigrants to remit for a pension fund that can be in some cases be subsidized by the government (Bedoya, 2015). Colombia has also invested in housing programs to allow migrants to buy houses while showing proof of sending monthly remittances (Gomez-Kopp, 2013).

Thus the immigration of migrant women, to satisfy the care needs of their families and the families they work for, reveals the transnational political economy of care along with its mechanisms of coordination and governance (Yeates, 2012: 145). This transnational political economy appeared to not only increase social inequalities but to also improve migrant women's and their families' access to public and private social protection. Indeed, this reveals in Yeates (2012: 145) words: "*the network length and intercity of connectedness; directions and dynamics of care migration p.145.*" The migration of women for care labor reveals the social foundations of health and welfare systems in destination and sending countries that continue to create inequalities in the production and access to social protection particularly in the areas of hands-on care.

Another important critique made to the global care chain literature was the lack of interest in the historical colonial connections between the global north and global south. According to Yeates (2012), global care chains aren't merely a product of globalization. Indeed, care was already extracted nationally inside colonized territories. In colonial times, domestic worker were impeded from having their children and obliged to care for the children of their masters (Abramovitz, 1996: 5). This reality also applies to European women who, in various periods of history, were involved in the paid care-labor of children as a way of professionalization and pathways towards adulthood (Sarti, 2008: 77). Actually, the global care chain literature forgot to address the national care chains that are historically significant, but that continue to be reproducing as of today. As it would be mentioned, during the empirical analysis, global care

chains, sometimes begin through internal migration of elder generations, from the rural sites to urban sites, and continues with the immigration of younger generations to perform the same type of care work abroad. Nonetheless, global care chains might also be produced inside the global south, as it will also be demonstrated by the case studies. Sometimes, international migration towards the global north is preceded by migration to another country in the global south. This regional migration to work in care work sector is shown by the case of the migrant domestic workers I interviewed whom first, migrated from Peru to Argentina or Chile, and later to another European destination. Moreover, the global care chain literature had a tendency to focus on migrants who leave their countries to give care but forgot to address the case of those who instead migrate to receive care abroad. Examples of such migrants that leave to receive care are German retirees in southern European countries or U.S migrants in some parts of Mexico (Lardies-Bosque et al. 2015, Guftason, 2008).

The literature on transnational families and the circulation of care has addressed some of the critiques mentioned above (Bryceson and Vuroela, 2002, Baldock, 2000, Poeze and Mazzucato, 2014, Boccagni, 2014, Baldassar and Merla, 2014). Mainly, it has empirically traced the multiple ways in which migrant women can circulate care among larger networks of the family located in multiple geographical spaces. They have, indeed, pursued an agenda that has theorize the various ways in which care in its enormous physical and emotional sense can contribute to the wellbeing of transnational families. Their work is worth discussing as it will be key to address the case discussed in the empirical part of this dissertation.

3.2.2. The Circulation of Informal Care Among Transnational Family Networks

“Every so often I travel to visit my sister who is sick. I take care of her. It’s the least I can do. She took care of Mariana my daughter when I came to Belgium. She took care of all of us. Caridad my sister has been an angel to all of us. She worked as a little girl in a factory just for us.”

(Lisette, Migrant Domestic Worker, Brussels, 17-12-2014)

Lisette, the woman in the quote, is a 57 years old Colombian migrant domestic worker. In the quote, Lisette relates the care practices she continues to perform for her family members in Colombia. However, Lisette also talked about the hands-on care practices she received from her sister who took care of her daughter as she migrated. Lisette’s example shows that far from being isolated hopeless individuals, migrant domestic workers are often part of larger networks of support. In such networks of support, the general reciprocity established among its members,

as it will be demonstrated later, assures the well-being of migrant domestic workers and their families wherever they might be located at. These practices have been empirically traced and theorized by the transnational family and care scholars, which will be presented in this section. The practices described in this section are also essential elements of the definition of global social protection that will be put to use in the empirical section of this dissertation.

The care chain literature often described the term care work as the informal practices that produced the daily conditions of individuals and involved physical human health and wellbeing (Zimmerman et al. 2006: 4). Care work for those working under a global care chain perspective included practices such as home management, housekeeping, and related domestic reproductive tasks such as laundering, clothing repair, and meal preparation. Care-work was able to foster physical encounter among individuals and could thus only be performed when those involved were physically present (Zimmerman et al. 2006: 4). The care circulation and transnational family literature, instead, made emphasis on a larger conception of care. Inspired by the sociology of the family negotiation of commitments (Finch, 1989, Finch and Manson, 1993), they theorize a larger set of transnational practices through which families were able to circulate care. Baldassar and Merla, (2014) described care in five realms of activities that could be: “*economic, accommodation, personal (hands-on), practical (...) childcare (...) emotional and moral* p. 12”. Baldassar and Merla (2014: 12-14) insisted that the ways in which families circulated care across borders could thus be physical ways of caring for that require the physical presence of individuals or emotional ways of caring about that can be exchanged through the distance with the aid of modern technology. The authors defined this circulation of care as

“the reciprocal, multidirectional and asymmetrical exchange of care that fluctuates over the life-course within transnational family networks subject to the political, economic, cultural and social contexts of both sending and receiving societies (p. 25).”

Unlike, earlier scholars, they didn’t focus on the relationship between a mother and a child (Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila, 1997, Hochschild, 2002), but rather, in larger networks of families that can involve nuclear, extended family and even fictive kin.

The idea of circulation might give the idea that cares travels freely across borders within transnational family networks. Indeed, the authors draw from the work of anthropologist such as Sahlins (1965, 1974) and Lévi-Strauss (1969) and put emphasis on the norms of reciprocity and moral economy of kinship through which families negotiate the commitment to care for each other. However, the authors of this framework are careful about this (Baldassar and Merla, 2014: 15). Laura Merla (2014) one of this frameworks’ author also developed a complementary framework of situated transnationalism that addresses how migratory, labor, and care regimes

can indeed, affect the ways in which families circulate care. Indeed, it is migration regimes that decide whom can visit and transfer care within these networks. At the same time, it is work and care regimes that can decide for migrant's times of vacation or free time they could spend caring for and about their transnational family networks. Later, as explained in Chapter 1, the work of Florence Degavre and Laura Merla (2016) have also insisted that these practices are constrained by national welfare states' that do not take into consideration the fact that migrant women and men might have to *defamilialize* care needs that are not located in the states in which they work and live. Far more the circulation of care might also be constrained by the economic and class status of migrants and their families, which allows them to circulate certain kinds of care versus others. Moreover, also the ethnicity or gender transnational family members might also condition their access to safe labor conditions or family reunification. Thus, as pointed out by transnational care scholars, the circulation of care is also conditioned by gender, ethnic, class and power hierarchies, as well as the national culture of care, labor, migration and welfare regimes (Baldassar and Merla, 2014). They have thus, ultimately theorized care as an informal capital to which not all transnational family networks have equal access (Gouldbourne et al. 2011, Zontini, 2010). Numerous examples of transnational circulation of care practices exist in the literature. Some of these practices are useful to construct the theoretical framework that will be put to use in the empirical section. Thus, I will take the time to discuss them in the previous sections.

3.2.2.1. Remittances

The transfers of economic or social capital, hence, remittances are probably one of the best-covered practices in the literature. Remittances, as shown by the literature, can help migrants to maintain a form of co-presence as they helped left-behind family members paid for formal health insurances, education and or housing (Kilkey, 2014, Lafleur and Vivas-Romero, forthcoming). Remittances can also be sent from sending to destination countries, as illustrated by the case of international students that still receive help from their left-behind parents (Singh and Cabraal, 2010). As it will be shown in the case study presented in this thesis, remittances are vital sources for left-behind family members that often cannot be assured by inexistent welfare states. Indeed, the Latin American region is one of the regions in the world with the largest amount of remittances (IDB, 2013). Remittances, in the region, exceed the FDI AND ODA capital flows. This reality slightly changed as migrant families experienced an economic crisis in 2008 in the largest sending remittance regions of Europe and North America. Even so, in 2013 Mexico still received 21.6 billion dollars annually, followed by Colombia with 4.1 billion dollars, El Salvador, 4.0 billion dollars, and The Dominican Republic 3.3 billion Dollars.

Remittances can also be said to have an effect on migrants and their families' access to public social protection. Indeed, sending state governments have introduced measures to complement migrant remittances and invest in health and education projects. Such is the case of Mexico, and the 3 for one project, in which they supported their immigrants in local development projects financed by remittances (Aparicio and Covadonga 2012). Remittances might also, as highlighted by Lafleur and Lizin (2015), initiate social protection resources that are financed by migrants, sending and receiving states. Such is the case of Transnational Health Insurance Schemes in which Belgian health insurance (*mutualites*); Congolese health care providers and migrants simultaneously organize the healthcare care access of left behind family members.

Serra-Mingot and Mazzucato (2016) mentioned that remittances also, often, involving collective practices that are done within particular migrant communities. This is the case of ROSCAS (Rotating Credit Associations) or Tontin in the African context (Thieme, 2003, Little, 1973). These systems work as circles where members pay monthly contributions that are distributed to all the members of the circle every so often. The money collected can be used to contribute to the member's funeral expenses, healthcare expenses, funerals or other emergencies. Such systems might also be used to provide migrants with other informal protection resources such as information about the labor market of receiving societies and other types of support. As it will be shown in the case study of this dissertation, these associations become key for new or undocumented migrants that have less access to formal structures of protection.

Another form of collective remittances also mentioned by Serra-Mingot and Mazzucato (2016) are Transnational Burial Societies. Inside this organization's migrants collectively pay and organize the funerals of members of their communities that can be located in various countries (Mazzucato 2011, Bouman and Otto, 1994, Bhatammishra and Barret, 2010). As highlighted by Mazzucato et al. (2006) these organizations are becoming more and more formal since migrants might also have the capacity to include sending country's' governments. As it is shown by the case study, this is the case of Colombians, who pay for semi-private life insurances. In this sense, the Colombian government along with the life-insurance company organizes the repatriation of the body.

On the other hand, remittances can also have a detrimental effect on migrant and their families' access to social protection. Indeed, when family members remit they often remit to the wealthiest, most engaged family members (Boccagni, 2011, Boccagni, 2014). As it will be highlighted in the case study in this thesis, the remittances might disturb the order of things, for example when they are sent to children themselves instead of their caregivers. Remittances

might also challenge how social protection is distributed among men and women. As it has been shown by the literature, when parents remit for the education, they tend to do so more for girls than for boys (UN-INSTRAW, 2006). Remittances nonetheless, can also affect migrants' access to public protection in the country in which they reside. As it's highlighted by the stories shared in this thesis, migrant women would often sacrifice their access to housing in the receiving country to pay for the housing stability of family members abroad.

Overall, however, one can say that remittances in regions like Latin American have been used as a transnational welfare practice that has replaced the skinny reproductive role of states (Herrera, 2008: 97 Boccagni, 2011). In the case of Latin America, Canales (2008: 202-215), has suggested that although remittances alleviated the immediate effects of poverty in some cases, they can also increase poverty for the general population in sending regions and countries. Indeed, as more families of migrants can afford private health insurances, the less that states are willing to support public health structures (Hall, 2007: 6, Canales, 2008: 215).

3.2.2.2. Ways of Caring for: Accommodation and Practical Care

Economic remittances are, however, not the only practices through which migrants circulate informal care. Another important practice theorized by Baldassar and Merla (2014) is that of providing accommodation for family members in receiving, sending or in-between destinations. Baladassar and Merla (2014) showed in their introduction the example of a transnational family network in which providing accommodation was essential for individual family members, particularly for first-time migrants. The work of Vivas-Romero and Sánchez (2017), also showed how for undocumented migrant women in New York City and in Brussels having access to housing and accommodation provided by transnational family networks was critical for migrants who were afraid of possible deportation after arrival.

The literature, nonetheless, also presents multiple examples of hands-on-care practices of children care that's circulated among transnational family networks. The literature has, for example, described the care provided by left-behind caregivers of the migrants' children who stayed behind in the country of origin (Levitt, 2001, Dreby, 2010, Zúniga et al. 2008, Barglowski and Kzyzowski, 2015, Zuniga and Vivas-Romero, 2013). As it will be highlighted, in the case studies in this thesis, the family members engaged in being transnational caregivers range from grandparents to siblings, aunts, and uncles and even in some occasions voluntary kin who aren't related blood wise (Vivas-Romero, forthcoming). Caregivers might, nonetheless, also travel to receiving countries and engage in providing care for their grandchildren or other family members. This has been highlighted by the work of Plaza (2000) that showed the role of

flying grandmothers who traveled to help their migrant children with the care of their offspring. The work of Lafleur and Vivas-Romero (forthcoming) also showed how migrants themselves might engage in mobility strategies to their countries of origin to be taken care of by the family members who they have remitted to. In this sense, this type of care acts as a revert remittance (Mazzucato, 2011) in which migrants are reciprocated by those family members to whom they have provided care for in the past.

3.2.2.3. Ways of Caring About: Emotional Care

There also some non-tangible ways in which family members care for family members (Baldassar, 2007). These ways of caring were theorized, by Baldassar and Merla (2014: 454-468), as emotional care. The work of Baldassar (2008) draws from Hochschild (2003)'s notion of emotional labor. By doing so, Baldassar (2008) explored the practices of longing and missing as an emotional work that maintain the transnational intimacy of transnational family networks. The emotional way of caring about family members, according to Baldassar (2008: 247-266), can be expressed through words (discursively), physically through the body if family members are physically present and imagination or ideas that emerged when family members are physically absent. Family members can then construct various ways of co-presence that Baldassar (2008) theorized as virtual, proxy, and imagined. Each of these practices reinforced the family making practices and conceptions of health and wellbeing. These practices have also been observed in the case study that will be explored in this dissertation; as well as in other cases in the literature on transnational family care (Baldassar 2008).

The care circulation literature, indeed, represents advancements on the literature that has traced the informal ways in which migrant and their families managed to protect each other. However, most of these works have missed addressing the connection between the public and private practices migrants' put to use to protect each other transnationally. Furthermore, their view of transnationalism is partially restricted to informal care practices that encompass only a sending and a destination country. Indeed, Laura Merla and Majella Kilkey's (2014) have complimented this view with their framework of situated transnationalism, in which they argue that migrants' efforts to care for their families are partially influenced by various institutions in sending and receiving societies. However, the ways in which they empirically trace migrants' efforts remain concentrated in the informal. Nonetheless, as the empirical evidence, in this thesis, highlights due to more changes in the global economy and in the migration regimes of different countries; migrants transnational family networks are beginning to establish sometimes in more than two countries. This is the case of the migrant domestic workers interviewed that had networks of support in their sending country in another country in which they had worked

and lived and in the country in which they currently resided. Moreover, although the literature on the circulation of care argued that ethnic, gender and class power axes compromised care; it didn't empirically theorize how each of these accesses of power affected each circulation of care practice.

The critiques addressed in the previous paragraph have been partially answered by the work of Paolo Boccagni (2011, 2014, 2015) and more recently by the work of Anna Amelina (2016). In his turn, Boccagni (2011) theorized migrant's efforts to protect themselves and their family members as transnational welfare process. His work, investigated the relationship between migrants' bottom-up informal efforts to protect left behind family members in the sending country (Ecuador) and top-bottom efforts to provide some support to their emigrants abroad (Boccagni, 2011: 318-325). Boccagni argued that migrants' informal efforts to protect their families in various realms such as education and health were being recognized by the Ecuadorian state that tried to support their efforts while also aiming at gaining their citizens' loyalty (2011: 318). In 2014, Boccagni's approach went further by trying to investigate migrant women's efforts to mother from afar while taking into account whether or not sending and receiving states contributed to such efforts. He argued that neither sending nor receiving states took into account migrant mothers' necessity to have access to transnational welfare resources to protect their families located in sending or receiving states. Instead, according to Boccagni (2014: 221-224), migrant women were creating an intermediate transnational informal space in which they build alliances with those left behind to continue to circulate informal care. This intermediate space, according to Boccagni (2014: 223), was filled with gender meaning of obligations and care. Indeed, both Italy as receiving state and Ecuador as a sending state, considered migrant women as natural providers of care with an imminent obligation to care for their families. Already, in (2015: 250-268) Boccagni's work expanded this view of the migrant as the sole provider of care. He argued family members could contribute to their migrant family's wellbeing through three practices: 1- reverse remittances (in the form of transnational care giving of the left-behind children-elderly-sick relatives, in intervening for their finances and the proper use of remittances), 2- emotional support or caring about through the telephone or other modern media and technologic devices, 3- entertaining a sense of transnational belonging and attachment to a motherland (Boccagni, 2015: 250).

Boccagni (2015) argued, however, that although these practices gave migrants something in return, the informal care they circulated with their families abroad had a consequence for their wellbeing particularly in times of economic crisis in Italy. Indeed, according to Boccagni (2015: 213), researchers should've invested more time looking at how the informal circulation from the migrant to their families in the country of origin can affect the process of integration in

the receiving country. Furthermore, Boccagni (2015) left unexplored how these migrant domestic workers' gender, ethnic, and class conditions affected the care they were able to provide and receive from their transnational family networks. Indeed, Boccagni (2015: 214) only looked into migrant domestic workers' socio-cultural capital in sending and receiving welfare states as important factors that conditioned such dynamics.

In turn, Anna Amelina (2016) has filled in some of the gaps left by Paolo Boccagni's work. Amelina (2016: 148-166) has examined the consequences of transnational circulation of care for migrants, their family members, and their employers. She described these dynamics in the form of 3 fatal axes of care triangles (Amelina, 2016: 156). In such care triangles, migrant women find themselves circulating care among 3 actors: 1-their husbands and 2- their employers in the receiving society and 3-their parents in their sending society (Amelina, 2016: 149). The Ukrainian care workers interviewed in Germany by Amelina were involved in a first axe of the triangle with their husbands whom, they provided with the financial means so they can engage in entrepreneur plans or further their education to eventually "*make it in Germany*" (Amelina, 2016: 149). At the same time, migrant women were involved in second axe of the triangle as they provided financial care for their parents abroad while fulfilling their roles as good daughters (Amelina, 2016: 150). Migrant women were, at last, involved in a third axe of the triangle as they provided their employers with practical hands-on care and emotional care. They provided such care to their employees because they felt like they had to be good care-workers and thus felt a mix of pity and obligation for them (Amelina, 2016: 150).

As she examined these care triangles, Amelina (2016) argued that gender, ethnic, and class markers of differences can condition migrant women access to informal care (Amelina, 2016: 151). At first, migrant women's gender identity, made them think of themselves as good care providers that could take care of both their husbands and their parents at home. Secondly, they were influenced by their ethnic identity in the receiving country, which through segmented labor market and strict migratory rules conditioned their access to other sectors of the labor market. Thirdly, they felt the need to pertain to the good sections of both the German society where they resided and their society in Ukraine. The only way to achieve this position as the "*good ones*" was to help their husbands make it in Germany. Migrant care workers she interviewed, thus according to Anna Amelina (2016), weren't victims but rather proud of women of their accomplishments. They, indeed, managed to influence and care for all those actors across in the care triangles. In spite, of the accumulation of disadvantages they experience, migrant women, according to Amelina (2016:161), can construct a positive self-image of moral superiority, as they self-ethnicized themselves as "*Germanized*." They perceive themselves as good care providers of every actor in the triangles. This view of themselves is consistent with

the post-socialist gender ideal of women as independent economic and social actors. In this sense, Amelina (2016) shows how transnationality and the uneven distribution of care have ambiguous effects on the actors that experience it. The fact of providing transnational care can prove to be an asset to construct a positive self-image, but it can also hinder the migrants' opportunity to access social protection for his or herself (Amelina, 2016: 163).

Amelina's (2016) work becomes rather important, because it shows us how multiple inequalities can affect the circulation of care. Her work like Paolo Boccagni's (2014), however, still focuses on women as the providers of care. They only partially emphasize how migrant women are also through these care assemblages negotiating their own access to both formal and informal care. They also, only focus on the informal practices migrant women use to protect their family networks. Instead, the literature on transnational care assemblages and global social protection resource environments combined a formal and informal lenses and focused on migrant's access to social protection overall. It does so, while adopting an intersectional approach and looking into how multiple markers of difference such as gender, race, generation and religion could affect migrant's women or men's access to social protection (Anthias, 2008). By theorizing, the interaction between formal and informal, the theories presented in the next section represent an important part of the puzzle that will lead me to answer the initial research question.

4. The Transnational Assemblages and Global Resources Protection Environments

"I'm Colombian but I first left to Spain 10 years ago. I was there working with a sister of mine. I then, worked taking care of people but when they died. I left to Colombia. In Colombia a brother of mine that lives in Brussels, came to visit. He took me to Brussels, he said things would be easy and there would be lots of work for me. I didn't think that things would be that hard. I mean with the language, the institutions and the workload... If he had explained things from another perspective, I would have never left. Now, I'm here but I want to leave. I want to know if my years in Spain can count for my pension in Colombia, or if my years here count as well. I'm getting old 55; it's easier said than done. My niece is going to help me in Colombia to get things done."

(Valeria, former Migrant Domestic Worker, Brussels, 18-10-2014)

Valeria, the migrant domestic worker in the vignette, is now back in Colombia. She is working in a factory assembling shirts for a multi-national corporation. As I followed her story, I was able to trace the gender and racial inequalities that, since her early childhood, prevented

her access to education and subsequently to the economic resources to be able to protect her family in Colombia. Valeria's family like other families migrated from the rural areas of Colombia where people of color had few accesses to formal social protection. They first, invested in a journey towards the city. The city held the promise of allowing them to obtain better-working conditions and eventually access to formal social protection. However, as many other Latin American cities, Medellin suffered from the structural adjustment crisis that performed budgetary cuts in public social protection and affected less privileged families like Valeria's. These economic and social crisis of the 1990s then caused individuals, like Valeria, to move further away to various destinations in North America or Continental Europe. Women like Valeria, then little by little, accumulated formal and informal resources in different cities, nation states, and continents. As highlighted by her case, Valeria is now able to jungle with such resources and with her gender, class, and racial positioning in all of the societies in which she has accumulated such resources. Indeed, women like Valeria experienced inequalities and advantages that are no longer located within the physical borders of one nation state.

Critical in addressing such transnational processes of production and reproduction of inequality in access to social protection is the work of Thomas Faist (2013, 2016), and the researchers that have followed his approach (Faist et al. 2014, Bilicen and Barglowski, 2014, Amelina et al. 2012, Bilicen and Jadwiga- Sienkiewickz, 2015). According to Thomas Faist, (2014: 209) and as exemplified by the case of Valeria, the new *Transnational Social Question* is not longer situated inside the border of one particular nation state. The *New Social Question* is also not one that's simple drawn between the owners of capital and workers of particular sectors in a national economy. As globalization expanded and capitalism began to flow around the border of nation states so did inequalities. The new intersecting inequalities, which will be addressed in the following chapters of this dissertation, are part of our contemporary societies. These new intersecting inequalities are transnational and they are filled with intersecting gender, class, racial, and generational meanings (Anthias, 2016). They involve migrants, who in the midst of conquering a better livelihood for themselves and for their families have engaged in international migratory movements where they experience yet new inequalities. These actors, that experienced such transnational inequalities in access to social protection resources, have multiple profiles; they can be the migrant domestic workers in this dissertation but they might also be high skilled workers, or retired migrants. Faist et al. (2015: 207-22), like other researchers who have followed his path, argued that one way to discovered how such transnational inequalities are reproduced is to examine migrants' access to social protection. Indeed by doing so, one is then, able to discover how modern individuals could combat or not, inequalities that affect their livelihood chances while mobilizing social protection resources in a transnational social field (Glick-Schiller and Levitt, 2004).

Faist et al. (2015: 193) defined *Transnational Social Protection* as the strategies to cope with the social risk arising in capitalist economies in the fields of access to health care, employment, child care, and education which extend across the border of one nation state. Later, in an effort to better operationalize such transnational social protection, the researchers working with Faist's (2016) team developed the notion of transnational social protection assemblages (Bilicen and Barglowski, 2014: 1898). The notion of assemblages allows researchers to consider the intertwined formal and informal practices that protect migrants and their families in their countries of origin. They thus, recognize that actors are constantly negotiating access to formal social protection through informal networks of information and protection (Bilicen and Barglowski, 2014). They do however, emphasize that such negotiation is always conditioned by certain mechanisms of inequality.

Following this notion, of transnational social protection arrangements, various empirical examples have recently emerged in the literature. Bilicen et al. (2015b: 1896) for example, showed the "*stitching strategies*", through which Turkish migrants in Germany and their families protect each other. Stitching strategies are described as strategies through which migrants incorporated in social networks and attached themselves to the homeland (Bilicen et al. 2015b). Their access to such social networks permits them to access informal social protection, and at the same time formal protection through the information that circulates in such networks. Bilicen et al. (2015) highlight that transnationality is described as the intensity of migrants' contact with their homeland. This contact according to them can have an impact on migrants' access to social protection both in the receiving society (Germany) and in the society of origin (Turkey). As migrants want to access social protection in both societies, they can seek support only if they participate in such stitching strategies. Their study concentrated in obtaining, through qualitative fieldwork, the meaning of stitching strategy, the meaning of transnationality, and the sources of support that migrants were able to gather through these means.

Bilicen et al.'s (2015) approach had, however, been partially used before by Amelina et al. (2012) who had followed a similar approach but added to their work an intersectional and transnational perspective. The use of these two views gave the researchers the opportunity to discover how multiple axes of power, when combined in a transnational fashion, produced different outcomes in migrants' access to social protection. Differently, then Bilicen et al. (2015), they claimed that these groups of researchers looked into the informal repertoires of transnational social protection of Turkish, Polish, and Kazakhstan migrants in Germany (Amelina et al. 2012: 2). They used egocentric methods to survey and interview the members of 57 transnational family networks in the country of origin and destination (Amelina et al. 2012: 15). Using the egocentric method, they first asked participants in Germany to name the

members of their networks who were the most significant in their access to various realms of informal social protection (Amelina et al. 2012: 15). They also asked them to name which kinds of support these members were provided them with, and they then interviewed those people that participants named. Previous to selecting participants, they were careful to select them from various migratory backgrounds (working migrants, political refugees, asylum seekers, men and women) as well people from different religious, socio-economic background and various levels of transnational engagement.

Amelina et al. (2012: 16-22) study served the purpose of finding a correlation between migrant's intersectional positioning and the level of support they obtained from informal networks in the society of origin and of destination. They then found out that the two characteristics that matter the most in determining migrants access to informal protection was their gender and their level of engagement with those abroad hence transnationality. Their typology explained that those with high degree of transnationality had a low network density and obtained the most resources. Then they explained that those with moderate degree of transnationality had moderated access to informal protection. Thirdly, those with low degree of transnationality, which was mostly, men, had moderate to low access to informal resources in their networks of support. Thus, women with low education, but that highly participated in transnational networks of protection, had the most access to informal protection both in sending and receiving countries. Whereas men with low engagement in transnational networks had in turn low levels of access to informal support from transnational networks of support.

Levitt et al. (2015) have followed a similar approach and developed a Global Resource Social Protection framework. The framework serves as the heuristic tool that can uncover the fragmented strategies that migrants and their families put to use to protect themselves. However, unlike the approaches developed by Faist et al. (2014), and Amelina et al. (2012), they bring in international institutions and other third sector actors such as NGOs that might also have an impact on migrants' composition of resource environments.

Levitt et al. (2015) borrow their theoretical tools from the literature on global social policy. According to Levitt et al. (2015: 6) this literature has insisted in trying to capture how international institutions, programs discourses and actions affect national policy. This literature has, nonetheless, also insisted in trying to capture how international actors such as migrants and other grass root associated influenced nation states welfares (Deacon, 2008, Yeates, 2009, 2012). Recently, this literature has also incorporated to their analysis the individual agencies that affect such actions. Levitt et al. (2015) followed this call and tried to formulate a device that could trace migrants' access to global resource environments. Such Global resource environments involve: migrants and their individual agencies, informal networks of family, and

community support, international organizations, grass rooted associations, markets, governments (Levitt et al. 2015: 6). These global resource environments are situated in what Glick-Schiller and Levitt herself (2004: 1009) had theorized as a *Transnational Social Field*. This transnational social field is a place where ideas and resources are glued together in seamless and sometimes fractured social, political, and emotional imaginary as they expand across the borders of one particular nation state. However, Levitt et al. 2015, argued that this transnational social field is conditioned by the current geopolitical context and distinctive restrictions attached both to international migration and access to social protection which are still partially decided within nation states. Nonetheless, they also argued the gender, class, race, and legal status of individuals in such transnational social fields should also be taken into account (Levitt et al. 2015: 6). Indeed, as nation states and international organization encouraged the labor mobility of the high skilled, the immigration of other types of migrants is discouraged and seen as a threat to nation state systems of social protection (Gsir et al. 2015, Lafleur and Stanek, 2015, Dreby 2012).

Levitt et al. (2015:6) used the OECD definition of social protection to define the resources that could be mobilized by migrants and their families. This definition was partly discussed in Chapter 1 and includes various resources, such as old age pension and survivor benefits, incapacity and health, family and child allowances, active labor market policies and unemployment policies, housing, and education. They nonetheless, also considered all the other resources that migrants can either obtain from international organizations such as Pan American Health Organization or in the market, which has been lately developing social protection resources with the help of sending nation states. Lastly, they also considered informal networks of family and community support that might offer migrants other kinds of informal support such as the ones mentioned in the previous sections.

Although Levitt et al. (2015) represent a significant advancement and meaningful part of the puzzle to answer the question in this dissertation a few critiques can be addressed to it. Firstly, like much of the literature on transnational phenomena, it seems to be a perspective that can only be used to study those cases in which transnationality is visible and affects people's access to social protection. Indeed, Levitt's et al. (2015) approach does not take into account that transnationality, as highlighted by Amelina et al. (2012), can be experienced at various degrees and affect people's access to social protection differently. Levitt et al. (2015) also forgot to make a distinction between the different global resource environments that can emerge in the routine of daily lives, and those, that appear in moments of emergency such as the sudden death or sickness of family members (Baldassar, 2007, Baldassar and Merla, 2014). On the other hand these global social protection resource environments seem to be situated at margins of two

nation states (receiving-sending). This perspective leaves aside the fact that globalization and capitalism expands as well as the movement of human beings. As exemplified by the case of Valeria, more than ever, some migrants are expanding their social and family networks beyond the borders of two nation states and incorporating certain in-between destinations, while others are becoming ever more immobile. Finally, it's also not clear how and if they will plan to analyze how migrants' standpoints in terms of gender, race, class etc. can affect their access to each particular resource in the resource environment.

5. Preliminary Remarks: Towards the Study of Global Social Protection Arrangements

Concluding this chapter has served two purposes. Firstly, it has allowed me to situate this dissertation in the most recent literature that addresses the nexus between migration and social protection¹⁴. Secondly, and most importantly it has allow me to tackle on the Global Resource Environment approach (Levitt et al. 2015). Indeed, in spite of the critiques addressed to Global Resource Environment approach, in the next chapter, I build from it to investigate the case of migrant domestic workers' access to social protection. However, I do so while addressing the critiques mentioned in the past paragraph. I therefore, transformed this approach into a Global Social Protection Arrangement approach. I do so while adding elements from the sociology of family and culture as well as the intersectional theories developed by the self-proclaimed feminist of color¹⁵ in the U.S, Latin America and Europe. In the following chapter, I discuss this Global Social Protection Arrangement approach and the elements that compose it. Chapter, 3 allows me to construct the theoretical basis for the empirical analysis in the final chapters of this dissertation.

¹⁴ Table 2, 3 and 4 in Appendix A summarizes the Social Protection Approaches discussed in chapter 1 & 2.

¹⁵ Feminist of color is a term used by female academics in the U.S who ascribed themselves as politically and academically engaged women, pertaining to racial ethnic groups that have in one way or another been marginalize by mainstream first wave feminism. They aim for society to recognize the particularities and experiences of women of color (Moraga and Anzaldúa, 1983, Hill-Collins, 2001). See also chapter's 3 discussions on intersectionality as knowledge project created by women of color.

SECTION II:

THE METHODOLOGY

Chapter 3: Theorizing Global Social Protection Arrangements Through an Intersectional and Transnational Lens

1. Global Social Protection Arrangements

In the past chapters, I have reviewed the literature that has addressed social protection from a national or a transnational perspective. Particularly, in Chapter 2's conclusion, I highlighted Levitt's (2015) global resource environment as a view that could be used to answer the question of how migrant domestic workers' access global social protection. Levitt's et al. 2015 perspective, however, is in my opinion not able to fully operationalize how resources to access social protection are acquired through the life-course while influenced by contextually developed markers of difference. Levitt (2015) and her colleagues emphasize migratory status as one marker of difference that affects how migrants build their social protection environments. I, nevertheless, intend to establish an approach that operationalizes how migrants' efforts to access global social protections are affected by contextually developed gender, race, class, generation, and religious markers of difference. Such markers of difference, I will argue traverse and influence the global social protection arrangements migrant domestic workers use to assure their life necessities. In view of developing this approach, through this chapter, I highlight the theoretical angles used to analyze such units. I will first define the notion of repertoires that compose global social protection arrangements. Secondly, I will introduce a transnational and intersectional framing that can help us to operationalize the effect of multiple markers of difference in such arrangements.

Repertoires of Practices that form Global Social Protection Arrangements

“(...). My mother migrated from the mountains [to the city]. She had no healthcare, no insurance, no nothing (...). [Later,] I helped my own daughters to migrate (...). Now, they take me to Belgium to be taken care of... That’s how they found out I have an awful bacteria that could kill me (...). My daughter also took [my granddaughter] Clarita to Belgium. She had cancer and got cured.

(Sonia, Mother of Migrant Domestic Worker, Lima 03-03-2015)

Sonia is the eldest family member in one of my participants family support networks. Sonia and her family network, in Peru, have been touched by the dispossession of resources that has affected Andean populations in the country’ rural areas since colonial times (Mesa-Lago, 2008). Such dispossession has particularly disturbed women who were household chiefs and single mothers. Consequently, it has caused first the internal migration of women from rural to urban areas like Lima and later the migration of younger generations towards other countries in South America, North America, and eventually across the Atlantic to Continental Europe. Indeed, Laura, Sonia’s daughter, and her sister migrated to be domestic workers in Europe’s capital. Through immigration, Sonia’s family has continued to learn the basic strategy to form global social protection arrangements that assure the family productive and reproductive needs. Transnational Mobility to better their life chances is part of those strategies. Nonetheless, Mobility is a practice that’s usually accompanied by remittances (collective or individual), worker’s insurances as well as other formal diaspora resources.

The sets of strategies described in the previous paragraph have been used elsewhere by Jean-Michel Lafleur and Olivier Lizin (2015) to describe the transnational healthcare arrangements of Congolese migrants in Belgium and their families abroad. However, here I would like to theorize such strategies as repertoires through which people composed global social protection arrangements. The idea of repertoire is not noble and has been used mostly in studies of the family and in socio-linguistics to explain the different sets of resources that individuals might use to respond to a particular situation in their life-course (Coe, 2014: 15). I particularly build from Coe’s (2014) definition of repertoires. Repertoire in Coe’s (2014) words involves

“a multiplicity of cultural resources and frameworks, a body or collection of practices, knowledge and beliefs that allows people to imagine what is possible, expect certain things and value certain goals rather the primacy of frameworks (p.15).”

Coe (2014: 14) draws from other scholars that examine social life, considering culture as a toolkit that people apply to particular situations as they combine various ideas and resources to

solve the problems they face (Hannerz, 1969, Swilder, 2001). They, thus, maintain that there is flexibility in how one individual might choose one practice versus another. According to Coe (2014) gender, race, class and other markers of difference influence the way in which people build their repertoires (Coe, 2014). Coe (2014:5) explored, through her ethnographic work, the repertoires used by Ghanian transnational migrants to deal with the physical and emotional separation from their family members.

The idea of repertoire, according to Coe (2014), is similar to the concept of habitus, first theorized by Mauss (2006 [1935]) in 1935, and later developed by Pierre Bourdieu (1977). Mauss (1935) conceptualized habitus as everyday routines or bodily techniques that a person used in particular situations and which were taught at an early age and aren't even inscribed in a person's consciousness. Bourdieu (1977), instead, thinks the habitus can be part of someone's consciousness and could be discussed in a family or community. According to Bourdieu (1977: 72), a habitus is a:

“Systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles of the generation and structuring practices and representation which can be objectively “regulated” and “regular” without in any way being the product of obedience to rules, objectively adapted to their goals without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary to attain them and, being all this, collectively orchestrated without being the product of the orchestrating action of a conductor (p.72).”

Bourdieu (1977) thinks the locus where an individual learns the habitus is the family. Indeed the family, is for Bourdieu (1977), the key site for the primary years of socialization. In the family, the individual learns class manners and obtains his cultural and symbolic capital that permits him or her to get an education and eventually gain power in a determined society (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990).

Although Coe (2014) recognized that repertoire is, in many ways, similar to Bourdieu's (1994:84) habitus, she defended the idea of repertoire for various reasons. Firstly, she considers that Habitus, involves uniquely one set of resources learned through one's infancy. Instead, repertoire allows for a collection of resources that the individual might learn through his or her various experiences. This past point applies, in particular, for transnational migrants that through the process of migration might encounter different cultures, different ways of doing, and might have interlocking repertoires learned through their socializations in various societies (Coe, 2014: 16). Bourdieu himself, according to Coe (2014: 16), later recognize repertoire was like habitus in many ways. Coe (2014) also thinks the idea of habitus implies unconscious dispositions without necessarily taking into account when people's repertoire's change or

evolve. Habitus, however, might be reluctant to historical analysis (Coe, 2014) while repertoire instead pays attention to how individual's practices change. The repertoire is, in fact, open to revision and reflection as the life-course emerges, as people migrate and change societies, etc.

Habitus, as Pierre Bourdieu once conceptualized it, has taken into account some of these critiques (Coe, 2014). Moreover, the work of sociologists Levitt and Lamba Nieves (2011) has also raised a similar point and described social remittances through which “*ideas, know-how, practices, and skills- that shape their encounters with and integration into their host societies* (p. 1)”. These social remittances, according to them, were collectively or individually sent between sending and receiving countries affecting migrants and their communities' access to health and education. While at the same, social remittances were known for influencing micro patterns of relations in families while changing gender roles. Levitt and and Lamba-Nieves (2011), however, only perceive gender as a marker of difference that evolves and affects the use of social remittances. It's unclear, nevertheless, in their approach what other markers of difference such as class, generation, or ethnic origin can also affect how people adopt and develop such social remittances. It's for these past reasons that the work of Coe (2014) seems to fit my study better than Pierre Bourdieu's (1977) habitus or Levitt and Lamba-Nieves's (2010) social remittances.

There are certainly, various aspects of repertoire that are better able to capture the stories of migrant domestic workers and their family members' access social protection. First, of all the idea of repertoire, as various practices learned in multiple environments and through different socializations fits with the life-stories of migrant domestic workers that have lived transnational lives and access global social protection arrangements in various contexts (Hannerz, 1969: 191). Indeed, through their actions one is able to perceive elements of the multiple contexts in which they have lived and accumulated their resources to access social protection (Olwig, 2007). As Coe (2014) puts it acquiring, one repertoire of practices doesn't cancel the other repertoires one has gained elsewhere. Just like other researchers working with transnational migrants and other minority groups have shown, individuals will build upon strategies of the multiple contexts in which they have lived and developed their social lives (Hannerz, 2002, Ferguson, 1999). Others, a sociologist who have worked on the class of sociolinguistics have also shown that individuals have multiple vocabularies they use according to the situation they are experiencing (Bernstein, 2000).

Secondly, the idea of repertoires as consciously used and learned, through generations, in one particular family network also fits the reality of the actors in this thesis (Coe, 2014). Coe (2014) draws from the work of Wolf (1972) to explore how practices are learned, and in most cases, individuals are conscious of the gender, race or class logics attached to their actions.

These aspects of repertoires might be the subject of family discussions or even political debates (Coe, 2014: 18). Instead, other repertoires, however, are not consciously enacted or discussed. These last sets of practices I will argue are adopted, for example, through the repertoire of mobility or remittances, which aren't openly discussed but instead transferred through generations as the way of accumulating resources to protect the family. These repertoires are not discussed much but rather enacted when the right time comes.

Thirdly, the ideas of a changing or emerging repertoire through the life-course are also important in the case here explored. Repertoires, as theorized by Coe (2014), are endorsed differently according to particular moments in the life-course. Repertoires are not necessarily perpetuated through an individual's life, but instead as the location of family members or migrants themselves change repertoires might be renewed or erased. Repertoires can also be reshuffled in the sense that when one repertoire fails another one might be enacted. As highlighted by the work of other sociologists, individuals might choose one strategy over another in particular contexts, in a rational manner or not (Goffman, 1974, Mintz, 1974, Swidler, 2001). Moreover, through repertoires, individuals enact organic mechanisms of solidarity (Durkheim, [1893], 2010) that helps them to create general reciprocity patterns with members of their family as well as larger networks of support (Sahlins, 1965).

While taking into account the elements of repertoire developed by Coe (2014), I argued that through the collection of multiple repertoires, people construct global social protection arrangements that are fluid, and reconstitute themselves according to particular moments of the individual family lives. Such arrangements, however, aren't free floating in fields that are free of power and obstacles. Global social protection arrangements, I will argue are influenced by contextual and transnationally situated markers of difference that are gender, race, generational, religious, etc. In the following sections, I discuss the heuristic device of intersectionality that, along with a transnational approach, will help me to analyze how such markers of difference intersect and inform the repertoires analyzed.

2. The Use of Intersectionality to Analyze Global Social Protection Arrangements

2.1. Intersectionality a Long Voyage: From Activism to Academia, From the U.S to Europe and Back Across the Atlantic

“My name is Juana and I come from a modest family. We are nine brothers and sisters. Our father was always very violent towards our mother... We ran away from him with our mom. One by one mom took us out of the country land. Life was hard in the countryside for people like “us”. We were not from Lima. We came from the province! Sometimes there was nothing to eat. My brothers worked but they used to tell mom: ‘Don’t give those filthy little girls anything to eat!’ My eldest brother was different though. He worked and took care of us at the same time. He didn’t have to do it because he was a man but he did it anyhow. He used to even cook for us and that’s how we finished primary school. I studied a little bit... I went out into the world but eventually things got ugly in Peru. I had to leave. I left to Belgium with the help of this man I met...”

(Juana, Migrant Domestic Worker, Brussels, 24-05-2014)

As Juana, the Peruvian woman in the quote unravels her story the layers of difficulties she had experienced in her attempts to access social protection unfolded. Like many of the other interviewees, their story always began while recounting how distinctive markers of class, gender, ethnic, and race status in their countries of origin had led their mothers to use first national and eventually transnational mobility to access both formal and informal social protection. Indeed, Peru and Colombia are post-colonial societies marked by unequal access to social protection (Mesa-Lago, 2008).

Post-colonial feminist researchers have, since the 1960s, developed an intersectional approach capable of examining the multiple oppressions experienced by women like Juana. Indeed, as my fieldwork progressed, it was clear that intersectionality as a heuristic and grounded tool would be essential to examine my participants’ stories. As highlighted in Juana’s story, gender, class, race, religion, generations and even different levels of transnational connections undoubtedly affected her global social protection arrangements. In this sense, Intersectionality became an analytical tool I discovered through my readings of feminist and post-colonial theories as well as from the stories I collected in the field. As this process

advanced, it became appropriate because unlike other heuristic devices, intersectionality was a flexible framing that allowed me to uncover the different markers of difference slowly as the fieldwork advance and as my participants defined them.

Eventually, I followed the call of scientists such as Floya Anthias (2016) and used intersectionality, not as the theoretical framework but as a heuristic device that allowed analyzing social realities influenced by multiple markers of differences. It's nonetheless necessary to name the roots of such approach. Thus, through the remaining sections in this chapter, I aim to show the evolution of intersectionality as a knowledge project. I will do so to indicate where my approach fits within it (Hill-Collins, 2015: 3). In what follows, I introduce a brief and contextual discussion on the how, when and why intersectionality came to be. Subsequently, I position within these discussions the transnational and intersectional heuristic device that I aim to use in the empirical chapters.

Where and how the Voyage started: How Intersectionality came to be

“Intersectionality now garners its share of self-proclaimed experts and critics of its ideas and potential, many of whom demonstrate unsettling degrees of amnesia and/or ignorance concerning the scope of intersectional knowledge project writs larg.”

(Patricia Hill-Collins, 2015:11)

In her most recent article, entitled “Intersectionality’s Definitional Dilemma,” Patricia Hill Collins (2015) gives a critical review of intersectional studies highlighting its roots, both, in the academic and in the activism world. Intersectionality, according to her, because of its grassroots in social movements remains as of today as a heuristic device that’s successful because of its unspecific content. There is, according to Hill-Collins (2015), an Intersectional knowledge project composed of smaller scientific and activist projects that, although interconnected, serve multiple purposes. There is, thus, no single definition of intersectionality. Intersectionality finds its roots within the work of the self-proclaimed “third world U.S” or “color” feminist established as the Combahee River Collective, as well in other social movements in the United States. In the 1960s, as an epoch of social contestation unravel; these women began to highlight the uniqueness of their experiences as women of African American, Latin America or Asian origins in the U.S. They insisted, particularly, in the multiple hierarchies of racial, class, and gender oppressions that affected their reproductive and productive lives.

In this context, in the late 1990s Kimberley Crenshaw (1991), came up with the metaphor of intersectionality. Crenshaw (1991), a lawyer, insisted in this metaphor after her examination

of a gender and race labor discrimination case that involved an African American woman. Crenshaw aimed to highlight the levels of social injustice that crisscross the lives of African American, and other color women in the U.S. Crenshaw (2016) mentions that there was not, at the time, a term in social justice that could address these kinds of experiences. In the case of the woman being studied by Crenshaw (1991), the judge couldn't understand how she could be a victim of both gender and racial discrimination. Crenshaw (1989, 1991) was interested in introducing an interventionist response to the institutional and political discourses that until then ignored how black women experienced gender and race as mutually combined sources of discrimination. According to Crenshaw (1989), the law recognized black women as either too similar to black men, or too different from white women. Black women, as well as other color women, found themselves in a limbo and too different to represent themselves. In fact, the experiences of black women's discrimination surprised Crenshaw (1989). Since, according to her and other colleagues (Cho et al. 2013) by then:

“Although black male and white female narratives of discrimination were understood to be fully inclusive and universal, black female narratives were rendered partial, uncoregnizable, something apart from standard claims of race or gender discrimination (p. 790).”

Crenshaw (2016) wanted to find a name for this issue, for as she clearly stated in later work *“if we can't name a problem, we can't solve it.”* She then came up with the metaphor of an intersection in a street in which many inequalities intersected the subject in question at different crossroads of her life. As she *“Demarginalize the intersection”* (Cho et al. 2013: 791), she aimed to reverse those assumptions by showing the myopic conceptualization of discrimination that was present in U.S law. Crenshaw (1989, 1991), like other feminists that preceded her work, questioned the universalization of the equal human being. They questioned the fact that until then human rights were ascribed as men's rights without specifying the conditions first of women and subsequently of other marginalized individuals.

Today as the Intersectional project grows in popularity, as highlighted by Patricia Hill Collins (2015:10), various publications both in the North American and European context cite Crenshaw as the author of such perspective. Without a doubt her contribution entitled: *“Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity, Politics and Violence Against Women of Color”* was able to combine an analysis that features the unique experiences of women of color in the U.S context as they organized themselves to be recognize in their communities, in identity politics, and eventually in the national law systems (Hill-Collins, 2015: 10). However, according to Hill-Collins (2015), the very idea of a *“critical insight that race, class, gender, sexuality, ethnicity, nation ability and age operate not as unitary, mutually exclusive entities,*

but as reciprocal constructing phenomena that in turn shape complex social inequalities (p. 2)” it’s older than Crenshaws’ (1991) metaphor.

Indeed, as one reads into post-colonial critical feminist theory, it’s possible to visualize that the idea of multiple levels of oppression was, in fact, already in the minds of activist women of color in the United States. However, the fact of citing Kimberley Crenshaw (1991), an African American woman as the conceptual mother of intersectionality, legitimizes the concept in the academic world (Hill-Collins, 2015). However, even Crenshaw (1991), seems to disagree with the idea that she is not at the origin of the approach. Instead, Crenshaw (1991), as well as other scholars (Hill-Collins, 2015, Lykke, 2010, 2011), calls for recognition of Intersectionality and its past, which is rooted in the activism of women of color in the United States and elsewhere in the world. This exercise, as Patricia Hill-Collins (2015) puts it, permits us to make a *“junction when the ideas of social movement politics became named and subsequently incorporated into the academy (p.10).”* Crenshaw’s article in fact, only illustrated the need for new analytical and policy tools that could help to solve the discriminatory dilemmas experienced by women of color. Her work, however, also reflects elements of critical racial theory as she situated her analysis in the relationship between the social structure of power and cultural representations.

Today, the intersectional knowledge project, as legitimized by the work of Crenshaw (1991) and many other researchers (Hill-Collins, 2015, Anzaldúa, 1983, Lykke, 2011, 2010, Lutz et al. 2011) has traveled across oceans. The intersectional knowledge project, as coined by Hill-Collins (2015), is present in North America, Europe, Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Intersectionality continues to be employed as an analytical strategy to understand processes of inequality and identity formations or to question epistemological and methodological procedures in mainstream sciences. In this sense, while following Patricia Hill-Collins’ advice through this review, the purpose is not to define intersectionality for that will be incompatible with its bottom-up nature (Hill-Collins, 2015). I, here, follow the advice of Hill-Collins (2015) who argued, *“definitions emerge from more iterative, grassroots processes that enable intellectual and political consensus to emerge through everyday practices such as organizing sessions, developing syllabi, or choosing citations”* (p. 3).

Thus, rather than intending to define intersectionality, I will depict the roots from which it emerges as a bottom-up knowledge project that has aid researchers to uncover various power relations in society. Following Patricia Hill-Collin’s (2015) advice, I will describe it as a broader knowledge project that infuses itself with insights from racial, gender, and post-colonial critical studies. The goal is to trace both its social movement and academic roots and grab the elements that will serve my analytical efforts in the subsequent chapters.

The Intersectional Knowledge Project

The 1960s and 1970s were an epoch of global political contestation. This era served Black and Latina feminist in the U.S to express their concerns with the multiple hierarchies of power that conditioned their very existence. African American women, as well as Latina women, were part of a broader movement of “*U.S third world*” feminism that reunited all the women who had been by one way or another dispossessed of their means of production or reproduction through colonialism or in post-colonial capitalist societies. These women felt they were both being ignored by mainstream feminist and by their social leaders in their communities. In this context, they created a discourse around local community organizing projects. They claimed their welfare rights, their reproductive freedom, their liberation as black or colored individuals, their sexual identities as a lesbian feminist, and the freedom of their bodies from sexual violence (Hill-Collins, 2015:8). Through the highlighting of such concerns, they aimed to link themselves to mainstream feminism around sexual and class lines. Most importantly, their activism revolved around an ethos against universal social injustice.

Women like Gloria Anzaldúa and Cherrie Moraga (1983), Angela Davis (1981), Patricia Hill Collins (1986), Audrey Lorde, (1984), and Tony Morrison (1971, 1987, 1992) were at the forefront of both activism and academic contestation. Nonetheless, in this context, it was the work of “*The Combahee River*” collective, a small group of African American women that marked the beginning of the intersectional knowledge project. Their view was born out of the necessity to show the uniqueness of their experiences and the multiple inequalities that crisscrossed their lives. Their manifesto was published in 1977 and was entitled: “*A Black Feminist Statement*”. In their manifesto, the women of the collective explained the basis of the Black Feminist Project. Additionally, in their manifesto, the women of the collective reassured that they were (1995 [1977])

“actively committed to struggling against racial, sexual, heterosexual, and class oppression and see as our particular task the development of integrated analysis and practice based upon the fact that the major systems of oppression are interlocking (p. 210).”

Their essay argued that social justice and social stratification analyses needed to incorporate multiple hierarchies of power into their analysis of social inequalities. The work of the Combahee River Collective, then, clearly lays the basis for what would later become intersectional analysis in critical thinking and post-colonial theories (Hill-Collins, 2015). The idea of these women was to make Black women aware of such oppressions.

Along the work of the collective, other Black Feminist such as Angela Davis produced one of the most cited texts of the time “*Women, Race, and Gender.*” Davis (1987) relates the

gendered and racialized experiences of African American women in the U.S since the institution of slavery. Davis's (1983) book is a series of essays that relates the racial politics of mainstream white feminism faced as they pursue their agenda for universal suffrage, housework, and class structures struggles. In her book, Davis (1983) draws from a historical analysis to examine how mainstream feminist in the United States ignored the racial concerns of black women, as they failed to recognize the connections between gender and racial issues. Davis (1983) insisted that feminist, at the time, had forgotten the very idea of universal human rights. Davis (1983) argued, however, that global capitalism influenced mainstream feminists' view on equality and created illusory divisions between color or black feminism and white mainstream feminism.

Audrey Lorde's (1984) work of poetry also theorized multiple and interlocking forms of oppression and became important roots of the intersectional knowledge project. Equally important is the work of Toni Morrison (1971, 1987, 1992) "*The Bluest Eye*" and "*Beloved*". Morrison (1971, 1987, 1992) aimed to analyze the multiple internal mechanisms of self-accepted oppression that worked to disempower and empower women of color.

In the same line of discussions, Latina feminist like Cherrie Moraga and Gloria Anzaldua (1983) later produced significant contributions such as "*This Bridge Called My Back: Radical Writing of women Color*" and "*Borderland-La Frontera*" (Anzaldua, 1987). Their work remains an important analysis of how gender, race, and class hierarchies create physical and imaginary border relations that split subjects and societies. Indeed, their contributions resemble most of the contemporary studies done in Europe that address identities and the formation of inequalities (Anthias, 2008, 2016).

Regardless, of these past contributions, intersectionality remained unknown in the mainstream social sciences. Indeed, women of color strived through generations to bring such ideas into their universities and academic lives. It was only in the late 1980s and early 1990s that the Women's Studies Department in the United States brought forward the importance of such approach. As highlighted by Weber (1998: 14):

"It is in women's studies not in racial or ethnic studies, not in social stratification (class) not in sociology not in psychology or in other traditional disciplines that race, class, gender and sexuality emerged (p. 14)."

In this sense, most of these Women's Studies department engaged in such discussions as they referred to Kimberley Crenshaw's (1991) metaphor, which clearly summarizes the work of the scholars discussed through this section. Women's studies, as suggested by scholar Hill-Collins (2015), was able to form a bridge in Anzaldua's sense. This bridge, then, linked the gender concerns of mainstream feminist with the various concerns of women of color. Given the

size of the Women's Studies program in the United States and elsewhere in the world the success of intersectionality was without precedent.

The newer generation of intersectional thinkers includes the work of Chandra Mohanty (2003). In the 2000s, Mohanty like her earlier colleagues, continued to express her concerns about what she referred to as "*western feminism*" and acknowledge that despite the spread of intersectionality in the 1990s, western feminism continued to define, in their terms, the struggle of women of color as gender concerns. In Mohanty's words (2003) intersectionality is still useful since: "*the histories and the struggles of Third World women against, racism, sexism, colonialism, imperialism and monopoly capital* (p. 46)" continue to be misunderstood. Mohanty (2003) suggested this use of intersectionality was the only means to create what Benedict Anderson (1983) had suggested could be named as "*horizontal political comradeship*". This horizontal comradeship in Mohanty's (2003) view looks away from essentialisation of the "*women*" category and seeks to incorporate the multiple gender, race, class experiences of all women in order to build alliances in imagined communities: "*of women with divergent histories and social locations, woven together by the political threads of opposition to forms of domination that are not only pervasive but also systemic.*" (Mohanty, 2003: 46-47). This sisterhood would serve to create knowledge about inequalities that affect those who are the less privileged, but whom at the same time have a capacity to lead action and encounters. Succeeding, on Mohanty's (2003) call, in the following sections, I discuss the ways in which intersectionality has been used in the U.S context, in Europe and in Latin America. This is in order to find a working definition of intersectionality that could help me understand the uneven access of migrant domestic workers to social protection. In doing so, I follow the call of Mohanty, many other scholars (Alexander, 1994, Fernandez-Kelly, 1993, Ong, 2010) that have continue to use intersectionality in order to truly take into account women's and men's

"locations, identities, and political practices which were embedded in transnational inequalities particularly those linked to colonial relationships of power and structures of global capitalism (Fernandes, 2013: 13)."

Intersectionality as used in the U.S context

Following Mohanty (2013) call, certain studies in the U.S continue to use intersectionality as their main framing of analysis. There studies that are developed under an intersectional approach continue to follow up on the preoccupations of earlier feminist pioneers. In this sense, certain studies have concentrated on the analysis of the segmentation of local and global labor markets according to racial, class, and gender differences that touch differently men and women (Parrenas, 2006, Browne, and Mishra, 2003, Fredman, 2016). These scholars have

looked into how this segmentation of the labor market is done globally to incorporate certain categories of individual in certain sectors of the labor market. Rhacel Parrenas (2006) work with Philippine migrant domestic workers in Italy and the United States summarizes these dynamics and announces the creation of a *New International Division of labor*. Since, according Parrenas (2006), migrant women from particular racial and class backgrounds are expected to work as domestic and care-workers in other areas of the global north such as Europe and North America. The work of Nakanno-Glenn (2002) and Hongdagneu-Sotelo (2001) have also shown how discrimination and organized exploitation in the U.S context is also organized around intersectional lines of difference that divide individuals between male, female, immigrant, and non-immigrant etc. Aside from the labor market, intersectional scholars in the U.S have been preoccupied with how Nation States construct categories of citizens while using intersectional lines of difference (Nakano-Glenn, 2002).

Intersectionality in the U.S context has also been used in political science to describe the political initiatives and activism of the discriminated individuals. The work of Ramos-Zayas (2005) in the United States, for instance, was able to trace how race, gender, and class relations affected the political participations and the nationalism claims of Puerto Ricans in a Chicago Neighborhood. Intersectionality in this context has also been used to explore how in particular nation states notions of sexual violence, ethnicity, criminalization of individuals, and hate speech are build around notions of intersectional identities (Mastusda et al. 1993).

As the terms travels across the Atlantic Ocean and into Europe it has acquired different meanings. Those meaning are worth exploring since this study also takes place in a European context.

Intersectionality in the European Context

Intersectionality has also traveled across the Atlantic. In the United Kingdom, black feminist influenced by the work of U.S scholars have also developed an intersectional approach. Their ideas have been perhaps less explored and used by mainstream academia, but they are nonetheless worth discussing. Since the concept of intersectionality that I put to use is based both in the Latin American and European context. Indeed, the meaning of gender, race, class, heterosexuality, and other forms or markers of difference vary depending on the geographical and political context in which they emerge.

In the United Kingdom, the work of Stuart Hall (1996) is pioneer in using the intersectional approach. Stuart Hall, like many of his contemporaries in the U.S context, also analyzed through the lens of multiple hierarchies of power the experience of immigrant women

in multicultural Great Britain (Chen and Morley 1996). Her contribution is rather significant since neither gender nor race were initially part of the multicultural analysis in the European context (Hill-Collins, 2015). In the same, lines of efforts are the works of Nira Yuval-Davis (1997, 2006, 2011) and Floya Anthias, (2001, 2008, 2016). Yuval-Davis and Anthias have, both, analyzed the multiple hierarchies of oppression that operate at various levels and challenge the lives of immigrant women from varied backgrounds in Great Britain. These studies in Europe have nonetheless, surpassed the commonly used trilogy of Gender, Race, and Class, incorporating sexuality, ethnicity, age and ability (Kim-Puri, 2001). In this category of studies that incorporate sexuality as a category of intersectional analysis not only women have been spotted, but also man and their modern expressions of masculinity (Mosse 1985).

The debates on intersectional analysis are also present in European countries where “racial” issues have historical connotations and are delicate topics to be discussed. In Germany, for example, the approach was, at first, cautiously brought on because of the meaning of race in the German society (Lutz et al. 2011a, Lutz et al. 2011b). Eventually, however, the approach found its way into academia notably through the analysis of migrant domestic workers and their social-economic incorporation into the German society (Schinozaki, 2012, Lutz et al. 2008).

In Scandinavian countries, such a Sweden, Intersectionality also became popular among scholars analyzing how multiple identity patterns could lead to strategic advantages and disadvantages in various social and economic aspects (Sondergaard, 2005, Bredstorm, 2006). In Mediterranean countries, the case of Migrant domestic workers incorporation in the labor market led researchers to use the intersectional approach. The idea of multiple discriminations has been used in Spain and in Italy (Parella, 2003, Bello, 2008, 2009, Bustelo et al. 2009). However, in the Mediterranean countries there seems to be also activist groups of women that have used intersectionality to link the experiences of native women with the experiences of migrant women. Interestingly, the work of such groups in Spain links U.S and European developments, and tries to adapt them to the Spanish context (Traficantes de Sueños, 2004).

The intersectionality knowledge project has also been used in Belgium. Although not explicitly mentioned, the works of social policy and family scholars who have recently worked on migrants women’ welfare state status have also used an intersectional approach (Degavre and Merla, 2016). Their work is particularly important for this dissertation since it brings out the social policy issues faced by migrant women of a certain working class status such as domestic workers. Most, recently, the work of Thomas Swerts has too examined how multiple gender, race, and class identities can generate solidarities among diverse groups of marginalized individuals that eventually collide within one particular social movement (Swerts, 2017). Also in the Belgian context, intersectionality is used to analyze how language cleavages along with

religious identities have influenced policy-making practices (Verloo et al. 2012). Most, recently, however, the case of migrant domestic workers has awakened an interest among younger scholars who examine how multiple intersectional markers of difference can influence the social, economic, cultural incorporation of migrant women in the Belgian Society (Camargo, 2015, Safuta, 2016, Vivas-Romero and Sánchez-Martinez, 2017).

Overall, in the European context, the contributions of researchers and activist are already slowly reaching the policy level. Indeed, as highlighted by Helma Lutz et al. (2011a), the work of scholars and International Women's Movement collectives are making an impact at a supranational level of policy-making in the European Union. For Lutz et al. (2011a,b), when the third pillar of social and welfare state policies in the European Union developed, an intersectional approach was to the least considered at a policy level (Lutz et al. 2011a,b Schieck and Lawson, 2010). Indeed, as President Juncker announced in his speech at European Parliament, the E.U was to promote new Social and Economic pillars which will sustain the well-functioning of labor markets and welfare systems in times of economic crisis and demographic changes (European Commission, 2016). Certainly, E.U anti-discrimination legislation now considers multiple layers of discrimination (European Commission, 2007). However, according to a report entitled: "*Intersectional discrimination EU gender equality and discrimination law*", the elements of laws which could assure this at the E.U level such as the Horizontal Directive and the Article 19 of the CFEU for age, disability, sexual orientation, religious, ethnic or racial origins, seemed to ignore gender as element of discrimination (Fredamn, 2016). While other supranational institutions such as the CEDAW (Convention on the elimination of Discrimination Against Women) and the Convention of people with disabilities seemed to address better intersectional inequalities.

Intersectionality in the Latin American Context

As mentioned earlier on, Latin America is a post-colonial continent where the institutionalization of racial, gender, sexual, and class differences was used to create an uneven redistribution of economic and social resources. In this context, recognizing the racial differences, that have to lead to the categorization of individuals and marked their access to social protection, has been a hard battle (Viveros-Maya, 2009). According to Viveros-Maya (2009), the first studies that described the effect of racial differences in Latin American societies treated gender and racial differences as separate variables (Quijano, 1999, Mignolo, 2000). Since the beginning of the new millennium, however, as most Latin American states (Nicaragua, Brazil, Colombia, Mexico, Paraguay, Bolivia, Ecuador, Peru, Venezuela) defined themselves as multicultural and plural-ethnic and by doing so intersectionality has been brought

up to the table of discussions. Such acknowledgment has been a way to recognize the multiple experiences of marginalized groups and to try the design of new policies that managed such differences. However, in the midst of such changes, the policies design have aimed to maintain and accept diversity rather than to reverse the uneven redistribution of resources that since colonial times affects mostly citizens of indigenous origins, Afro-Latin Americans and mestizo origin women.

In this context academics, policy makers and activist have been prompt to discuss the use of an intersectional approach. Although recent policies are far from being a concrete reality their work, is worth mentioning in this section for two reasons. First, the way in which they have to contextualize and theorize intersectional differences in the Latin American context will be key to analyze the case of Peruvian and Colombian migrant domestic workers. Indeed, it's through the work of Latin American post-colonial and critical scholars that I have been able to complete or confirm my understanding of how certain categories operate in the Latin American context. Secondly, certain aspects of their approaches will complement the theoretical framing that will be used in the analysis.

Two types of research in the Latin American context have tried to examine the intersections of multiple markers of differences for the experiences of the “other” subjects. The first groups of scholars according to Viveros-Vigoya (2009), have used Foucault theories to understand the biotechnologies of power created by the Latin American bourgeoisie to create and govern difference. The second group of scholars has mostly recently begun to drawn from what they describe as Black Feminism and mainly on intersectionality (Viveros-Vigoya, 2009, Dominguez et al. 2013, Esguerra-Muelle and Bello-Ramírez, 2014, Arango-Gaviria, 2007, Hurtado, 2008). Although, already in the 1970s academics like Verena Stolcke, (1974) had already described such intersectional systems of oppression in the post-colonial Cuban society. The intersectional approach has not been readily welcomed in all countries in the region. Academics from Colombia, Peru, Mexico, Brazil, and certain Central American countries have been a pioneer in developing such an intersectional approach. However, I will concentrate in discussing the work of those from the Spanish speaking countries that in some way correspond to the stories explored in chapter 5 and 6.

The work of Latin American scholars that have used intersectionality has dealt with very specific issues for which the approach gives helpful hints to understand such phenomena. The very first research, who use intersectionality, has analyzed how sexualization and heterosexual normativity along racial and gender lines have been used to constructed the body image people of color differently than people of white European origins (Stolcke, 1974). Secondly, a significant body of work has concentrated in how intersectional markers of difference have

determined access to education, health, labor market, and political participation for indigenous and Afro-Latin Americans in their countries. Some of this work has been the independent work of researchers interested in inequality in access to these various social protection resources, while others have been the results of development projects financed and lead by International Development Agencies, European and North American Universities.

Thus, Latin American researchers, as highlighted by Maria Lugones (2007, 2010), have driven an effort to denaturalize categories of gender, race, ethnicity and understand them in the Latin American context. Indeed, as highlighted by Lugones (2005, 2008), researchers ran the risk of performing what according to her would mean a violent epistemological act of maintaining the purity of categories that have been instances created in former colonial powers. An exercise conducted to avoid such bias has been to deconstruct categories such as gender, which are not apt to describe the experiences of all women in the Latin American contexts; among them Andean Aymara and Quechua women, for whom the gender category needs to be deconstructed and used differently. Indeed, women of color particularly indigenous and Afro-Latin American women were given a gender and race by those who colonized them and wished to perpetuate their patriarchal power (Lugones, 2005, 2008). The same applies to the use of racial and ethnic categories that didn't exist before colonization and which need to be understood while taking pre and postcolonial thinking of the "other." Thus, before any use of intersectionality can be made in the Latin American context one needs to understand how the colonial powers and post bourgeoisie white Latin Americans created the categories under which the stratification of social rights continues to be perpetuated. One also needs to understand the agency of individuals who, since then, have not remained simply affected by such categories but have learned strategies to play along with such groups, partly, by the process of mestizaje that has mostly involved women as they reproduced themselves with white and criollo man. In such context, Latin American scholars have used an intersectional approach that resonates clearly with the approach that I will put forward. Indeed, it doesn't take categories as fixed but rather as co-constructed and mutually affecting each other to produce difference and inequality but also in some instance privilege (Lugones, 2005, 2008).

One of the most prominent areas in which intersectionality has served researchers is in the field of education. Traditionally, as highlighted by Mesa-Lago (1978), education, like most of the other social protection resources in Latin America, have been reserved for the urban populations of mestizos and European white descendants. Rural areas, as we would see in the empirical chapters, have been left unattended when it comes to their access to public education. In the midst of a new recognition of multicultural societies, a Congress entitled: "*Indicators of Intersectional Measures for the Social Inclusion in Higher Education Institutions in Latin*

America” was organized. The MISEAL (Measures for social inclusion, equality in university education in Latin America) other European institutions and the Free University of Berlin) financed the Congress. Through the Congress, certain researchers analyzed not only how access to higher education is stratified according to post-colonial, intersectional power axes, but also the very production of knowledge. Joining and intersectional approach to an ecology of knowledge and epistemological justice of Boaventura de Sousa-Santos (2008), Portocarrero's (2013) work evaluated how racial and gender lines influenced access to higher education at The Central University of Nicaragua. Portocarrero (2013) argued that, in The Central American University of Nicaragua, not only economic capital was necessary to access higher education and to produce knowledge for even when indigenous and Afro decedents were incorporated into the university expertise they were questioned and presumed incompetent while the white elites prevented their access to social circles of support. These ethnic categorizations were accompanied by the gender difference that emerged between man and women at the University; women who experimented the care responsibilities associated with motherhood were less able to join administrative functions or professorships in the university. In a similar study, Goesteche and Espinosa (2013) evaluate how access to higher education has become more egalitarian in the Ecuadorian context. However, those from indigenous and Afro-Ecuadorian origins aren't helped to reach the level of urban mestizos in the universities. They also show how in a society organized in gender and ethnic categories, the access to higher education doesn't always lead to social mobility. Barrios-Klee (2013) demonstrated how in Guatemala access to the university was conditioned by racial and gender standards. Indeed, although Guatemala recognizes itself as multicultural and truly-ethnic state, the Mayan University promised with the peace agreement has not become a reality and those of indigenous origins mainly women continue to be discriminated against. In this context, Barrios-Klee demonstrated how FLACSO (Latin American University of Social Sciences) seems to be the only institution that challenges at the graduated level the intersectional discriminations that affect those of marginalized origins. Rivera (2013) recounts a similar dynamic in Peru. He described Peru as a state that was created without citizens and where those of indigenous origin, who speak another language, have been excluded from public education. Rivera (2013) traces the not very successful measures of the Peruvian state to include in particular bilingual schools students of indigenous language mainly. He also concludes that higher institutions do not see a particular need of creating individual curriculums for those students whose mother language is not Spanish.

In this same context, other independent studies have evaluated how multiple markers of difference continue to intersect in the lives of “*othered*” individuals who aren't only racially different, but also have non-normative sexualities. Esguerra-Muelle and Bello-Ramírez (2014), in their study, show in Colombia the academic and activist battle fought to consider multiple

markers of oppression in the creations of policies that tackle the LGTB community's access to public social protection in the multicultural and plural-ethnic state of Colombia. They explain that it has been easier to lead an intersectional discussion in the rural areas of Valle del Cauca than, in Bogotá, a city in which most individuals are of mixed ethnic and racial origins. The authors argued that intersectional differences of sexuality, gender, class, race, ethnic background, and disability have only been recognized as a technical tool to manage diversity and understand differences. However, the policies made don't question the uneven distribution of economic and social capital caused by the intersection of markers of difference.

In a similar study, Arango-Gaviria (2007) used an intersectional approach to see how gender intersected with race and affected black women and men access to labor markets in the city of Bogota. In Bogota, there is a sexually and gender divide labor market, gender and race are used to perceive Afro-Colombian women as part of the servitude and as belonging only to domestic and care services. In this same context, Afro-Colombian men in Bogotá's urban area have often been seen also in the framework of those who serve as domestic workers or as hyper-sexualized, without enough social networks and not careful enough to obtain jobs in critical sectors. Indeed, the mestizo men have since colonial times normalize the fact that those successful are heterosexual white men. These categories have been reinforced by the displacement of Afro-descendants to the city as a consequence of the armed conflicts a situation that has been particularly hard for women who are often widows and or single mothers. In this context, Arango-Gaviria (2007) distinguished two strategies between these two groups those who developed survival techniques and remained employed in ethnic niches of domestic work and social mobility patterns present in those that believed that obtaining a higher education would help them moved forward. In both strategies operated the macro structures of gender, heterosexual, racial, and ethnic divisions along with the subjectivity of the actors and how they were able to negotiate their access to the labor market with other mestizos and white populations.

Besides, access to education and the labor market access to health care and reproductive health, in particular, has been topics address with an intersectional lens in the Latin American context. In Latin America, a hierarchical system of gender, race, and social class operated to control how women reproduce themselves. In this sense, white men monitored white women's sexuality thus, assuring their reproduction with another white male. In this context, indigenous and African women were encouraged to whiten their blood while having often-non-legitimate children with white men (Stolcke (1992 [1974]). This processed helped to produce a forced mestizaje that continue to evolve and condition later access to reproductive heath. Recently, in history, the crusades in Peru, to sterilize indigenous women incapable of reproducing

themselves with white male, became a reality during the Fujimori regime. In this context, mestizo women tried to attach themselves to white men, which led them access to a property and reproductive health (Wade, 2008). This dynamic of control in health and reproductive rights was also explored in other countries in the region such as in Colombia, Mexico, and Brazil (Wade, 2008, Moreno-Figueroa, 2008). On the contrary, indigenous and Afro-descendent male have been left with the only possibility of showing their worth through their masculinity which in some cases allowed them to reproduce themselves with lighter mestizo women (Arango-Gaviria, 2007).

Above all, perhaps the most important way to access full social protection is the recognition of women or men as a full citizen (Marshall, 1950). This matter has also being discussed recently in leftist Latin American states under an intersectional approach to citizenship. Pioneer in this questions have been the work of those who have examined how indigenous women reclaim a gender identity different than their mestizo and white co-nationals which, in some cases, goes against the social protection priorities of mainstream feminism such as equal access to paid labor and reproductive health rights. Sniadecka-Kortaska (2013) has shown how, in the Andean world, indigenous women have a different agenda in what pertains intersectional social justice. As they question the category of gender differences which, they don't see as problematic but rather as complementary and reclaim their access to land and productive means rather than to pay labor.

The advances of the work here presented have undoubtedly partially helped us to understand how historical intersectional markers of differences have differentiated access to social protection resources in the Latin American context. However, this literature has left a few gaps unfulfilled. Mara Viveros-Vigoya (2008:25), for example, points out to the necessity to also explore the category of whiteness in Latin America. Indeed, while much of the work has concentrated on the strategies of the “*othered*” colored Latin Americans, not much work has been done to understand how the white category is inscribed in heterosexual and racist lines and in doing so keeps its power over economic and social resources in Latin American societies. Ceirtainly, as pointed out by Viveros-Vigoya (2005), “*To talk about whiteness in Latin America will allow us to see how racial, class and gender places have assigned positions in society. It also makes it possible to see the importance of whiteness for those of white origins p. 28.*” Indeed, in Latin American societies the experience of mestizaje made invisible the privilege of the white population suggesting equal and universal national categories of citizens that comply with male, heterosexual, and white norms (Viveros-Vigoya, 2008:52). In the same way, the experiences of the mestizo population and their uneven access to resources, as they stand in the middle of racial and class lines, have been left unexplored except for a case study in Mexico that

evaluated their competition for labor market positions (Zúñiga et al. 2016). Another aspect, which has not been explored, is how transnational migration of the “*othered*” individuals from Latin American transforms their experiences of inequality as markers of difference began to play off differently depending on the context. Hurtado (2008) explored this past aspect as she analyzed the experience of Afro-Colombian women in Europe and explained how their black condition was perceived different in the European context and thus produced an upper social mobility for some. The gaps pointed out in this section will be fulfilled through the empirical analysis in this dissertation. I explore how the various gender, class, generational translocations of diverse (mestizos, Afro-descendants, indigenous and white) Peruvian and Colombian migrant domestic workers can help them to strategize differently their access to social protection across borders.

2.2. Different Geographical Settings and a Common Struggle

Regardless, of the geopolitical contexts, there seems to be a common core that operates in the Intersectional Knowledge project, both, in the European and in the U.S context. In the words of Patricia Hill-Collins (2015) “*Collectively, these knowledge projects foreshadow the incorporation of race/class/gender into the academy. (P.7)*” .The emphasis is thus, on interlocking systems of oppressions. These interlocking systems of oppression are not a simple addition of markers of difference that result into privilege or disadvantage. Instead, according to Patricia Hill-Collins (1993), an interlocking system has the advantage of creating possibilities to understand the experiences of all individuals. In her words:

“The significance of seeing race, class and gender as interlocking systems of oppression is that such an approach fosters a paradigmatic shift of thinking inclusively about other oppressions, such as age, sexual orientation, religion and ethnicity. Race, Class and Gender represent three systems of oppression that most heavily affect African-American women. But these systems of the economic, political and ideological conditions that support them may not be the most fundamental oppressions and they certainly affect many more groups than black women (p.223).”

This argument, although, made by a U.S scholar was adopted as a nodal point in feminist analysis in Europe and beyond. This emphasis thus, represents the most valuable, visible, and sustainable claim of the Intersectional knowledge project. Indeed, this is the core point that defined the emergence of race/class/gender studies that is identified both in the European, Latin American and U.S context as intersectionality (Hill-Collins, 2001, 2015). In this sense, these preceding sections have served to discuss the roots and contributions of the Intersectional

knowledge project. Consequently, we can now move on to focusing on intersectionality as an analytical tool that could be useful in this dissertation. In the following sections, I will amount for the analytical lenses that exist in the intersectional knowledge project. I will present my critiques of it and possible ways to improve it.

3. Intersectionality as a Corpus of Analytical Framings

“Implicit in this broaden field of vision is our view that intersectionality is best framed as analytic sensibility. If Intersectionality is an analytic disposition, a way of thinking about and conducting analyses, then what makes an analysis intersectional is not the use of the term “intersectionality,” nor its being situated in a familiar genealogy, nor its drawing on list of standard citations. Rather what makes an analysis intersectional, whatever the term deploys, whatever its iteration, whatever its field or discipline is its adoption of intersectional way of thinking about a problem of sameness and difference and its relation to power.”

(Cho et al., 2013: 795)

The quote above comes from a frequently cited article entitled: *“Toward a field of Intersectionality Studies: Theory, Applications and Praxis,”* authored by Sumi Cho, Kimberley Crenshaw, and Leslie MacCall (2013). Their article is written from a pedagogical perspective and aims to inform us of the analytical, political, and methodological use of intersectionality. However, it’s not intended to give us a recipe we must follow to conduct an intersectional analysis. Instead, of prescribing rules to do such analysis, the authors explain that doing an intersectional analysis is about viewing the problem with such lenses. The intersectional lenses should, at all times, allows us to conceive how multiple hierarchies and categories of power permeate each other in fluid ways and can affect particular social dynamics in specific contexts (Cho et al. 2013: 795). In their view, an intersectional analysis should always emphasize what intersectionality does rather than what intersectionality is.

Although, one can agree that it’s far more interesting to develop an intersectional sensibility than to act by a prescribed book of rules, this approach, can be problematic as well. Indeed, one is left wondering who is apt to have such sensibility and why. Patricia Hill-Collins (2015) proposes partial answers to this past question. She asked scholars to develop far more than an intersectional sensitivity. She urges us to look into the patterns under which studies of intersectionality have been designed to draw our analytical use of intersectionality (Hill-Collins,

2015: 11). I, therefore, chose to follow her approach in this section. In order to develop such discussion I follow the work of Gabriele Winker and Nina Degele (2011), who developed a typology of the various ways in which intersectionality has been put to use as an analytical strategy. Their aim is to propose ways in which grounded theory can be applied to intersectionality.

According to Winker and Degele (2011), some studies that use an intersectional lens are anti-categorical. They dislike set categories of analysis and instead deconstruct them through their analysis (Villa, 2011). Paula-Irene Villa (2011) study's on Argentinian tango is an example of such anti-categorical approach. Villa examines how other categories lay within and in between the race, gender, and class mantra. Villa argues that in the embodiment of social practices such as dance, the social cannot be entirely understood while examining multiple categories. Those who have used such anti-categorical approach believe that the usefulness of intersectionality is to highlight differences and not identities. Although, I agree that essentialism is not a strategy that can allow us to move forward in the description of social reality, erasing the very categories of intersectionality I think defeats the origins and nature of the approach.

Winker and Degele (2011) mention other scholars that have instead used an inter-categorical complexity approach. This method has been used mostly by quantitative scientists who look into how the intersections of power are concentrated among members of a particular group (McCall, 2001, Walby, 2007). The researchers, using such an approach, used the fixed and pre-chosen variables, like income indicators and revenue differences between socially set groups (McCall, 2001). Evidently, such approach seems to be useful for quantitative researchers and demonstrates the usefulness of intersectionality to explain inequalities in socio-economic standards in a particular society. However, the fixed categories that aren't put into historical and contextual everyday experience of the actors seem to be problematic. Indeed, markers of difference that create inequalities don't emerge in a vacuum. These markers are rooted in particular histories, in family relations and genealogies and in the everyday relations individuals establish with a large number of actors (Mohanty, 2003). Nonetheless, it's also inside these same relations where individuals create resistance and agency to overcome the difficulties produced by such markers of difference. In any case, it's not compatible with the approach, I have used through my fieldwork in which the ethnography and the social dynamics described were the product of an ongoing negotiation with the participants.

Lastly, Winker and Degele (2012) describe the intra-categorical qualitative approach. This approach seems to be the most useful for my study. This is an approach that has been used in the past by several scholars (Lykke, 2011, Butler, 2010, 1993, Harvey, 2005, Prins, 2006). Researchers, who have used it, seem to agree that is by looking into the contextual micro

interactions of different categories in a life-course fashion that is possible to understand an intersectional social phenomenon (Lykke, 2010, 2011, Harvey, 2005, Prins, 2006). The approach focuses on particular social groups that are the target of exclusion (McCall, 2005). In the case of this dissertation, I have looked into the case of migrant domestic workers. One, indeed, uses ethnographic fieldwork and narratives to contextually analyze in a rhizomatic fashion the different categories that seem to be changing through the individual's and family's life-course (Lykke, 2010). As highlighted by Lykke (2011: 211):

“like the plant that stems that move horizontally in all directions, rhizomatics as analytical practice means following theoretical lines of flight, and in doing so accepting non-hierarchical connections between heterogeneous and multiple phenomena touching each other in unexpected ways (p.211).”

It's in physicist Karen Barad's (2007:151) words about seen how different categories “*intra-act.*” Barad indeed, stresses the importance of non-bounded phenomena that interconnects, and mutually transforms each other while interplaying. Then, as Lykke (2011: 209) puts it, “*what is important for many feminist when they speak of intersectionalities between gender, race, and ethnicity are processes of co-production and mutual transformation. (p. 209)*”. In this sense, Judith Butler's texts, “*Gender in Trouble*” (1990) and “*Bodies that Matter*” (1993) are a good example of such analysis. Indeed, through the use of intra-categorical approach, Butler was able to demonstrate while conducting a major genealogical study the intra-active links between constructions of gender, sex, and sexuality. Butler's (1990) like Lykke (2011) also assume the importance of contextualizing in a particular period in history the continuity and discontinuity of non-fix categories that one is studying.

Another good example that shows this intra-categorical approach is Winker and Degele's (2011) approach. The authors associate the use of an intersectional approach to grounded theory methodology and Pierre Bourdieu's theory of practice (1977). The authors build from Sandra Harding's (1986) intent to see how intersectional categories develop in a symbolic, structural, and individual facet through a large period in an individual's life. They thus, look into what they define as:

“a system of interactions, between inequality-creating social structures (power relations) symbolic representations and identity constructions that are context specific, topic oriented and inextricably lined to social praxis (Winker and Degele, 2011:54).”

They suggest analyzing such phenomena while looking at the micro level of identity constructions, at the Meso level of relations in which symbolic representations ideologies and norms are created and where people perform identities. Lastly, they propose to situate these past

two levels at the more macro level of social structures. In this last level of their analysis, they pay close attention to class while looking at what Bourdieu entitled social capital and education (Bourdieu, 1985, 1994). Class, however, in their terms, is not reduced to economic power but can be seen in all areas of life such as in the family lifestyle and care-work. Gender as part of their categories is a performance act that's not only biologically constructed. They also understand race as:

“power resting on the structural asymmetry of power between human groups that have been transformed symbolically into races. Race means human groups that through symbolic classification become “races” (Winker and Degele, 2011:55).”

The body is the third category they look into as the unity where all three of these categories are performed and learned. The body, however, is also the place where disability, which is another category of the intersection, is interpreted, performed and lived. Winker and Degele (2011) proposed steps of intersectional analysis to follow up their approach. In their words, they call for an intersectional approach that is:

“the combination of a limited number of structural categories with an unlimited number of identity and representation categories; it reconstitutes itself as an interplay of deductive theory led and inductive open procedural methods (p.57).”

The authors think it's possible to invest in such approach while proceeding in 8 steps that don't necessarily have to be followed in an orderly fashion. The first is to establish, through the first narratives collected, the markers that serve people to construct their identities. The second step is to determine how those categories are expressed in people's symbolic interactions with others and within more macro norms. As for this second phase, the authors build on the theories of symbolic interactions proposed earlier by Hall (1996). The third phase deals with understanding how actors see themselves within larger structures of power, opportunities and constraints. The fourth step is to draw conclusions of how and which multiple markers of difference interact at the levels mentioned. The following five and six steps involve a comparison and cluster of categories along with gathering supplementary data from official documents, the media, or other societal institutions that confirm those categories as important. The seventh and eight steps involve reassuring the importance of such criteria at all the levels of analysis and finally being able to demonstrate how such categories could be possible generalized. The authors imply that, through the use of these eight steps, one should be able to understand how structural ideologies and norms as well individual symbolic representations of intersectional categories contribute to the creation of inequality.

One can say their approach represents a real methodological contribution to the intersectional knowledge project. However, it's also an approach that appears to have certain flaws. First of all, the approach remains as top-bottom up approach in which categories although not defined, a priori, are controlled by the analytical eye of the researcher alone. This point goes against the very nature and origins of the intersectional knowledge project, which builds within a bottom-up logic. Building from the work of Barad (2003) and Haraway (1997) I will, instead, propose a mutated witness approach in which the categories are constructed as one intra-acts with the field and the participants. I will propose a method in which the categories at all the levels, mentioned by Winker and Degele (2011), build an acquire meaning in a mutually constructive relationship between the researcher and the participants. The second flaw, that I think it's visible in their approach, is their view of intersectionality as the analytical lens that can be used only to analyze the reproduction of inequalities within the borders of one particular nation-state. Indeed, recent intersectional theoretical reflections conducted, both, in Europe and North America pledge for an intersectional approach that evaluates how hierarchies of power and markers of difference are produced in transnational social fields of power. This last point is important because it implies that while some hierarchies of power might produce inequalities in one particular nation, they might produce equality in another one. It's only through an understanding of such transnational hierarchies of power that one gets to understand the uneven construction of the global social protection arrangements used by the participants in this study. Nonetheless, adopting a transnational lens also allows using intersectionality outside of the U.S and European context where it has been typically used and developed. This too, is important for the case study that will be discussed in the subsequent chapters, since the ethnography took place in multiple geographical spaces including post-colonial societies such as Peru and Colombian, where intersectionality is a recently developed approach. In this sense, as argued by Patil (2013: 850) defying the domestic approach in intersectionality can also allow us to

“interrogate how transnational dynamics of colonialism, imperialism, and neoliberalism structure and constrain life prospects through processes of racialization and gendering (p.850).”

In order to bridge Transnational and Intersectional approaches, I will unravel the main aspects of transnational scholarship and cover the few works of researchers who worked with this approach.

3.1. Intersectionality as an Analytical Framing in Transnational Social Fields

Power Axes in Transnational Social Fields

In the late 1990s, migration scholars developed an important critique of the methodological nationalism often used in migration studies (Glick-Schiller and Levitt, 2004, Glick-Schiller, 2005, Portes and Guarnizo, 1999, Faist, 2000). Transnational migration scholarship questioned the fact that migration was a simple linear process in which migrants and their families assimilated to their receiving society while they lose their connections to their homelands. As recounted by Nina Glick-Schiller (2005), a pioneer in the field, the last decade the advent of transnational studies has allowed researchers to examine how the social, economic, cultural, and political lives of migrants and non-migrants, alike, are located between the borders of at least two nation states. We have learned about the social and political connections of transnational villagers (Levitt 2001). We have also learned about the transformation of family lives through transnational migrations (Bryceson and Vuroela, 2002, Baldassar and Merla, 2014) or about the transnational political activities that migrants entertain which can affect their home and host lands' politics (Lafleur, 2013). Most recently, and as mentioned in the previous chapter, we also learned about states that want to allow their emigrants to access transnational social protection such is the case of pensions and housing programs in Colombia (Gomez-Kopp, 2001, Vivas-Romero, 2015, Lafleur and Lizin, 2015). However, living and being engaged in a transnational social field can be a site for both opportunities and constraints. As clearly explained by Purkayastha (2012: 58), those who don't have the privilege to live or be engaged in transnational social fields where: "*interlocking networks of social relationships through which ideas, practices and resources are unequally exchanged, organized and transformed*" seem to be underprivileged (Glick-Schiller and Levitt, 2004:1009).

Indeed, such transnational social fields don't automatically grant the actors inside them with privileges and opportunities. Inside such transnational social fields like in Bourdieu's (1994:53-56) fields, actors have multiple locations and struggle to accumulate resources. They use their social and economic capital to move across the power lines inside the field. However, the question of how such axes of power develop in such social fields across nation states has been left underdeveloped in transnational studies. Indeed, as argued by Nina-Glick-Schiller (2005: 439), the axes of power inside transnational social fields need to be better examining in order to "*move transnational studies beyond the level of description and towards new theory of society.* (p.439)." Glick-Schiller (2005: 455) explains that whether researchers use the notion of

transnational social field or space, it's necessary to develop an analysis that must be able to understand

“uneven power within which networks they trace are constituted. Much more research needs to be done on the ways in which power is organized, structured and exercised transnationally within such relationships (p.455).”

The work of Sarah Mahler and Patricia Pessar (2001) in gender geographies of power has constituted one step in this direction. In fact, through such conceptual tool, they were able to examine the role of gender relations in the construction, maintenance, and transformation of transnational social spaces. They consider how gender, as a social construction, organized the transnational lives of migrants and their families. However, as it has been highlighted by the intersectional knowledge project, a gender only approach obscures the interaction of gender with other equally important markers of difference such as race, class, religion, ethnicity, etc. In this sense, most recently scholars have been arguing that intersectionality and transnationalism in the study of migration are two fields that could mutually benefit from each other. The link of, both, intersectional and transnational scholarship can indeed help us understand how multiple markers of difference traverse the transnational social fields in which migrants and their family members live. It's within these approaches that I will like to situate my own use of intersectional and transnational approaches as an analytical framing. In this sense, although the contributions that have argued for such approaches are only a few, they are worth discussing through this section since I build my approach from some of their tools.

Following Intersectional Lines of Power in Transnational Social Fields

Bandana Purkayastha (2012), a U.S sociologist, who focuses on studying issues related to migrants' transnational lives, is pioneer in investing efforts to link intersectional and transnational studies. In (2012) in a very discussed essay entitled *“Intersectionality in a Transnational World”* Purkayastha reviewed the possibility of examining how the multiple and intersecting categories of race, gender, and class were now interacting in a transnational physical and online space. Purkayastha (2012) argued that intersectional scholars must go beyond what she understood as the *“Euro-American organization of racial hierarchies”* to see how beyond the American and European context the notions of race, gender, and class, as well as other hierarchies, developed themselves in similar or different terms. According to her, race, as well as other hierarchies of power, had rarely until then been theorized and analyzed in a transnational social field. To exemplify her argument, she gave various examples of migrants whose racial attributes would be considered as either negative or positive depending on the context in which they took place. One of those examples was that of two migrant women from

Uganda, one of them from Black background and the other one from Indian ones. She argued that as both women lived in the U.S, they experienced different sets of discrimination; one because of the racism associated with the African Americans and the other one because of the discrimination against the Muslim religion. However, she also mentioned that if both women were to return home, they would also face different sets of discrimination there. The Muslim Ugandan women will, perhaps, experience discrimination in a black majority setting, while the Uganda from black background would experience less discrimination as an easier insertion in the economic and social life of the country (Narayan and Purkayastha, 2001). Similarly, if they both immigrated to India, the Ugandan women with Indian origin will perhaps experience discrimination because of her cast or gender, and the one from black background would, too, experience discrimination because of her skin color. Purkayastha (2012) mentions the situation would be similar for a Brazilian with Japanese origin who immigrated to Japan. These examples challenge the Euro-American conception of racial differences based on simply skin color. This new approach, according to Purkayastha, could bring the experience of migrants who deal with multiple hierarchies of power in a transnational social field out of the shadow. In this sense, categories such as “*women of color*” might be challenged when looked at from a transnational perspective. Indeed, as she mentioned (Purkasyatha, 2012):

“people who can access transnational social spaces attempt to balance their lack of privilege in one country (their race / classed / gendered / ability / sexual / age / nationality status in one nation state) by actively seeking out privilege and power in another place or in virtual space) (p. 60).”

According to Purkayastha (2012:59), we needed a more practical framework that could indicate differences and experiences of transnational migrants as they live their lives within and outside the “Euro-America” social space. Since, in reference to Purkayastha (2012:59), the frameworks we currently use are not able to fully trace the multiple markers of difference that exist today within global hierarchies and affect individuals’ reproductive and productive lives. Purkayastha (2012: 59) argued this is crucial if the intersectional knowledge project “*is to retain its explanatory power in an increasingly transnational world where within country and between-country structures shape people’s experiences. (P. 59)*”. She is, however, not suggesting that we abandon the analysis of categories such as race within national spaces but that we enlarge the analysis to a more transnational level.

Purkayastha (2012) suggested that analyzing migrants’ simultaneous positions in the transnational social field could make this move. Her contribution gives the example of social and racial differences, but she argued this could be extended to religion and other markers of difference. Purkayastha’s (2012) contribution relies on her call for intersectional and

transnational studies to find parallel lines. Her convincing argument is, overall, to examine how multiple axes of power are reproduced in a transnational fashion as they condition the reproductive and productive lives of individuals. Purkayastha (2012), however, also contributes by arguing that if we are to do so, we need new methods that are capable of examining the simultaneity in the transnational production of markers of difference and inequality.

Since Purkayastha's (2012) contribution, other scholars have followed her advice particularly in the field of Transnational Family Studies. In this sense, the work of Mahler et al. (2015) represents a significant contribution. Mahler et al. (2015) argued that although the *Gender Geographies of Power* was a beginning of an effort to capture how inequalities and differences develop in a transnational social field, there was a need to incorporate various other hierarchies that matter. Mahler et al. (2015) reiterate the need for intersectionality to engage in analysis beyond the nation state given the size and growth of international migration. They pay particular attention to how members of families that live in multiple nation-states can negotiate their different gender, race, ethnic, and class positions across borders. As we would witness, in the stories shared in this thesis, the member of the same family might occupy different positioning according to their generational status in the family, not only regarding their gender but also according to how their ethnicity and race are perceived in the country in which they inhabit. One family member, indeed, might be working as the domestic worker abroad but, at the same time, enjoy a substantial upgrade in her social status in the country of origin. Thus, Mahler et al. (2015) argued that a domestic view of intersectionality *"cannot reflect the growing transnationalization of peoples's lives and family matters given that over 200 million people live outside the nation state where they were born (p.100)."* There is, thus, according to them, a need to enhance feminist analysis by looking into transnational family members' standpoints *"simultaneously at multiple social scales including, the intimate, local, national and transnational scales (p. 100)"*

Mahler et al. (2015) demonstrated how such multi-level analysis of transnational and intersectional inequalities operated with a prolonged ethnographic work with a Bengalis Hindu family that lived between India and South Florida. The Hindu-Bengali family they examined experienced their gender, ethnic, and class positions at the intimate, local, and transnational levels. The couple was married through an arranged marriage in which the partners were supposed to be from equal ethnic (members of a different clan but the same cast), same social class (same education level) and within the expected physical appearance standards of light complexion and perfect high/height. In this context, Mahler et al. (2015) analyzed how the wife in the family remained unquestionably inferior gender wise in the eyes of her husbands' family but was able to retain her education and social class status as she became a stay at home wife

able to live on her husband's salary. Although for U.S standards of mainstream feminism, a woman in this situation lost her social and economic capital by staying at home, in the eyes of the wife's family and of other ethnic communities in South Florida, such as Latin American and the Caribbean, the wife was by all means a privileged stay at home mother. The wife, however, according to Mahler et al. (2015) remained challenged by gender expectations and the subordination to a mother in law that remained very present through new media and communication. At the same time, the husband, on a more privileged positioning, was able to be a Bangladesh gentleman in the transnational social field. The husband, in this case, seemed to be the most privileged member of the household as he appears as a good gentleman, with a good job in a recognized immigration country such as the U.S and who still helps his family in India by providing for them economically. The researchers then demonstrated how this family's work of "*imagination*" allowed them to maintain multiple social positioning, both, in their countries of origin and in the United States. This family they examined, like other transnational families, involved themselves in a constellation of positions in the transnational social field that include "*gender, class, caste, nationality, ethnicity, race, culture, education, gender and seniority* (p. 108)". The simultaneous considerations of these multiple markers of difference allow us to understand how they play around such distinctions to assure their culture, productive, and reproductive lives.

The framework put together by Mahler et al. (2015) shows how the multiple scaling of identities could be revealing of many inequalities that are simultaneously reproduced in various but connected geographical spaces. They also allow us to see how it is important to examine how actors perceive themselves around those markers of difference but also how people are viewed by the societies in which they inhabit. They also suggest that prolonged life-long ethnography is, perhaps, an adequate method to see how such markers of difference become contextually important at particular moments of the life-course. They, however, stay short-sighted in the sense that without a multi-sited fieldwork they are not able to explore how those markers of difference operate simultaneously in various geographical spaces.

On a similar perspective, in a recent special issue, Asunción Freznosa-Flot and Kioko Shinozaki (2017) point out to similar dynamics. They explore how intersectional gender, social, class, and generation shape South-East Asian migrants' transnational family and political engagement. To do so, they asked that the authors in their particular issue reconsidered the meaning of those markers of the difference. In this sense, gender for them was to be amplified and reconstructed as a category that can be applied to men and women equally (Fresnoza-Flot and Shinosaki, 2017: 4). Since then, they have argued that recent augmentation of female migration particular from South-East Asian countries such as the Philippines, Indonesia,

Malasia, Vietnam, Thailand, Myanmar, Laos, and Cambodia had led researchers to re-naturalize gender as a category that pertains only to transnational mothers. The view of researchers working on Transnational Asian migration is also common to researchers working with transnational families from the Latin American context, where immigration of women for domestic and care work had also significantly augmented (Hongdagneu-Sotelo, and Avila, 1997).

Frenzoza-Flot and Shinozaki (2017) also asked that researchers reconsidered the meaning of class no longer in a binary economic standard as it was earlier considered by Marxist scholars (Frenzoza-Flot and Shinozaki, 2017: 5). They, instead, aim to reconsider class as a taste and as the possession of cultural and educational capitals. Their views of class followed Pierre Bourdieu's approach to class (1978). Lastly, they pointed to reviewed generation not just as a biological category, but also rather as historical locations that shift meaning depending on where the members of one particular transnational family are located (Frenzoza-Flot and Shinozaki, 2017: 8, Chust, 2017). They, thus, explored such categories not as fixed but rather as reconstructed through the family's life course in various geographical spaces. They argued those categories influenced the family's transnational engagement. In this sense, the papers in their special issue also argue that ethnography and in particular the life-story tool of qualitative research can be incredibly valued to do so (Barber, 2017, Baldassar et al. 2017). They do, however, consider that is important to compliment such analysis by a discussion of the policies in migration and labor regimes that at the more macro level also position migrants and their families according to multiple markers of difference.

Another important contribution in this field of interectionality and transnationalism is the work of Floya Anthias (2016). Anthias (2002, 2008), as mentioned in the previous sections, was a pioneer in the European context to develop the notion of intersectionality. Most recently, Anthias (2016) has aimed to theorize how the collusion between inequalities and identities are reproduced and produced in contexts of transnational mobility. In simpler words, Anthias (2016) has aimed to conceptualize how in national contexts in which migrants are being "othered" according to their gender, their race or their class they can mobilize the translocational positionalities they had previously occupied in their countries of origin. Translocational positionalities are defined by Anthias (2016: 185) as

"A complex recognition of hierarchical relations, which has a wider theoretical resonance in terms of social stratification. The domain of structural location is therefore not a given and unproblematic placing of people in an overall hierarchical system but is much more nuanced and prone to different placing in terms of different 'gazes' different societal contexts and different parameters of social inequity (p. 185)."

Anthias (2016: 183) recognizes that migrants are often entitled to flows of communication and family, as well as professional relations that develop in multiple geographical spaces. There is, thus, a particular temporality and contextualization in transnational social fields, which create markers of difference that sometimes, act together or in different ways. Taking into account the simultaneous production of markers of difference, Anthias (2016) does not agree with a set view of an intersectional framework. Instead, the work of Anthias (2016) develops intersectionality as a heuristic device that's able to: "*allows a set of approaches for furthering the understanding of social relations relating to boundaries and hierarchies of social life. (p. 184)*" This approach allows us to discover how intersectional categories emerge in a transnational social field. These categories, according to Anthias (2016), are to be studied as they are emerging in the repertoires of the actors we study. In this way, Anthias (2016) approach is compatible with the intra-categorical qualitative approach mentioned in the earlier section (Lykke, 2010, 2011, Harvey, 2005, Prins, 2006). Since, it's nonetheless also attuned with the framing I will put to use in my own analysis. Indeed, the categories we explore are never attributed as fixed in the life of individuals but rather as changing and fluid. The framing proposed by Anthias is not a fixed one but becomes rather an "*an analytical framing*" (Anthias, 2016: 183). This analytical framing, thus, considers how actors revolve around multiple hierarchies of power that are created within constellations of social relations in transnational social fields. In this framing, however, it's important to consider, the time, the history, and the actual physical and nonphysical space of relations where such hierarchies of power develop themselves (Anthias, 2016:186).

The past contributions represent a significant advance to explore how multiple markers of difference affect the reproduction and production of transnational family lives. However, there are few gaps left. One of them is their monolithic concentration on identity and belonging. Indeed, although intrinsically shown, none of these studies operationalize how those multiple markers of difference affect the transnational family and the migrants' family access to particular resources that allow their reproduction. This gap has been partially fulfilled by the work of Anna Amelina et al. (2012, 2016) and colleagues as well as Thomas Faist (2016). Indeed, their work has also highlighted the need for an intersectional approach to understand migrants' and their families' access to social protection. Although, different than the approach that I will mobilize, they conceptualize intersectional markers of difference such as gender or ethnicity as fixed categories that will always be responsible for reproducing the same local and transnational inequalities. Undeniably, as shown in my case study as well as in the most the recent theoretical contributions of intersectional scholars, markers of difference are always contextual, they interact and mutually influence each other in ways that are often unpredictable (Lykke, 2010, Anthias, 2016).

Secondly, these studies insist in ethnographic qualitative methods to investigate the effect of multiple markers of difference in transnational social fields. However, none of them considered them in a multi-sited fashion. In this sense, this gap is also filled by the empirical work conducted to produce this thesis, which examined these multiple markers of difference in various locations that at times, also involved the online world. In order to fill in these theoretical and methodological gaps I build my approach while following Floya Anthias' (2016) most recent conceptualization of intersectionality, where she defines it as a heuristic device that can be used in transnational social fields. Thus, in the last section of this chapter, I build from the main ideas of her work to produce my own theoretical framing.

4. Preliminary Remarks: Towards a Rhyzomatic Analysis of Intersectional Translocations in the Study of Global Social Protection Arrangements

“Two years ago I started working in a school as a care-taker of younger children. I also teach Spanish to small kids in the afternoons. This type of thing keeps me going! It makes me feel that I’m more than a cleaner, just cleaning depresses me deeply! It sharpens my skills and gives me self-esteem. Just cleaning all the daylong would kill my brain. I keep my intellect at live and that helps me in every situation in life. In many ways I’m still the teacher I was before I left Colombia.”

(Amaranta, Migrant Domestic Worker, Brussels, 21-10-2014)

Amaranta, the woman in the quote above, explores in her narrative all of her translocations. She is a 52, years old participant, of white origins in Colombia, who has since moving to Brussels experienced a downward social mobility. Thus, considering the professional woman she was in the past, Amaranta always aimed to describe herself as a woman with cultural and social capital. Amaranta always defines herself as the teacher she had been in Colombia, and as a migrant with significant ethnic capital that allowed her to associate with important actors both in Brussels and in her native Colombia. These networks in Brussels and abroad facilitated her engagement in repertoires of formal and informal practices that made up functional global social protection arrangements that protected her family, both, in Brussels and in Colombia. Moreover, in her family, Amaranta described herself as both a “*mother and a father*” and the family chief, since her husband had divorced her after their forced migration to Brussels. Amaranta often narrated her capacity to adapt to be both a cleaner and an intellectual woman, while her husband “*couldn’t comply with this.*” In many ways, Amaranta’s narrative challenges the traditional rhetoric of migrant domestic workers as a global underclass. Amaranta

like other participants defined herself as a “*mestiza*” meaning a Latin American from indigenous and white origins. She was conscious of her privileges and disadvantages both in Colombia and in Brussels. As I followed and discussed with her and her family members the implementation of global social arrangements, it seemed accurate that an intersectional and transnational approach would be useful to understand their stories. In this sense, it became key to draw from this notion and operationalize the previously defined term of translocations (Anthias, 2016).

As expected, numerous elements of Anthias’s (2016) translocation framing became core to analyze the participant's global social protection arrangements. Firstly, the idea of markers of difference that create multiple translocations is indeed helpful. This approach is similar to those intersectional approaches that try to uncover categories that emerge through the life course and intra-act with each other (Lykke, 2010, Barad, 2007). Concretely, as one develops such analytical framing, is important to observe how through the life-course and depending on the geographical contexts for migrants and their families, some markers of difference become more present while others might lose their strength and matter less. As argued by Anthias (2016), one must be attentive to how such markers of difference develop in many physical and nonphysical relations in the transnational social field and eventually create positionality and hierarchization. The markers of difference examined are, simultaneously, connected and not fixed in time and space. However, as argued by Anthias (2016), there are grounded in a history, particular time, and space and should always be contextualized. Ultimately, what is important is to trace how such markers of difference give people multiple translocations that affect their choice of repertoires and how they will engage in global social protection arrangements.

Anthias’ (2016) framing seems to be, indeed, appropriate to study the global social protection arrangements developed by the actors in this dissertation. However, one gap is visible and her approach. Anthias (2016) does not mention which methods and strategies are advisable to operationalize and delimitate how individual translocations develop and affect an individual’s access to certain resources. Thus, in my aim to contribute to the literature through the following chapter, drawing from the work Barad (2007) and Haraway (1997), I will propose the use of a mutated witness to do so. Such mutated witness, can capture the emergence of translocations through a multi-sited co-constructed ethnography. This mutated witness and the multi-sited ethnographic approach that emerge from it are elaborated in detail in the following chapter.

Chapter 4: Co-Constructing Knowledge, A Voyage as a Mutated Witness

1. Towards a Mutated Witness Approach

In the previous chapter, I introduced the concept of global social protection arrangements as a heuristic device that allows me to empirically trace migrant domestic workers' efforts to protect themselves. This chapter instead describes the journey through which, together with my participants, I chose a multi-sited ethnographic approach that led to us to trace their lives through time and space. I ask the reader to follow me in this voyage, as this chapter develops in three parts. In the first part, I place my approach within the discussions on the methods currently used to study transnational phenomena. Subsequently, I introduce the mutated witness approach, which fills in some of the gaps in the current methods employed in transnational studies. This mutated witness position allows me to name the basis from which I speak. The mutated witness is the position I wished to adopt as I studied migrant domestic workers' access to global social protection arrangements. The mutated witness builds from post-colonial and critical feminist studies (Haraway, 1997, Anzaldúa, 1988). Unlike, the modest witness figure evoked in most mainstream sciences, the mutated witness is not afraid to show her humanity and make visible the process through which she engages with her research object. Following the advice of anthropologist Akhil Gupta and James Ferguson (2008:93), the mutated witness defies the typically assumed idea that only those who aren't at the margins and are mainstream enough could be objective. The mutated witness is attentive to how gender, class, generational, racial and religious translocations that are common or different to her or to her participants affect the creation of knowledge. This approach is further discussed in the following sections. However,

it's important to highlight that the mutated witness helps to unfold through this chapter, the entire research process as it emerged out of a continuous negotiation between the researcher and the participants. I thus, invite my audience to view the knowledge creation process and be critical of it.

In the second part of this chapter, I reveal the process through which I adopt such mutated witness positioning. I show the journey made by the participants and me to draft the research questions, the methods and the categories of analysis. The process starts in the city of Brussels as I met the initial 15 participants and realized that the question of how they access social protection was essential both to them and to the emergent scholarship on transnational social protection (Faist, 2013, Faist and Bilicen 2015). I discuss both the theoretical and practical premises behind those choices. As the route continues the chapter covers the process through which the participants and the researcher join efforts to create a multi-sited ethnography that was useful to study their global social protection arrangements. I describe how this multi-sited ethnography expanded through an extended field of relations where the participants and their support networks constructed their global social protection arrangements. This step reveals a field that won't be, as typically assumed in anthropology, a faraway site. This new type of field is located inside a transnational social space and it will rather concentrate on networks of relations located in multiple geographical spaces (Gupta and Ferguson, 2008: 97, Faist, 1998). Through these parts of the voyage as a mutated witness, I carefully observe my field, composed of my participants' support networks, spread in different countries and continents.

Finally, in the last section of this chapter, I perform the necessary exercise of setting my continuous commitment to the feminist ethics of knowledge construction. I follow Donna Haraway's (1988) and Leela Fernandes' ethics of risk (2013a). I thus intra-act (Barad, 2007) with the realities I studied. I do so while I assume the risks associated with studying such reality. I'm conscious that I inevitably affected it and challenged the object I studied. I thus assume that as I adopted this feminist ethics of risk, this production of knowledge became an emancipatory practice both for my participants and for myself.

2. Visible Gaps in Transnational Methods: Beyond Nationalism and Essentialism

“My Name is Valeria Rodriguez-Villas. I used to live in Colombia with my father. My father was a terminally ill person. He was bedridden for 13 years and I took care of him

those 13 years. I'm married and I have a daughter that's 24 years old. My husband and the rest of my family are in Colombia..."

(Valeria, former Migrant Domestic Worker, Brussels, 21-10-2014)

Stories like Valeria's reflect what, according to transnational scholars, is a world on the move (Levitt et al. 2015). In such a world, individuals like Valeria for various economic, environmental, social issues are forced to live their lives on-the-go with multiple attachments and networks that span across the borders of nation-states and continents (Glick-Schiller and Levitt, 2004). As one traces their efforts to protect themselves and their families, there are multiple dilemmas and challenges that emerge, since traditional ethnographic methods can no longer account for such realities.

On a recent methodological note, Karolina Barglowski and colleagues (2014) have highlighted some of these dilemmas. The first one, and perhaps the most obvious one, is going beyond the bias of methodological nationalism (Glick-Schiller and Levitt, 2004, Wimmer and Glick-Schiller, 2002, Barglowski et al. 2014). In fact, as highlighted earlier in the study of social protection, most social phenomena were traditionally considered while defining social spaces and relations as naturally confined to a particular nation state (Wimmer and Glick-Schiller, 2002). Transnational scholars, particularly those who have studied family relations across borders, have reflected on methods that would help them overcome such bias.

One of the most used strategies to overcome methodological nationalism has been the use of social networks theories to follow extended relations in multiple geographical locations, while using qualitative methods such as the multi-sited ethnography (Fog-Olwig, 2007, Baldassar and Merla 2014, Mazzucato 2008). Through the use of such methods researchers have become aware of spatial categories that are constructed by formal and informal actors that live in multiple, but connected, spaces of relations (Barglowski et al. 2014: 215). Nevertheless, they have done so while being careful in how they define such spaces, in terms of the activities that take place in them and the solidarities and reciprocities that sustain them (Faist, 1998). The work of Thomas Faist, (1998) has perhaps described such transnational social spaces in the clearest ways. Faist (1998) thinks of such spaces as different in terms of the activities that take place in them (e.g., entrepreneurial, community-family, state-lead). Moreover, he thinks each of such spaces are held together by three mechanisms of reciprocity and solidarity:

"1- reciprocity is a pattern of social exchange mutual obligations and expectation of the actors, associated with specific social ties and based on exchanges and services rendered in the past (Coleman, 1990:306-9). These obligations and expectations can be an outcome of instrumental activity for example tit-for that principle. 2- Reciprocity is a social norm:

what one party receives from the other requires some return (Gouldner, 1960:160). 3-Solidarity with others in a group who share a similar position (Portes, 1995:16). It is an expressive form of social transaction most important a form of solidarity is collective representations (Durkheim, 1965:471). These are shared ideas, beliefs evaluations and symbols (p. 218)."

The spaces described by Faist (1998) and the reciprocity and solidarity mechanisms are, however, influenced by power lines that crisscross state institutions, families and individual lives. Thus, not all migrants are situated equally in such spaces, not all migrants are able to accumulate and transfer the same forms of social and symbolic capital (Faist, 1998).

Barglowski et al. (2014) also mentioned a second challenge that's partly do to methodological nationalism. This challenge refers to what Glick-Schiller et al. (2006: 613) had earlier named as using the "*ethnic lens*." The use of the "*ethnic lens*" refers to the over essentialization of the ethnocultural idiosyncrasies (Glick-Schiller et al. 2006). This, means assuming that the "*migrant*" category fits all subjects in the same way. Indeed, as eloquently put by Glick-Schiller et al. (2006), as researchers we often perceive our research objects incorrectly when our gaze is erroneously focused. To overcome such challenge, I will argue that the use of the mutated witness position is rather helpful, since this position allows for a co-construction of categories assigned to describe and study our participants. Nonetheless, the mutated witness also allows us, as researchers, to be submitted to the gaze of our participants and analyzed how this affects the research process.

Another gap is found in how we define "*transnational*," both empirically and theoretically. We must construct the meaning of transnational as described by those who participate in our research projects. Thus, we must redefine "*transnational*," while taking into account that the adjective transnational does not equal absolute freedom. Indeed, while technology and the increased use of air transportation have increased the frequency of contacts across borders, the geographical spaces in which transnational relations take place are still subject to the hegemony of the power of nation states (Fernandes, 2013a). As highlighted by transnational scholars, we often study countries that are connected by unequal historical relationships of power. These dynamics of unequal relations are present in this dissertation, which traces links and relations that are situated between European and Latin America countries bounded by post-colonial relations of power that continue to influence the lives of individuals. Indeed, it is important to be sensitive to such post-colonial history, when pertinent. This last challenge often has implications for the choice of methods, theories and analytical strategies that we choose to engage. Since the methods we use are, according to Fernandes (2013a), often inspired by Western paradigms and concepts, the global south becomes the very laboratory

where we test such thinking. The mutated witness is also an antidote for such a gap, since the methods, theories and analytical tools are co-designed with the participants, while taking into account how they define transnationalism and perceive such realities.

Concluding, by no means do I consider my methodological efforts a magic recipe for researching transnational phenomena. However, I do argue that the use of a mutated witness posture is in many ways a feasible solution to bridging the gaps here mentioned. The mutated witness builds both from critical post-colonial and feminist discussions on the ethics of knowledge production (Foucault, 1976, 1978, Haraway, 1988, 1997, Sandoval, 2000, Fernandes, 2013a,b, Anzaldúa, 1989, Moraga and Anzaldúa, 1983). Thus, before I present such an approach, it's necessary to trace its intellectual roots. To do so, I first recount the events that led me to consider such lens. I, then, delve into the feminist and post-colonial discussions on the redefinition of western approaches on positionality and objectivity through which the mutated witness gains legitimization.

3. Searching for the Mutated Witness Figure

3.1. The Feminist Discussions on The Ethics and Epistemology of Knowledge Production

A feminist epistemology isn't a corpus of rules and prescriptions. The roots of feminist epistemology are rather a concern with investigating and aiming to overcome the bias that is present in mainstream methodologies and knowledge production practices in science. Feminist epistemologies have insisted in a search for more bottom-up approaches of science doing practices through a continuous engagement both in activism and in academia. They have claimed so while focusing on the following questions:

1- How does the positionality of the researcher affect his or her choices of particular research object and the methods he or she decides to use?

2- What are the power relations that are created through our research and in what ways can we overcome them?

3- And most importantly, how do our research questions and procedures affect the living conditions of our participants?

In the following sections, I will discuss these questions from the perspective of the researchers that precede my work. I will also situate my approach within the answers that they have provided for such questions.

3.2. Beyond Reflexivity and Towards a Mutated Witness Approach

Traditionally, research in social sciences ignored the question of the diversity in the human condition, particularly the gender conditions that differentiate men and women (Devault, 1996). The female condition was largely ignored for most of the 19th and partly in the 20th century. The feminist knowledge project has aimed at finding ways to create knowledge on more balance terms, while recognizing the particularities of the male and female experiences. This feminist knowledge project is the product of reflexions promoted through a community of women in second wave feminism during the 1970s and 1980s. This community of women sociologists fostered a dialogue that builds itself from insights from within and outside the academy (Devault, 1996).

The first thing they questioned was how and if one could assure objectivity through our research projects. While throughout the history of the unfolding of the sciences, objectivity was often assumed to be a precondition, the feminist ethics of knowledge aimed to acknowledge that science-making practices were undoubtedly influenced by the researcher whether or not the researcher ambitioned to be objective (Haraway, 1997). Since then, in the mind of Devault (1996:12), feminist researchers have reflected on questions of what objectivity should be and who is allowed to conduct research and why? Taking this past issue into account, certain feminists incorporated an analysis of their subjective selves and their emotions as part of their methodologies (Jaggar, 1989:146). However, such an approach was only a partial response. Indeed, one can always recognize one's subjectivity and emotions, but how does this contribute, concretely, to the goal of achieving objectivity in our science making practices? As they reflected on this question, feminists like Gelsthrope (1992: 213) refused to adopt such an approach, arguing that choosing between objectivity and subjectivity is not productive. Instead, the right thing to do according to her and others like Donna Haraway (1997) is to redefine objectivity and to look into the roots of the scientific process to do so. In doing so, it may well be appropriate to join objectivity and subjectivity, but then one must also look for better-suited solutions. In the quest to locate the balance between recognizing their subjectivity while remaining objective feminist scholars like Adrienne Rich (1986) began to consider the politics of location and positionality. In doing so, they were able to question the perceptual basis from which they spoke and aimed to conduct research.

Adrienne Rich (1986) was a pioneer in seeking to conceptualize the notions of the politics of location. Rich insisted that as feminist researchers, it was important to recognize and speak about the various personal, cultural, experiential, political, and historical locations that give context to our investigation and assessment when conducting research. The concept of the politics of location formed an important basis that enabled researchers to think beyond essentialist positions of just “*women*” and “*men*.” It allowed for consideration of the diversity that exists within the category of “*women*,” which teams with the intersectional discussions about recognizing the particularities and diversity within the experiences of the sub-population group labelled “*women*.” Indeed, for Rich, it was essential that we named the gender, race, class and other lines of difference that define our experiences and the experiences of our participants. Rich (1986:2010), for example, takes into account her whiteness as the political location from which she speaks. Rich (1986) deconstructs the ways in which we used the category of “*women*” in sometimes racist and homophobic ways. According to her, in the early days of the feminist movement, there was only one type of middle-class white woman whose concerns were clearly different from women of other racial, class and sexual designations. Rich (1986) instead advises that the researcher must recognize and be aware of the body and geopolitical location from which he or she speaks. Her analysis invited us to reconsider the founding categories of our experiences and the identities associated with our embodied selves. According to Rich (1986), this shouldn’t be a simple confession, but we should incorporate such an analysis in our methodologies as we try to understand how our embodied selves and the locations associated with them affect our knowledge production.

These discussions on the politics of location were the first steps towards recognizing that there wasn’t such thing as epistemological and universal “I” but rather a diversity of locations from which researchers conducted their science making practices. These discussions on the politics of locations are parallel to Simon de Beauvoir (2010:23-29) who earlier on had talked about the diversity of the embodied self that responds to its multiple locations and produces knowledge as it does so. De Beauvoir, (2010) critiqued the patriarchal ideology that made the scientist one type of particular individual who couldn’t be aware of his or her particularities.

As highlighted by Koobak and Thapar-Bjorket (2014), the discourses of De Beauvoir (2010) and Rich (1986) are in many ways parallel to Donna Haraway’s (1988:589) situated knowledge approach. Haraway (1997:23) a biologist and ethnographer examined the history of science to clearly demonstrate that no scientific knowledge can be said to be neutral. Haraway (1997:24) argued that traditional lines of power affect and construct the context in which researchers create knowledge. Thus, is perhaps best to think about creating situated knowledge which undoubtedly reproduce a typology of an individual consciousness that reflects our

multiple, contextual and fluid gender, race, class, generational locations (Haraway, 1988:589). Haraway (1988) thus, through her discussions on situated knowledge invites us to speak about such locations before we can start to engage in science making practices.

In a very much-connected way, Bell Hooks (1990) asks us to reflect on how marginalized people can hold a privileged position from which to construct knowledge. She highlights the potential of the people, situations, and experiences inherent in marginalized locations that allow for other critical views of the world. This expanded view can provide important observations and report on phenomena from different and often disregarded lenses (Hooks, 1990:149). However, she also suggests that while marginal locations are important, one's location could never be fixed in time and space. Indeed, regardless of whether one's position is marginal or not, this position can never be considered negative or positive. Hooks (1990), indeed, explains that such positions we occupy are historically produced and change and emerge through time. In a similar way, Chandra Mohanty (1995:82) speaks from a marginalized position, which she thinks, allows her to speak in very particular ways about domination and power. She uses the term "*politics of position*" to refer to the historical, geographical, cultural, physical and imaginary borders that, by nature, influence the thinking and experiences of most contemporary U.S. feminist scholars (Mohanty 1995: 68).

As highlighted by Koobak and Thapar-Bjorket, (2014:51), the notion of political locations or positionality is an evident measure to be taken by most researchers, whether they considered themselves feminists or not. However, the ways these markers of difference are defined can be problematic. Indeed, as underscored by Haraway (1997: 37), researchers are often quick in placing themselves in closed identity boxes that are sometimes abstract and only correspond to particular situations. As suggested by Koobak and Thapar-Bjorkert, (2014:59) it could be more helpful to redefine oneself within multiple, changing and fluid intersectional positioning that emerges from the entire research process (Lykke, 2010:68).

Besides the essentialization of researchers in one particular category, another critique of the politics of location is the idea of situating researchers as single members of a particular nation state. This notion of a fixed position assumes that the national identity of the researcher dictates his or her location automatically. In developing such an assumption, we fall into the trap of methodological nationalism (Glick-Schiller and Levitt, 2004) that was mentioned earlier in this chapter. Indeed, this kind of thinking creates dichotomous denominations such as U.S or Third World feminists (Sandoval, 2000:5). This overly-done categorization, according to various researchers, is problematic in a world in which we are more than ever studying realities that take place in multiple geographical spaces (Shinozaki, 2012:5, Fernandes, 2013a, Vivas-Romero, forthcoming). Kioko Shinozaki (2012) proposes a solution to this issue. Her solution

includes a recognition of the participants' and the researcher's locations inside transnational social fields. This identification allows for the recognition of multiple locations that affect the knowledge we produce. I will in this dissertation follow on Shinozaki's footsteps. I do so as I create an approach inspired by post-colonial and critical thinking theory. The mutated witness is inspired in the work of Donna Haraway (1997). However, Haraway, herself, was inspired by Gloria Anzaldúa's figure of the "*mestiza*." The *mestiza* and the mutated witness are sisters, the daughters of scientific method, but grounded in their own intersectional translocations. This dissertation aims to see knowledge production as a material practice done with the efforts of the researcher and his or her participants. In such practice, both the researcher and the participant intra-act (Barad, 2007) to build knowledge. As they create knowledge, they are both attentive and reflexive of how their multiple translocations affect the process of knowledge production. However, this approach is not immaculate free from the power divisions that exist in every research process. Thus, to fully introduce Donna Haraway's (1997) notion of the mutated witness, it is necessary to further discuss the concepts of objectivity and power in social sciences.

3.3. Structures of Power and Objectivity as the Mutated Witness Emerged

In the 1960s and 1970s, a new perspective in social science emerged as Anselm Strauss and Barney Glasse (1967:1) questioned the mainstream ways of conducting research and designing methodologies. "*Grounded Theory*," as they named their approach, was a revolutionary way of thinking through a less positivist view. Their approach was constructivist and taught researchers that entering the field with preconceived ideas and hypotheses was perhaps not the best way to study social phenomena. They recognized the realities they aimed to study were often changing and being challenged by factors that were outside the researcher's control. Instead, their Grounded Theory approach insisted that the researcher should be able to construct his-her methodology, research questions, and theoretical questions and reformulate his or her hypothesis as a continuous and joint process. A critical aspect of their approach was the reflexive approach adopted by the researcher through his or her research project (Mruck and Mey, 2007, Gentles, et al. 2014).

In fact, the confession of one's reflexive gaze in the view of Grounded Theory researchers should make the research objective and impartial. However, this literature in Grounded Theory ignores the intersectional power lines discussed in chapter 3, which emerge in the research process, and regardless of the willingness of the researcher to balance them, they influence the overall research process, nonetheless. Thus, although a Grounded Theory

approach might seem congruent with the approach I will adopt, this aspect of sublime influence is problematic. Instead, more recent feminist and post-colonial critical thinking theories will inform the mutated witness approach that I will take in the remaining sections of the chapter.

How one can create power lines in the research process that affect both our research and the individuals we study has been an important question in feminist methodological discussions. In the late 1990s, researchers such as Rose (1997:311) insisted that one can create an “*objective lens*,” as one recognizes one’s positionality. This objective lens according to Rose (1997) could help researchers adopt a transparent reflexive position that could somehow balance power relations between the researcher and the participants. However, can a simple confession be all that’s necessary to be objective and prevent uneven power relations in the field? Rey Chow (2001:46) has reflected on this question and argued that a reflexive approach can give us only an illusion of clear-cut objectivity. Indeed, such reflexive confessions seem to be what Foucault (1976:59-60) once described as “*The infinite task of extracting from the depths of oneself, in between the words, a truth which the very form of confession holds out like shimmering mirage* p. 59-60” This, as Foucault (1976:80) once explained, seemed to emanate from rituals that western civilization promoted through the Catholic tradition of confession, as well through its justice systems, which take much of their guidance from the dictates of the Christian faith. It is, indeed, through such organized systems that authorities, historically, have been able to extract the truth from individuals whose initial utterances hold some measure of doubt. As Donna Haraway (1997:23) explains in her historical analysis of the modern scientific process, this kind of objectivity materializes best in the “*specifically modern, European, masculine, scientific form of the virtue of modesty*.” This assumed objectivity, in Haraway’s (1997) words, has existed in the:

“Form of modesty that pays off its practitioners in the coin of epistemological and social power. This kind of modesty is one of the founding virtues of what we call modernity. This is the virtue that guarantees that the modest witness is the legitimate and authorized ventriloquist for the object world, adding nothing from his mere opinions, from his biasing embodiment. And so he is endowed with the remarkable power to establish the facts. He bears witness: he is objective. He guarantees the clarity and purity of objects. His subjectivity is his objectivity. His narratives have a magical power (p.24).”

However, post-Colonial and critical thinkers have immensely questioned the unique power of this “*civic man of reason*” (Haraway, 1997:24). They have challenged the notion of the modest witness, which they argue, continues to influence the ways in which knowledge is produced (Gupta and Ferguson, 2008, Haraway, 1997, Sandoval, 2000, Fernandes, 2013). Haraway (1997) called for the creation of a queer mutated and embodied witness, conscious of

his-her faults – in order “ *to enable a more corporeal, inflected, and optical dense, if less elegant, kind of modest witness to matter of fact that emerge in the worlds.*” (p.24). It is their aim to improve the scientific process, as a whole. These researchers' argument is that we need to conduct research that is able to recognize our humanity and that's able to take up the risk of engaging with realities of which we are undoubtedly a part of. In doing so, we cannot absorb and extract ourselves from such realities. Although we can be conscious of the bias, we recognize our human condition, which is not absorbed by our scientist self (Haraway, 1997). This approach makes room to include and legitimize as scientists, individuals like myself, who are often mistrusted as too subjective because of our closeness to our objects of study.

Challenging the modest witness perspectives means to consider our research processes as a set of practices we create as we engage with our research objects. We do so as we assume our humanity and the multiple geopolitical locations which, regardless of our willingness, will influence our knowledge production. This materialist and constructive way of creating knowledge is also inspired by physicist Karen Barad (2007:151) and her theories of intra-acting matters and agential realism. Barad, (2007) invites us to actively think about the consequences of our scientific engagement with realities of which we are parts. In Barad's (2007: 151) words, this process is about a type of agential realist account in which:

“Matter does not refer to a fixed substance, rather, matter is substance in intra-active becoming - not a thing but a doing, a congealing of agency. Matter is a stabilizing and destabilizing process of iterative intractivity. Phenomena, the smallest material units (relational “atoms”) come to matter through this process of ongoing intractivity. “Matter” does not refer to an inherent, fixed property of abstract, independently existing objects; rather “matter refers to phenomena in the ongoing materialization (p. 151).”

Thus, according to Barad's approach, we as scientists and parts of the matter cannot pretend to extract ourselves from our research processes. In doing so, we redefine the conceptions of Ethics and Objectivity as we take accountability for our engagement with the realities we study. Objectivity becomes a practice in which we continuously reveal to our audiences how and if our multiple positionalities affect and challenge the realities we study. In this new knowledge creation practice, there is no magic recipe for objectivity. Objectivity becomes a practice, an exercise that takes place through the whole research project. Objectivity becomes an ability to be accountable for our actions. We are thus obliged to combine theory and empirical practice and include our research objects in some of our decision-making through the research process. We do so because we understand that what we do has an implication for their living realities, and not in inconsequential ways. As we take them into account, they participate not only in the formulation of our research questions, which in fact are theirs as well, but also in

choosing which methods and analytical perspectives are best suited for their realities (Fernandes, 2013b). As we do so, we become mutated witnesses of facts for which we assume responsibility (Haraway, 1997:23). We do so as we learn from our participants and let them become our guides in the research process. While we adopt a mutated witness approach, we transform our knowledge acquisition practices into emancipatory and liberating experiences.

Following the discussions presented in this section, the concept of the mutated witness I will put to use is the inheritor of Gloria Anzaldúa “*mestiza witness*” (Anzaldúa 1989:39) and Donna Haraway’s figure of “*mutated witness*.” This mutated witness recognizes the valuable and unquestionable authority of science, but challenges the idea of a pure, modest anthropologist that can only be personified as the: “*the lone, white, male field worker living for a year or more among the native villagers*” (Gupta and Ferguson, 2008: 89). I thus reveal the effects of my human condition as a woman, with a racialized and marginalized embodied condition. The mestiza or mutated witness is conscious of her humanity and engages with it, while making a conscious effort to take into account all that she is (Vargas-Monroy, 2011). Contrary to the modest witness, she isn’t afraid to reveal her human condition and assumes that her research might also move beyond her control and become a political subject once her participants have acquired a differentiated consciousness through the research (Sandoval, 2000). Indeed, the mutated witness invites her audience to her laboratory and explains each practice through which the research and the knowledge she produces emerged. She is ultimately conscious that her research will leave a valuable footprint for other researchers to engage (Haraway, 1997). In line with this approach, in the following sections of this chapter, I will explore the practices through which I intra-acted with reality and my participants to create the knowledge examined in subsequent empirical chapters. I do so while I described how my many locations and those of my participants affected each and every one of those practices.

4. Co-constructing a Research Object and Methods of Study

4.1. Situating the Researcher Inside Transnational Social Fields of Relations

“Feminist objectivity is about limited location and situated knowledge, not about transcendent and splitting subject and object.”

(Haraway, 1988:583)

Koobak and Thapar-Bjorket (2014) follow Donna Haraway's (1988) advice and argue that one cannot be objective without first naming the grounds from which one speaks and aims to conduct research (Koobak and Thapar-Bjorket, 2014). In feminist critical thinking theory, one is always more objective when one is capable of revealing one's humanity and recognizing the associated risks inherent in the conduct of research. Thus, through the following pages, I will name those grounds, which eventually led me to consider a mutated witness approach. I will do so while being careful not to make this a mere confessional exercise.

My object of study has developed in parallel with my personal experiences. I am a Venezuelan mestiza from the lower middle class. My mother was raised in a poor, urban neighborhood and is the second woman in the family to obtain a university degree. However, because of the racial and class divisions endogenous to post-colonial Venezuelan society (Quijano, et al. 1999), she was unable to realize her professional dreams. In the 1990s, we left Venezuela and relocated to the United States, a place she was sure would provide us with better intellectual tools for the future. In the U.S, she became a migrant domestic worker. I lived in the U.S until extreme circumstances forced me to leave and obtain a college education in Mexico. There, I met my husband, a Belgian man, who advised me to leave Mexico, as in Latin America I would always be "*the intellectual maid of others.*" I, indeed, had become tired of working overtime as a teacher assistant and being paid almost nothing for it. If I were to stay, I would be just like my mother, producing intellectual work for the elites, while being compensated very little. Thus, like many other Latin American women of my social and economic background, I moved to Europe in the 2000s (Freitas and Godin, 2013, Escriva 2005). However, unlike many of them, I encountered better conditions to meet my ultimate goal of pursuing a graduate school education. Through my graduate education in Belgium, my Master's courses in immigration studies inspired me. Relating the theory covered in my classes to my personal experiences as a transnational migrant, I thought I could contribute to the field of research on gender and migration. Based on my mother's biography, I had grown an interest in the transnational economic and social consequences of female migration for both sending and receiving societies.

Regarding my geopolitical location inside the academic world, unlike many women from my social, ethnic background, I followed a rather unusual path to obtain my primary, university and graduate education. I received my primary education from multiple private and public institutions in Venezuela and the United States, received my undergraduate education in Mexico and graduate education from a European university. The mix between my personal biography as the daughter of a former migrant domestic worker and the places where I have been educated and socialized, has influenced my work in many ways. In fact, no matter how far away from the post-colonial racial, gender and class divisions typical of Latin American societies, I have

travelled, their effects continue to be imposed on me (Quijano, 2000; Quijano, 2003). However, until I began this dissertation, I had not realized how my split and contradictory self would influence my research (Haraway, 1988).

I started my doctoral dissertation with carefully planned and approved research questions, theoretical approaches, and methods. I would study the strategies of Latin American migrant domestic workers to protect their families from afar socially. I had a precise knowledge of the group I would consider. Latin Americans in Belgium are a small, feminized minority. There were at the time approximately 22,000 (documented). In this population, 60% (DEM2013, DGSIE, 2010) were women, who, according to the latest qualitative studies, were employed in the domestic sectors of Belgian metropolitan areas and described themselves as entrepreneurs in their migratory careers (Freitas and Godin, 2013). I would work with Brazilians and Bolivians since these two groups were the largest inside the small minority of Latin Americans in a city like Brussels. However, Brazilians refused to participate in my study because of cultural and language differences, and Bolivians declined as they considered me not Andean enough. I then approached other equally important, but less studied groups engaged in domestic work, such as Colombians and Peruvians. In fact, qualitative work reveals their growing presence in the formal sector of domestic work in cities like Brussels, Ghent or Antwerpen (Camargo, 2015, 2016, Perez and Stallaert, 2015, Godin, 2013). Within these communities, the male leaders categorized me as a woman with a more privileged position because of my university education and therefore, blocked my access:

“Maria: My name is Maria! I’m a researcher working with the CEDEM in Liege. I have recently started a project on migrant domestic workers.

Juan Bautista: Yes, sure, here is my card. We will have to talk about collaborative methods. I mean; researchers come and go and we are the ones working in the field.”

(Juan Bautista, leader of a migrant association in Brussels, 12-03-2014)

I fared no better with the women, who classified me as an overly privileged woman, who had never born the sacrifice of being a domestic worker.

“We came here to clean! We have gone through school! But, you’ve had the easy way out. Already married to the Belgian over there...huh...”

(Beatriz, social worker, 12-03-2014)

These events increased my frustrations and arose in me a few questions. In fact, who was I? How and where did I position myself about my research object? And how would my multiple translocations regarding my gender, race, generation and class affect my research

object and my methodological and theoretical choices? As I looked for answers to these questions, I realized my initial assumption of being an insider - a member of a pan-ethnic Latin American community (Roth, 2009) simply spread through the world - was a naïve view, based on fixed categories that were clearly fictional. These frustrations also led me to analyse my geopolitical translocations¹⁶ and multi-layered identities first, in order to negotiate my entrance to the field and secondly, to construct a proper research object. Clearly, my fixed ideas of my participants as martyrs in charge of their families in the countries of origin were erroneous. In fact, the first interviews suggested that my participants were only willing to discuss their problems in accessing social protection. Surprisingly, as I advanced in my literature review on the subject, I also noticed this was a question that had been left unanswered by the previous works on the living and working conditions of migrant domestic workers (Bocagni, 2014).

Months passed, and I kept reflecting on these questions as I also began to look for literature to sustain my notions. In this sense, after my first reflections and readings about feminist methodologies, I assume my geographical locations and multi-layered identities would help to create a new object built around racial, gender and class constructions that affected both my participants and myself. Such an imploded object (Barad, 2007) was situationally constructed as a result of the process of sitting and sighting - sitting as I mapped my condition in the world, and sighting as I analysed how this would influence the construction of my research object and my approach to it (Haraway, 1988). At this point, I had begun to construct my research object while performing a systematically critical analysis on the geopolitical locations and multi-layered transnational identities that characterized both my subjects of study and me (Haraway, 1988, pp. 587).

While investing time in this analysis, I discovered that I had to be truthful about this process to gain the ability to talk about these women's access to social protection. By doing so, I would make myself ethically and politically responsible for the knowledge I produce (Lykke, 2010:6). I indeed, continued to discover such an approach as the field advanced and as I kept reading the work of feminist scholars who have discussed positionality and objectivity. While doing so, I also realize I would need new definitions of objectivity and the politics of location since existing definitions did not relate to my experience. In my readings about insiders and outsiders and their continuous efforts to be objective, I did not recognize my experience. Their

¹⁶ Translocations makes reference, to the concept of Floya Anthias (2016) mentioned in chapter 3, meaning individuals occupying different locations in terms of their gender, class, race and those locations will play off differently depending on the contexts in which they operate.

experiences as mainstream academics, mostly from the western world, did not echo my experiences. As the former daughter of a migrant domestic worker and colour-educated woman, I could not situate myself as such. Like Gloria Anzaldúa's *mestiza* (1988), I'm the combination of various worlds, neither an insider nor an outsider. I'm the combination of the multiple spaces in which I had lived and been instructed. This gives me a gaze from below and from above. Thus, I looked for a way to legitimize my research methods by examining post-colonial and feminist critical thinking theory debates on positionality and objectivity. It is through my readings on these researcher methods that I came across Donna Haraway's (1997) figure of the mutated witness, described earlier. In the following sections, the mutated witness comes into play, as I define the practices through which with my participants I was able to construct knowledge.

4.2. Co-Constructing Objects, Methods and Analytical Categories

4.2.1. Discovering the Research Object: May 2014

"Ah you're married to him: the tall Belgian man. You're doing a thesis... Most of us worked hard here since our diplomas weren't recognized. Life is hard here, you will see..."

(Beatriz and Karla, Peruvian, former Migrant Domestic Workers. Brussels, 09-09-2014)

Valeria, Lisette, Ana-Lilia, Marianela, Frida, Amaranta, Alejandra, Eva, Amelia Zaida, Natalidad, Catarina, Norma, Sonia, Juana and Laura are the 15 women I first met and initially interviewed and followed in Brussels. In Brussels, as in other global cities (Sassen, 2001) some Andean American women like them are employed in the domestic sector though, perhaps, being overqualified for such jobs¹⁷. Regardless, they are diverse regarding their class status, their racial status (both in Belgium and Latin America) and have different gender roles within their families. Amaranta, Alejandra, Eva, Amelia and Zaida are white or mestizas common to Latin American middle classes. They came to Belgium during the 1980s and 1990s as political

¹⁷ There are not exact figures available on the number of Latin American women in the domestic sectors in Belgium. However, small long lasting qualitative studies suggest that Colombian women have experience an increase in their positioning on the domestic labor sector, being the third fastest growing nationality in the formal domestic sector in Belgium (Camargo, 2015).

refugees, as dictatorships flourished in Peru with the Fujimori regime (Cotler and Grompone, 2000) and as violence escalated between the guerrilla movements and the Colombian state (Bermudez, 2006). The women in this first group were engaged political activist who migrated to a safer environment, but due to the non-recognition of their degrees, difficulties with the French language and other gender related challenges, end up working in the domestic sector. Valeria, Lisette, Ana-Lilia, Marianela, Frida, Catarina, Norma, Sonia, Natividad, and Juana, instead, came to Brussels for a very different reason. They had been affected by the inequality that preceded the privatization of public sector activities in Latin America following the neoliberal transformations described earlier in chapter 1 (Cotler and Cuenca 2011, Quijano 2003). Given their indigenous, mestiza, and Afro-descendant locations, they have historically been disinherited by a dispossession in social protection resources imposed on actors like themselves since colonial times (Quijano, 2003, Segato, 2010). This group is, however, also heterogeneous, with some migrating first to Belgium in the early 1990s and remaining in its global cities, and others presenting as onward migrants from other southern European countries where Latin Americans were steadily increasing in numbers before the 2008 economic crisis (Escriva, 2005). All of the participants have two things in common: they are all employed in the formal and/or informal domestic sectors of Brussels and they are all women between 50 to 74 years old.

While having these profiles in mind, early in the research process, I became interested first in their modes of entry into the labor market. Secondly, I became focused on the transnational dynamics through which they are assured of informal care for their left-behind family members. These research questions emerged both from my life-story experiences and my readings of gender approaches to international migrations. Rachel Parrenas's (2001) work on global care chains had, indeed, marked my intellectual curiosity on the subject. Her work highlighted the dynamics through which female migrant domestic workers engage in reproductive and productive efforts to care for their loved ones in their countries of origin, as well as for the children and elderly they care for in receiving societies (Parrenas, 2001). This literature was challenged by the research I encountered on transnational care, which recounted a more extensive process through which large family networks circulated material and emotional care across borders (Baldassar and Merla 2014). Although both sets of literature were and are still important bases for my own research, the stories I was witnessing in the field recounted yet another reality, shifting and producing yet another research object. This object was these women's quest to access global social protection. Luckily, this also coincided with the need in the literature to flip the coin and investigate the consequences of migration for migrant domestic workers with a distinct profile, instead of considering them all as a homogenous global underclass of transnational mothers (Boccagni, 2014).

4.2.2. Entering the Field as the Research Object Got Defined: August 2014

On May 2014, as recounted in the previous section, my object of study had emerged into a study about the efforts of migrant domestic workers to access global social protection. This special focus surfaced as I endeavored to establish concrete relationships of trust with my participants. The process involved a continuous reflection on my position within the Latin American community in Brussels. Indeed, I realized my views about a Pan-Latino diaspora spread through the world was a fictional one based on my experiences as a migrant in the United States (Vivas-Romero, forthcoming). Gender, racial, generational and class differences simultaneously separated me from and linked me to the Latin American community in Brussels. What I found was a community that was very much diverse, in spite of the traditional rhetoric about it. This finding was revealed as I first explored several civic associations, which served the community by guiding them through issues of migratory status, and social and political rights. My first encounter was with Juan Benites, a white Colombian man in his late 50s. He clearly gave me the impression of not wanting to go beyond the racial and gender boundaries that, in his mind, divided us apart. He coldly gave me his presentation card and said I could request a meeting. Unfortunately, Juan never answered my e-mails or calls, and it was only months later that I obtained an interview with him. Weeks passed, and in my desperation, I requested the help of other Peruvian and Colombian former domestic workers who were now social workers employed by community organizations in Brussels. I had no better luck with them. Their looks and comments immediately clarified that I was not "*one of theirs.*" Comments like: "*Oh, you're married to a Belgian man*" and "*You have lived the comfortable life here*" added to my concerns that it would not be through them that I would build trust with my desired subjects nor with the most important actors in the community. Soon, I found myself with very few options by which to meet research participants and build a common trust. Thus, I did what any of the women in my family would have done. I began a ritual of church visits every Sunday. I engaged myself in activities with the Latino community and on various occasions, helped to plan them as well. In the eyes of those with a Catholic background, I became someone worthy of trust. While this approach was good for gaining the confidence of those with Catholic backgrounds, for others it was engagement in political meetings and cultural activities that provided the needed entrée, access, and trust. The vast majority of church and cultural activities took place over the weekends, which for those employed full-time, became their only moments of tranquility in a given week.

I contacted my first participants during a Mother's Day event, a festivity that, particularly, reminded them of their roles as mothers and daughters, even if from afar. The first two - Marianela and Catarina - seemed, at first, uncomfortable to share their stories. Slowly, as

more of these events took place, I was able to assemble a group of 15 participants, which was the desired goal. These 15 women offered me their trust, and provided the time I needed to follow them over the long-term. As I engaged myself in their weekend activities and other special events, I gained more of their trust. I discovered that all 15 comprised a diverse set of intersectional translocations, with different levels of contact with their transnational family networks, which, for the most, part lived either in their countries of origin, in Belgium, or in other southern European countries.

Surprisingly, not only did my methods change, but also, my research object. The 15 participants began to insist on talking about their needs to access global social protection, which as defined in chapter 3, incorporates formal and informal resources migrants, put to use to protect themselves and their family member. Indeed, while meeting my participants over a long period of confrontations with Latin American associations in Brussels, extended visits to churches, and participation in cultural events, they seem reluctant to talk about their obligation to protect their families left-behind. Instead, they talked about their need to accumulate formal social protection resources in sending, receiving and in-between countries such as pension rights as well as the need to assure the informal practical care of female family members for their ageing days. They expected such solidarity because they had supported in them in the past through informal remittances that had financed their healthcare or education access.

As I moved through the field, their stories began to resonate with the story of my middle aged; migrant mother and aunts who were also struggling to access healthcare or pension rights that would allow them to live a dignifying life. From this moment on, the generational, ethnic, and class boundaries that both separated and united us became apparent. In this sense, aside from shifting the aim and research object, my participants insisted in a co-collaboration to construct knowledge about such practices. In fact, Andean migrant domestic workers in a city such as Brussels are educated actors with at least a technical level of education. This level of education and the generational gap reflected on their reluctance to answer small interviews in which I asked them questions about their life and barely talked about mine. They insisted on teaching me about their life-stories rather than me engaging them in semi-structured interviews. My participants viewed semi-structured interviews as a lack of trust on my part. I slowly begun to realize the methods, the consents and the analytical efforts would have to be the fruits of a collaborative effort that would last many months, 20 to be exact.

As I took the risk to involve myself in this approach, I continue reading the work of contemporary feminist such as Leela Fernandes (2013 a). In her work, I found comfort. In fact, I realized I had no faults in being honest about such process. In fact, the more honest I became, the more authority I gained to describe the social reality that I was witnessing. By doing so, I

made myself ethically and politically responsible for the knowledge I produce (Lykke, 2010: 6). Indeed, from the beginning of such process, my participants and I grew an intimate relationship, developing the project together and making us responsible for the knowledge construction (Lykke, 2010: 6). As recounted in this section, I had to give up a bit of control over the research process. The following sections then recount how we mutually choose the practice of ethnography and life stories as co-constructed tools that would help to cover their global social protection arrangements.

4.2.3. Choosing Ethnography as an ontological and material practice: September 2014

“What is that you have got in that little paper? Questions? We aren’t in school child... We are not playing Kindergarden here. Sit down, eat something because you need it and I will tell you all about me.”

(Marianela, Former Migrant Domestic Worker, Brussels, 11-13-2014)

The quote above comes from my very first interview in the field. Marianela is a Colombian former migrant domestic worker in her middle fifties. As we met Marianela was always sure to assert her authority over me. Her gestures reminded me of my mother’s gestures as she insisted on forcing me to eat, to listen to her and to be most importantly attentive. In fact, what started up as single semi-structured interview turned into countless visits to Brussels, where I followed her in family events, church and even at her workplace. I often realized I wasn’t there to cover a reality but that I would influence it as well. Marianela wasn’t the only one of my participants who engaged in such behaviors. Every single one of the 15 women I followed had a similar pattern. Thus, unquestionably in January 2015, after nine months on the field, we began to influence each other lives.

As it was the case with Marianela, time also made appear various boundaries that were not always under my control (Shinosaki, 2012). The most clear one being the generational, ethnic and class boundaries. Such boundaries then began to influence the research process as we began to negotiate how and when we would cover their global social protection arrangements. Although I insisted on keeping the semi-structured interviews as my data collection strategy, this method remained unproductive as the participants despised them and considered them infantilizing. Contrarily, ethnography as a tool that allowed working together and in real lifetime to cover such global social protection arrangements became a method of choice (Mummert, 2012).

As the ethnography evolves, my participants and I kept mutually building representations of us. The Colombians Marianela, Lisette, Ana-Lilia, Valeria, Frida, Amaranta, and Alejandra, slowly characterized me as the *'the shameless smart Venezuelan who married a Belgian and became successful in life'* (Lisette, Colombian Domestic Worker 54-year-old, informal conversations, Brussels, 10-10-2014). Eva, Amelia, Zaida, Natalidad, Norma, Soraya, Laura and Juana the Peruvians preferred to categorize me as: *'The courageous daughter of formal domestic worker'* or even more uncomfortable for me as *'the Venezuelan girl with the pretty long arms and legs, who was hard working too'* (Catalina, Peruvian domestic worker 49 years old, Brussels, informal conversation, 22-05-2014). Either way, they continued to see themselves as superior either because of their age, their status as mothers, their class status in their countries of origin or their experiences as domestic workers in Belgium. I kept realizing my participants, and I were situated in similar but distant worlds and that this would continue to shape the methods that I would choose. There however not only differences for we did share a common migratory past. Indeed, if these boundaries felt at times, they did so because I often recounted the experiences of my mother who in spite of her education had to be a former domestic worker in the United States.

Slowly, though as we mutually recognized the boundaries that separated us, the methods used were the process of an agreement. Indeed, our conversation revolved around them and myself as well. We needed to mutually discover who we were and in this sense, the method of ethnography continue to be confirmed as one in which one follows the reality on a daily based became the most useful one. The interviews we were having until this point lasted for hours where we talked about the struggle of single women of color in Latin American countries. And in an informal manner, my participants also interviewed me about my social origins in Latin America, why I had migrated to so many countries and what my mother's situation looked like.

From this moment and on for over 20 months, I attended their social and personal events. I also began to stay over their places certain Saturday nights whenever it got late and there were no more trains to get back to Liege. After, all this allowed me to accompany them to church on Sundays. In doing so, I discovered that adopting an ethnographic approach and learning through immersion in their lives through the technique of a multi-sited ethnography was the most valid strategy to understand and follow their stories. I then realize the only way to develop such strategies in depth was to continue to focus on these 15 participants. I had after all to interpret the ways in which power in a Foucauldian (Sawaski, 1991) vein was produced at the subjective and personal level in arrangements to access social protection (Lykke, 2010). As I look back at these first months in the field, three factors intervened in the choice for ethnography. Firstly, their views of me as an educated girl who still needed a mentoring that they would offer.

Secondly, there was our collective identity as mestizas and my mother's situation as a former domestic worker. Thirdly, another factor was my views about domestic workers as essential contributors to our societies. Nonetheless, the ethnography as such wasn't enough. There needed to be a more systematic method that could allow us both to capture the details of their strategies to access social protection. This next strategy would be that of collecting systematically their life-stories.

4.2.4. Life Stories and Discovering Intersectional Inequalities in Access to Global Social Protection Arrangements: October 2014

Together we choose to work with life-stories that were in line with the mutated witness approach. We began to reconstruct their life-stories as narratives slowly. The semi-structured interviews, with points to talk about, transformed themselves into narratives of their life-stories. The participants asked me to let them elaborate on details; episodes of their lives marked by particular difficulties and insisted that this need to be done in a few sessions.

“We will finish another day. There is too much to be told.”

(Katia, Migrant Domestic Worker, Brussels, 12-11-, 2014)

“You would come back afterwards. There are too many things to be told.”

(Catarina, Migrant Domestic Worker, Brussels, 12-10-2014)

As Karen Fog-Olwig (2007) said it life stories are useful because they entailed “*not just accounts of individual trajectories, within the framework of family relations, but also histories of specific periods and places as these have been experienced by the narrators.* (p. 7).” These life-stories became a way in which the participants related their sense of self (Bruner, 1987, Lagness and Frank, 1981). However, much more than that these first 15 life-stories were created as we engaged with each other. I too revealed aspects of my life story that related to theirs, and as we did, we slowly understood each other. As we moved on the process in every episode, it became apparent that we both insisted on the gender, racial, ethnic and class markers of difference that related what they thought was common to the experiences of “*women like us*” as they used to refer to themselves and me. Little, by little participants, recognized me as their daughter. They insisted that my accomplishments were theirs and we continue to engage in collaboration for what they decided was to be entitled “*the book*” hence this thesis. This is consistent with the principle of the mutated witness as well as with the principles of life story as they emerge out of occurrence and relationships that characterize human life (Fog-Olwig, 2007).

The life-stories collected indeed reflect a sense of normality, of what must be credible and socially acceptable. However, because of the feeling of closeness that developed between the participants and, myself they often revealed what they considered to be anomalies or things that must not be in such order. In this sense, the life-stories revealed the participants as well as my own sense of gender, race, generation, and ethnic experience as individuals in the quest of constructing global social protection arrangements.

This life-story collection lasted over 20 months and took place on various visits. Every visit covered an episode of their lives such as the birth of their children, the death of family members and migration as moments that influence the process of creation of their global social protection arrangements. Every life story began with the question of: “*Tell me about yourself?*” and as the narration began, I paid particular attention to every repertoire as an embodied practice, they had learned through generations and now put to use to construct such global social protection arrangements. In covering these moments, the repertoires they used to build such arrangements became apparent. We defined them as mobility or as the ability to migrate or send family members first through internal migration and then international migration. We then covered the repertoires of formal protection through workers insurance¹⁸ highlighting the differences in such practice both in Latin America and in Europe. Thirdly, we included the repertoires of remittances as the most delicate one. We talked about the gender and generational orders of individual remittances and about the ethnic and racial orders that determined how they too engaged in collective remittances that benefitted both their family members and their communities in Brussels and their countries of origin.

Thus, life stories as method gave me access to observe how they constructed the repertoires that build their global social protection arrangements. This observation took place in a specific context of relations, in which I engaged with my object of study to become part and parcel of such a reality (Bourdieu, 2003). In this sense, I performed what Pierre Bourdieu once called “*participant objectivation*” and not participant observation as it often referred to. In the following section, I describe the context, the practices and ethical guidelines under which such participant objectivation took place.

¹⁸ The term worker’s insurance, was discussed with the participants and seemed to be accurate to describe all accumulative social protection resources they received thanks to their or their family member’s access to the labor market.

4.2.5. Participatory Objectivation: An Endless Process

As I advanced in my fieldwork the feminist ethics of risk that was described earlier, prevented me from engaging in traditional ways of conducting what is often referred to as “*participant observation*.” The positions of the simple observer, the observant as participant and the simple nativist seemed artificial to me (Flick, 2007: 54-55). I did not have a double consciousness but rather became conscious that my humanity would have an impact in the realities I studied whether for the good or bad (Bourdieu, 2003). Although I submit my experiences to sociological control, I recognize they represent analytical resources that once mobilize become both epistemic and existential benefits (Bourdieu, 2003:281). These realities I was studying were natural to me from the start and thus I did not feel compealed by my readings on ways of conducting ethnography (Flick, 2007). I instead engaged in what Pierre Bourdieu (2003:282) defined as participant objectivation meaning:

“To explore not the lived experience, of the knowing subject but the social conditions of possibility and therefore, the effect and limits of that experience, and more precisely, of the act of objectivation itself. It aims at objectivizing the subjective relation to the objet, while far from leading into a relativist and more-or-less anti-scientific subjectivism is one of the conditions of genuine scientific objectivity (p.282).”

Starting from these premises, the exercise of observing was more than a method. The act of objectivizing became the context in which my relationship to the research object emerged (Flick, 2007:60). Adopting this view did not mean that my collection of data was less organized or not systematic. Instead, I meticulously, observed from my position as a mutated witness and collected the data discussed with my participants, which in some cases emerged from their daily interactions with those in their closest support networks. Through this process I continuously asked my participants when and how my presence would be desirable.

This exercise of continuous negotiation of their agreement lead me to prolonged periods of time spend with them in their homes, work places, family events, churches and other community events both in Brussels and in the other places in which their relations expanded to. There, I covered mainly the events participants agreed to. I became a witness as they thaught me about their strategies and their meaning. The information collected was first transcribed in handwritten fashion, then discuss weekly with the participants, and finally put in word documents. In what respects life-stories, some were recorded others were hand written as they took place and then transcribed into word. In both cases, life-story interviews drafts were discussed with the participants several times. The life story interviews and the participants’ objectivation took place mostly in Spanish and in some occasions in French, but never in English. Thus, the informations presented in this dissertation are verbatims translations of the

original versions in Spanish or French. The confidentiality procedures that would be described in the last section of this chapter also included a continuous consensus, which allows participants to leave the research whenever they desire to do so (Newkirk et al. 1996). Nonetheless, although some demanded to have their real names included, while respecting ethical protocols in social sciences and academic exigencies their names were kept anonymous.

Lastly, through this whole ethnography the use of virtual ethnographic tools became essential to follow these transnational dynamics (Hine, 2000). Indeed, as the ethnography moved on, I ran the risk of wanting to go against time. On the one hand, we might stop collecting data as researchers but the life course continuous to evolve. On the other hand, because the quality of ubiquity is not yet a human attribute, in certain occasions the online world also became a part of the site in which the relations I was following extended to. Thus, the use of technology in particular of instant messages was particularly useful for two purposes. Firstly, it permitted to collect simultaneous information with the original participants, as I was in the country of origin interviewing members of their support networks. Thus, in a way it permitted me to follow the transnational engagement of family members and other support individuals in almost instant fashion. Secondly, as I was obliged to pause my fieldwork to write this dissertation, the instant messaging platforms gave me an opportunity to clarify details, collect any relevant emerging data and renegotiate the analysis of certain passages. While others have called these practices netnography or digital ethnography (Kozinets, 1998, Murthy, 2008) here they would be called virtual ethnography (Hine, 2000). The virtual ethnography tools emphasize the in reality in which these practices emerge in the same site of relations as the other physically grounded practices. The online world becomes just another extension to the site of relations I was following. In this sense, the information from life-stories collected online, were only additions to those collected in the physical world. They were transcribed and coded in the same way as those of life stories conducted in the physical world. Undeniably, however for better or for worst the quality of answers was different, thus this represents merely a complementary approach.

Finally, this objectivation of my participants and myself took place in an extended site of relations that didn't just involve Brussels, but that took me to multiple geographical locations. How this field emerged and was preserved through the 20 months in which the ethnography took place is discussed in the following sections.

5. Discovering Multi-Sited Transnational Social Spaces: January 2015- March 2016

The repertoires I followed were shared with larger networks of support, which included the main participants, their family members, friends, voluntary kin, community actors, civil servants that were located in multiple geographical locations across the transnational social field of relations. Indeed, I learned such thing because as suggested by Fog-Olwig (2006) through our life stories we relate to others. In this sense, as argued by Elinor Ochs and Lisa Capps (1996:35) every self-representation requires a social relationship to another person, since self-narratives are interactional achievements. Certainly, as we moved along their life-stories, I discovered all of these actors formed the field of relations through which their global social protection expanded (Fog-Olwig, 2006). It was thus necessary to extend the ethnography over the multi-sited transnational social field. This practice was too a co-constructive practice. Thus, as we moved forward, we began to elaborate on the actors that were key to their efforts to construct such global social protection arrangements. Slowly, the first 15 participants gave me access to 47 members of their transnational family networks as well as mentioned other actors that were critical in their access to social protection. Moreover, once in the country of origin, two participants who had return (Amelia and Valeria) became my gatekeepers and helped me to access the family members there.

Ethnography then as a practice became multi-sited (Marcus, 1999, 1988, 2011). Through a shared collaboration, we were able to co-construct the site of relations in which they established their global social protection arrangements. This site of relations is defined and inspired in the work of Karen Fog-Olwig (2006:12) who insited that: *“from the point of view of the logic of social fields, family and kinship as well as places-regarded as the bedrock of social life- thefore do not exist in and of themselves. P.12”* Thus, through their life-stories, they name the individuals that helped to create global social protection arrangements as well as the geographical locations in which they inhabit. Thus, in the next part of this voyage, I introduce such site as we constructed it over a period of 20 months. I also render visible the difficulty of building such field including the various negotiations that we were both entitled to. As I traveled physically and metaphorically through such spaces, carrying gifts, helping them to ensure legal procedures during my field trips to their home countries I became their little Marita. I became Marita, the mutated witness of their realities.

5.1. Discovering a Multi-sited Field of Relations

As recounted in earlier sections my ethnography began in Brussels a city that's only an hour away from Liege, the city I've called home for the past 6 years. Thus, unlike earlier anthropologists, my entrance to the field did not take place in a far away village in the Global South. I followed the advice of Gupta and Ferguson (2008) and traveled not too far away to a city that became my entrance into a site of relations that I would later trace. Brussels is a city considered by many as a melting pot of nationalities, cultures and mobile individuals of all kinds (Camargo, 2015, Favell, 2001). In Brussels, as recounted in the previous sections I met my original 15 participants. As time went by particularly in January 2015, I began to discover through their narratives their networks of support in which their global social protection arrangements were situated. This guided me to conduct a type of fieldwork that might seem like an exciting novelty. However, I'm by no means the first researcher to have done things in such fashion. My approach is in line with other transnational migration scholars who have tested the most accurate tools to follow social phenomena that take place beyond the borders of one particular nation-state (Glick-Schiller and Levitt, 2004, Levitt, 2001, Lafleur, 2013, Bermudez, 2006, Baldassar and Merla, 2014, Mazzucato 2013, Barglowski et al. 2014). In their efforts to do so, they have developed many methods and tools. As my fieldwork evolves and the collaborative efforts with my participants continue I inspired myself in these researchers' work. Indeed, the multi-sited perspective first developed by George Marcus in (1995) and used by Transnational Family Scholars like Valentina Mazzucato (2013, 2006) seemed to be congruent with the mutated witness approach. Their views were after all constructivist as they argued that the fields in which we work were always moving, and should be defined and informed by the actors we are following. These fields are formed out of relations filled with repertoires of practices and relationships that travel between transnational social spaces. The core of a multi-sited field perspective is that it takes practices and relations as the core of analysis and as the starting point of empirical investigation (Marcus, 1995, 1998, 2011). Thus, slowly the significance of the nation-state, the local and the transnational become reconstructed through a field of relations one follows. As discussed in chapter 3, the importance of such spaces acquires meaning as one traces such practices inside what some have theorized as transnational social fields of relations (Glick-Schiller and Levitt, 2004) or transnational social spaces (Faist 2000) that are composed of networks that expand through time and space. Thus, the multi-sited ethnography co-constructed with my participants is inspired by such transnational social spaces, multi-sited and network views. In the following sections I discuss the intellectual roots that legitimize such approaches.

5.2. The Multi-Sited Lens

5.2.1. Sites of Relations as the Architectures of Places

George Marcus (1995) and Karen Fog-Olwig (2007) are perhaps the two most prominent examples of authors who have tried to address the challenges of conducting ethnographies that take place in transnational social spaces. Their work is fairly relevant for the methods put to use in this dissertation and thus worth discussing. Indeed, they have sought to address such problems by redefining spaces as relations and networks rather than as physical matters. In this sense, it's worth discussing their work here, since through my co-constructed ethnography I grabbed elements of their approaches to compliment mine.

Karen Fog-Olwig seminal book: "*Caribbean Journeys, An Ethnography of Migration and Home in Three Family Networks*" is a perfect tool for those who invest time in constructing multi-sited ethnographies. Particularly, important for this dissertation is Fog-Olwig's (2007) conceptualization of space. Fog-Olwig (2007) conceptualized space in an unusual manner. Spaces, for Fog-Olwig are networks of relatedness that connects individuals at various levels. According to her, space can only exist if there are networks inside that provide individuals with an identity of belonging based on a moral obligation to the members of such networks. In this sense, her approach complements Faist (1998) conceptualization of transnational social spaces. Fog-Olwig (2007) conducted her analysis with three large Caribbean family networks that although living in separate geographical spaces were connected through such moral obligations, expectations and engaged in extensive exchanges. Fog-Olwig (2007) then paid particular attention to the practices such as family visits, letters, and telephone calls that made up the relations that sustain such spaces among them. These practices according to her gave individuals enough resources to pursue a migratory project and later to establish them and maintain an adequate standard of living. Fog-Olwig (2007) then argued that such spaces are the architectures of what was earlier defined as a transnational social space.

Fog-Olwig's (2007) re-definition of spaces as networks of relations represents an advancement in migration studies where spaces were understood before as a single place of origin or destination where the migrant had attachments to (Basch et al. 1994). Nonetheless, it also a merit to have developed an analysis that brought up the construction of such spaces as fraught with tensions that were the product of gender, class and racial power relations. Fog-Olwig (2007) also offers the very useful advice of constructing our fields in parallel to our object of studies, rather than making out of them just background information. In this sense, she complied with the anthropological tradition of carefully following our objects of study, while

dwelling to learn by experience and linkage to the objects we study (Gupta and Ferguson, 1997). Although her study didn't focus strictly on a particular location, it was able to follow intensely the narratives through which individuals constructed spaces of relations across borders. From her approach, I take the element of developing a field that follows the repertoires of practices through which individuals build global social protection arrangements. I will however, improve her approach by filling in some gaps. Firstly, it's in my view not productive to ignore the macro structures of opportunities and constraints that influence how individuals build such practices. Certainly, power relations of gender, race, and class operate both at the micro level of relations but also at macro levels of government in which individuals have almost no control. As it would be shown in the empirical sections, the ways in which individuals learn repertoires of practices and build global social protection arrangements was constantly influenced by migratory, welfare and gender regimes. There is also a tendency in Fog-Olwig's (2007) as it is in other works on transnational families, to focus on the binary relations a set of individual develop between a destination and sending country. Instead, in my study individuals expand their repertoires of practices and their networks of connections between at least three or more countries. In this sense, it's worth it to also review George Marcu's (1995) multi-sited theorization of the field. Marcu's notions of translation and tracing (Marcus, 1995:101) might serve to analyze the ways in which individuals translate discourses and repertoires of practices that helped them to construct their global social protection arrangements.

5.2.2. Translation and Tracing Across Sites of Relations

George Marcus (1998) was a pioneer in anthropology by introducing an approach that aimed to understand globalization and the increased mobility of ideas, goods, and persons. According to Marcus (1998), the anthropologist in a context of increased globalization had to learn to adapt and follow the subjects of study with their story while taking into account their nativist perspectives. Meaning, they had to take seriously into account the individuals' narratives of how they made their lives in multiple connected spaces even without moving physically. This approach is in many ways closed to the mutated witness approach discussed in earlier sections. Indeed, as the anthropologist moves along guided by his objects of study, he or she discovers the translations between places connected by people and their narratives. This view requires for us to follow our objects, their metaphors, their issues, their chains, their trajectories and tax-positions in various places (Marcus, 1995). In his early contributions, Marcus (1998) described a couple of objects that could be followed in such fashion which included people, objects physical and metaphorical, plots, stories, and biographies.

Marcus's (1995, 1998, 2011) contributions are many and some are useful for this study. The first and perhaps the most important one is his redefinition of an object of study that's defined as the anthropologist moves along in multiple geographical sites. This new perspective replaced the traditional imperative of immobility in anthropology. In his view the anthropologist is called to chase down the object of study while following the advice of the native he or she studies. The multiple sites are created in action as one discovers them through the narratives of the individuals involved in the making of such sites. The place then becomes the entry point through which one sees a universe of multiple connected fields. In my case, the original 15 individual narratives became the entrance point to discover the networks of support, which were the architectures of the global social protection arrangements that sustained them.

The use of such multi-sited perspective is however not problem free. Marcus's (1999) approach has indeed been critiqued by his colleagues in anthropology, and some of those critiques can be applied to this study as well. The first critique has been one, which Marcus' (1999) entitled the "*Malinowskian complex*." This critique argues that one cannot get the deepness of phenomena by moving around while following it through time and space. In simpler terms, it is often assumed that when the anthropologist changes places the ethnography loses the strength of the information captured. In fact, the logic of moving around while chasing a metaphor or an object is in contrast with most of the anthropological work of the 20th century and even before, where the anthropologist spends most of his or her time in a single village, capturing every detail of the dynamic of interest. Marcus (1999) answered back to this critique by arguing that a multi-sited ethnography is not about observing particular places through prolonged periods of time. It's instead about the connections the anthropologist can make from the narratives of the individuals that ultimately make the field in which the object of study is located.

Another critique made to Marcus' (1998) approach corresponds to the fact that it only captures the social realities of the most privileged hence those who can move. In this sense, it would be losing the stories of the sub-altern that are often not mobile. Marcus (1998) answers back to this critique by arguing that one studies phenomenon that are located in multiple sites but the actors themselves aren't necessarily mobile. In this sense, the migrant domestic worker's family members who are not mobile themselves can have connections to family members abroad and in this sense have a multi-sited life. Thus, by interviewing the worker in a single site one could obtain multi-sited information as well. Overall, Marcus (1999) argues that a multi-sited approach is ultimately very Malinowskian since the anthropologist absolutely trusts the natives to show him or her around, to construct the multi-sited field of relations together from the foundation of their narratives.

Marcu's multi-sited perspective is thus very closely related to the mutated witness. Through my ethnography, I was always concentrated on the actor's point of view. The participants themselves through their life-story narratives built the site of network relations where the action took place, and their global social protection arrangements developed. The process of discovery of such networks began in Brussels where I met my original participants and eventually took me to all the physical and online spaces where their networks spread. Following, Marcus (1995, 1999, 2011) but also the work of Donna Haraway (1988, 1997) I took the situated knowledge production practice very seriously. I followed the participants' plot and tested along with them. We reconstructed their support networks across the multi-sited field and built an accountable testimony of their global social protection arrangements. In this sense, having knowledge about other studies that had used a network perspective became essential in this process. Thus, through the following section, I describe the theoretical foundations of such network approach.

5.2.3. Networks Inside Transnational Social Spaces

If the spaces taken into account in this dissertation are made out of relations in which through various networks individuals are able to make translations and taxpositions (Marcus, 1998, 1995, Fog-Olwig, 2007), it's necessary to discuss the relevance of such networks. In simpler, terms how can we define such networks and follow them? As highlighted in the previous sections, relations of networks are the sites where the individuals in this dissertation construct their global social protection arrangements. The network's approach that will be used in this thesis was however not always the norm in studies of migration, particularly in the sociology of migration. In the early 2000s, most transnational migration studies concentrated on finding an individual's roots or their ethnic origins while tracing their connections to an ancestral homeland (Levitt, 2001, Glick-Schiller and Fouron, 2001). Individuals were categorized as members of transnational communities or Diaspora's interested in keeping their connections to their places of origin even after generations (Levitt, 2001). Researchers by this time began to take into account the consequences of increasing international mobility facilitated by the increasing democratization of communication and transports (Levitt, 2001, Glick-Schiller and Levitt, 2004). This epoch represented what Baldassar and Merla (2004) consider as the mobility turn in social sciences. The researchers were increasingly concerned with the effects of such increase mobility in identity formations, or with the political participation of immigrants abroad both in their homeland and host land politics (Lafleur, 2013, Vertovec, 2007, Bermudez, 2006).

Regardless of such mobility turn, researchers particularly those in sociology were mostly concern with how such transnationalism affected migrants' identity or their incorporation into the receiving society (Cohen, 1997). Even, though transnationalism implied looking at dynamics that took place beyond the borders of the nation-state, research on transnationalism still concentrated in the embedded relations between one particular place of origin and one location of the destination. Anthropology instead even from earlier on had already considered that migration was part of a changing dynamic that revolve around networks of individuals connected to two or more places (Fog-Olwig, 2007). Anthropologists in migration studies have in fact for a while being interested in figuring out how individuals construct their family lives in contexts of mobility. Such research first started at a national level while they analyzed the family networks and connections of tribes that moved from rural to urban spaces (Barnes, 1969). In this sense, the field of anthropology was always a redefined space. This last point being later theorized and legitimized by the work of Marcus (1995, 1999, 2011). Since, then anthropologist have been following social networks as the bedrock of trans-local relations, showing individual agency and following such networks according to the migrants' perspectives (Barnes, 1969, Espstein, 1969, 1968, Philpott, 1960, Fog-Olwig, 2007). An obvious example of such early studies of social networks in migration is Stuart Philpott (1960) study of Caribbean migration to London. Philpott (1960) was able to follow social networks that emerged in a British West Indian Island and connected individuals all the way to urban London.

In this sense, studies on transnational families in the late 2000s followed this anthropological call (Mazzucato, 2008, Baldassar et al. 2007, Baldassar and Merla, 2014). They insisted that one could analyze the presence of such networks by following the material and emotional practices that support them. Their work has shown that migration doesn't necessarily disrupt the family lives of individuals but rather transforms them. Indeed, they have insisted that through such social networks family connect through a variety of practices and manage to survive as such.

Linking anthropological studies (Fog-Olwig, 2007, Marcus, 1999) on a network of relations that extend across multiple spaces, I have developed my approach. I however, must make it clear that this is not a quantitative approach to follow specific networks while describing their density and importance. Instead I followed the call of Karen Fog-Olwig (2001) who described following family networks in multiple sites as the process of following: "*inter-personal relations where social ties and cultural values are actively maintain as well as contested and changed* p. 3)." I developed a study of the repertoires of practices located inside multi-sited relational networks that connect the initial 15 migrant domestic workers and various members of solidarity networks across multiple geographical locations. It's through such

repertoires of intergenerationally learned practices that individuals make what I will call Global Social Protection Arrangements. Following the work of sociology of the family scholars these multi-sited networks of support are defined as broad with members connected through various mechanisms of solidarity and reciprocity (Baldassar and Merla, 2014, Fog-Olwig, 2007). The members of such solidarity networks are bloodline family members, voluntary kin by choice, and members of the public administration and or church or local association authorities. The actors in these networks were defined by their interdependence (Finch, 2007) they developed with the initial migrant domestic workers interviewed. Indeed, the 15 migrant domestic workers that were initially interviewed and the members of such networks shared and displayed common repertoires of practices that ultimately formed the global social protection arrangements followed (Finch, 2007). The composition of such networks was nonetheless also shown in the various configurations of social protection arrangements and the density of the ties created with them (Wasserman and Faust, 1994, Salancik and Burt 1995).

Having had attested of the academic roots of my approach, the next section illustrates the networks in which the participants created their global social protection arrangements and how they were followed over time and space. This next step is necessary and congruent with the logic of following the participants' voices as they constructed these networks in their narratives and guided me to interview the actors who were key to their arrangements.

6. Global Social Protection Arrangements Inside Multi-Sited Transnational Networks

As the fieldwork advance in January 2015, the connections between the initial 15 migrant domestic workers and the networks that made up their global social protection arrangements became evident. Through our ritual weekend encounters, the participants began to slowly recount the places inside such transnational social space where they situated their strategies to access social protection as well as the actors present in each of them. This forced me to explore a web of complex relations between the initial participants and actors that resided in Brussels, Madrid, Milano, Lima, Chimbote, Bogota, Medellin and Itagui. I was physically only able to visit Brussels, Lima, Chimbote, Bogota, Medellin and Itagui¹⁹. All of them cities located in different countries and continents. Some of these cities were visited physically while other

¹⁹ Appendix C contains a Map of the Cities visited.

connections were established through modern means of communications such as facebook and whatasp. The following figure summarizes graphically such fieldwork:

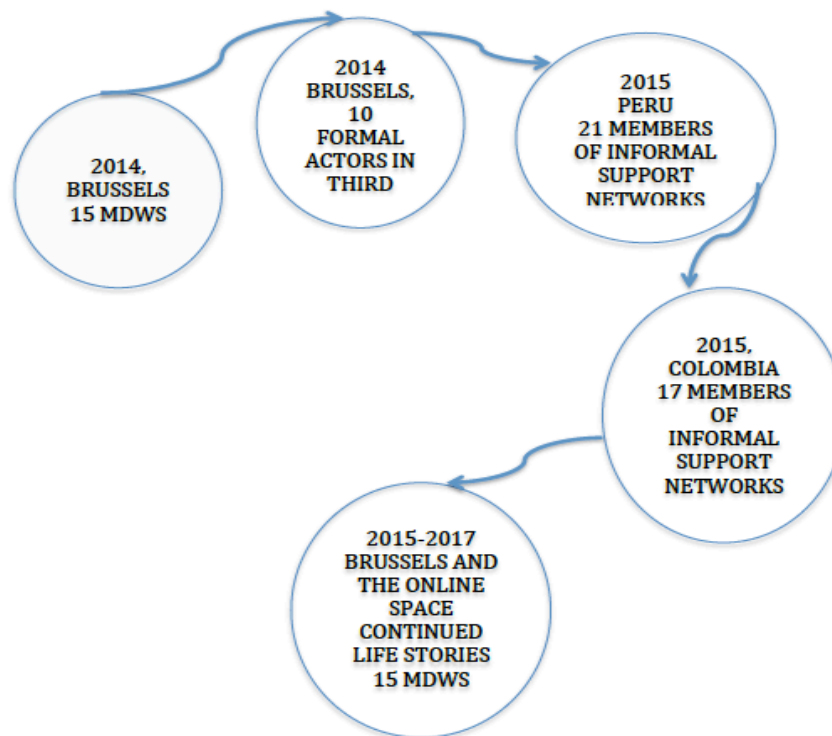


Figure 1: Time-Line of Multi-sited Fieldwork, September 2014 - December 2017

Every single one of the participants has different sets of networks. Thus, from January 2015 until November 2015, my goal became to untangle such networks; following the participants' narratives (Marcus, 1995, 1998). I first contacted the network members that were within proximity in Belgium. All of the actors who weren't family members were interviewed in a semi-structured fashion. I followed Barglowski et al. (2014) advice and choose this method that permitted a certain kind of openness even within the constraints of times and preconceived questions. So, my participants named through their narratives the actors that had been essential in accessing social protection. Nonetheless, these first actors' interviews also took place in multiple sites in the city of Brussels. For the first group of participants, these major players were located within their Catholic Church community and other Latin American associations in the city. The following sections follow such networks.

Brussels Those within Physical Proximity

On October 1st, 2014, Lisette and Valeria first directed me to Padre Hector the priest of the most frequently visited Catholic Church by Andean Americans in Brussels. Later in

December 21st, 2014, Norma and Natividad confirmed his importance. Padre Hector who has since left the church in Brussels was a middle age man that connected female migrants to jobs in the domestic sector in Brussels. He was also prompt to remind them in his Sunday sermons of the good Catholic values of solidarity and reciprocity with their children in the country of origin:

“Please don’t forget about your children dear Mothers. I know many parents who leave their children in their countries and then forget about them. You will be judge”

(Father Hector, Sunday Homily, 21-10- 2014)

Although Padre Hector like many of other man in the community had refused to be interviewed on December, 23rd, 2014, he accepted when another colleague doing a similar study asked if we could interview him together. Meeting Padre Hector then led me to another key actor, Patricia, the director of the social aid committee in church. Patricia was a Belgian-Chilean woman. She accompanied participants in their earlier years in Belgium to doctor’s appointments, translated documents from Netherlands or French to Spanish and explained to them certain procedures. Patricia like Hector recognized their sacrifice but often also omitted their sacrifice to protect their families and themselves was perhaps a mistake since according to her it had “*destructured the natural order of things.*”

The third actor interviewed was Juan Benites the president of a famous Latin American association in Brussels. On January, 3rd, 2015, Marianela and Lisette recalled Juan Benites as the politician kind who made promises during his campaigns and slowly forgot about them. He was nonetheless a reference point for particularly complicated issues such understanding deportation orders, changes in migratory status and family reunification processes. Juan Benites was also reluctant to be interviewed but also accepted my invitation to a pair interview with my Spanish colleague:

“Welcome, I don’t have much time. If you [my Spanish colleague] could make the questions and have Miss Take notes [myself].”

(Juan Benites, 14-01- 2015)

Later on Catarina and Ursula named Beatriz a social worker that was also important to them. Beatriz a former migrant domestic worker, politician and now social worker was critical in many procedures such accessing health leaves and pension rights. Although Beatriz and I shared the intersectional standpoint of being mestizas, class divisions that stood in between us determined our first encounters. Beatriz seemed reluctant to guide me to find interviewees and accepted to be interviewed only in July 2015, after a year of insistence. We talked several times

and it became evident as I met my participants that Beatriz more than Juan Benites was crucial in guiding them through work permit procedures, regularization of their status, access to health care and emergency medical aid for those that had been at some point undocumented. Beatriz was technically not allowed to attend the needs of the undocumented through her organizations but informally she did so. Participants described Beatriz as someone who wouldn't judge them regardless of their status. Lastly, within this group of Latin American actors in the civil society sector was Alejandra a woman who also became a participant later and who worked for the victims of the Colombian violence but also to informally protect new comers, offering housing, information on immigration rights and supplying them with food. Alejandra nevertheless protected only those of her social condition. She had been particularly key to Amaranta who like her had also been a political refugee.

Another type of actor who became key for all of the participants access to social protection were official Belgian actors particularly those in the Belgian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and its Immigration Office. After all, it was them who were in charge of their access to regularization procedures and family reunification through which they sometimes obtained the informal protection of family members who came to Belgium. In this sense, I was able to interview the responsible of family reunification. A civil servant who agreed to be interviewed to explain the discourse of a Belgian state that certainly liked Latin Americans and considered them good migrants, but who had unfortunately come to Belgium at the wrong times.

Institutional Actors in Colombia and Peru

As I moved along across the multiple sites where global social protection arrangements were constructed it became apparent that for the Colombian participants, Colombian institutions that veiled for their Diasporas abroad were also relevant. Such actors became particularly important for Valeria, Ana Lilia and Lisette who had been applying for pension programs in their countries of origin and had a project of investment in the new housing industry in Colombia. This led me to interview Areli a candidate for Colombian senate who was meant to be the representative for migrants abroad. Later as I followed the participants' stories to their countries of origin I interviewed four members of Colombia Nos Une a program designed to facilitate the information of Colombians abroad of their rights including social protection agreements. In the same trips to Bogota I interviewed Maria Caridad, Jorge Valdez and Pedro Olivares three experts on Colombian migration and its consequences for the social reproductive worlds of migrants, whose names like all other participants are kept anonymous here. On the side of the Peruvian authorities less support was shown which corresponds to their considerable less resources in terms of migrants' access to social protection. In this sense, I only managed to

interview a member of the inter-sectorial think tank on migration and policies and the president of a Peruvian domestic worker's association who were planning actions to reach international migrants as well. I did so because Laura and Catarina had also placed their hopes on the Peruvian government that might open up opportunities for them to access a pension there.

Family Members and Other Informal Actors

In my same journeys through their discourses I was also able to map the informal actors of their transnational family networks who were critical in their access to social protection. In terms of methods they were also interviewed in a life-story fashion. The connections established previously with the initial 15 participants made this a possibility. Before, I moved along to further geographical distances I began to meet the family members' part of the participants support networks that were also in Brussels. In this sense, I met Frida Fernandez's sister, nephew and best friend. Fridita as her friends called her seemed to be one of the only participants who had limited transnational connections and access to social protection was restricted to the few resources she had in Belgium as an undocumented migrant domestic worker. In this same line of arrangements, was Juana Flores whose only sources of support seemed to be the formal sector of institutions in Belgium and her sister and ex-husband in Brussels.

I then moved on to Lima, the city where my participants had themselves being either second or first generation migrants. In Lima lived 21 of the initial participants' family members. The fieldwork in Lima was also in its own ways multi-sited. In the Miraflores district one of the richest ones in Latin America; I met 9 members of Eva Olivardes' family. The access to this one field was made easier since Eva Olivarde's daughter who I had met in Belgium had return to Lima a few days before I arrived. As I followed along the second week in Lima I met 4 members of Laura Cobre's family. Access to this family was facilitated by the fact that the Cobre's and the Olivarde's had met earlier in Belgium and were close friends that supported each other. I was thus able to spend a month in each of their houses. I was able to access five members of the Cobre's family in Pachacamac a rural and historical district located 50 kilometers away from Lima. Once again I access yet another site. I spend the second month visiting them and establishing the connections of support between them and Laura in Brussels. In the third month, I met Catarina Zapata's 2 sons and her daughter in law. The access to the Zapata's was also facilitated by the fact that they too were good friends in Brussels with the Olivarde's family.

During this third month the Olivarde's family also drove me to the Chorrillos's district to meet with three members of Zaida Roble's family. Lastly, during my last 2 weeks in Peru, for

two weeks I visited and interviewed 5 members of Norma Magallanes family in Chimbote a city about 400 kilometers away from Lima. Upon my return from Chimbote, two days before coming back to Brussels, I met two members of Natividad Camacho's family.

Making Connections, Returning to Brussels and Leaving to Colombia

Returning to Brussels, I met with those actors that were not interviewed before but whose importance I had learnt about from the life-story interviews in Peru. This was an important step to make translations (Marcus, 1995) and connect the narratives of those left behind actors in Peru to the initial participants in Brussels. I then continue to meet with participants both Peruvians and Colombians. At which point Colombian participants led me through their narratives to their family actors in Colombia who were critical in their social protection strategies. In September 2015 I moved along to Colombia for another two months. I landed in Bogota September 15th, 2015. In Bogota during my first month there aside from the institutional interviews I met and interviewed Amaranta Nogale's sister. I followed her story during 4 weeks. I then moved along and met Marianela's Caraballo's first cousin Rebeca in Bogotá. After this month I moved along to Medellin a city located approximately 400 kilometers away from Bogota. There I stayed with in a nearby city Itagui in Valeria Rodriguez' family. Luckily, Valeria Rodriguez had returned to Medellin in the weeks prior to my arrival. During 4 weeks, I met and lived with 5 members of her family. The Rodriguez took me on through the other interviews with other families. Subsequently, during my first week in between Medellin and Itagui, two neighboring cities, the afternoons were spent meeting 5 members of Lisette Hernandez's family in Itagui. During my second week in Medellin my days were spend contacting and meetings 6 members of Marianela Caraballo's family in Robledo a commune in Medellin. Occasionally, also with the help of Valeria Rodriguez, who had returned from Brussels I met with Ana Lilia's mother for a life-story interview.

Returning to Brussels and Making Final Connections

The last stage of this journey to reconstruct two types of social protection in the transnational social field was Brussels the entry point. There I met with the participants who had stayed in Brussels and had not returned. I did so after transcribing 200 pages worth of ethnographic field notes and finishing the transcriptions of the continuous 15 life-stories that were recorded in various series. These last informal conversations complemented the information recovered from their networks and allowed us to draw together the connections that formed their global social protection arrangements.

In December 2015 as I returned to Brussels, I conducted a last set of interviews to discuss the idea of global social protection arrangements with the participants. The concept of global social protection arrangements builds on earlier work on “*assemblages*” that considered that access to social protection through informal support resources embedded in interpersonal relations and social policy regulations that reproduce and produce new intersecting inequalities globally (Faist and Bilicen, 2015). However, as discussed in chapter 3, the concept of arrangement stresses a fluid process. Indeed, the architectures of arrangements are the repertoires of practices that individuals learn through the life course to protect themselves or their family members informally or formally. These arrangements allow families to access social protection resources and change according to the availability of resources at particular moments of the life-course. These processes nonetheless are embedded within migratory, gender; welfare regimes. I stress that within these arrangements the individual’s translocations in terms of their gender, their class, their generational location in their families and their levels of transnational connections will strongly influence their global social protection arrangements. However, as Merla (2014) argues it’s important to insist on the influences but to also give a level of agency to the individuals. Thus, Arrangements unlike assemblages described earlier by Amelina et al. (2012) stress individuals’ agency in adopting certain strategies over others.

The empirical following of such global social protection arrangements isn’t free of ethical predicaments. Thus, in the last part of this chapter, I recount the efforts to construct a continuous feminist ethics of risk that holds together the analysis performed in the analytical chapters.

7. The Feminist Ethics of Knowledge, Confidentiality and Beyond

“Witnessing is seeing; attesting; standing publicly accountable for, and physically vulnerable to, one’s visions and representations. Witnessing is a collective, limited practice that depends on the constructed and never finished credibility of those who do it, all of whom are mortal, fallible and fraught with the consequences of unconscious and disowned desires and fears. A child of the Robert Boyle’s Royal Society of the English Restoration and of the experimental way of life, I remain attached to the figure of the modest witness. I still inhabit the stories of scientific revolution as earthshaking mutations in the apparatuses of production of what may count as knowledge.”

(Donna Haraway, 1997:267)

As a young researcher, on April 14th, 2014, I presented this dissertation project for the first time abroad at a conference for young doctoral and post-doctoral researchers. During my presentation, I was honest enough to admit that my mother's story as an educated woman who was also a former migrant domestic worker had inspired my choice of topic. As an almost immediate reaction, a woman in the audience raised her hand and asked: "*How dare you say, you are objective when you're studying something too close to your heart? Why are you disclosing such information in a scientific event?*" I left the presentation worried, frightened and with a note for later to delete those type of comments from my presentations. However, as days went by and my fieldwork began, I started to question the generic notions of ethics and scientific knowledge production. I questioned myself about who was allowed to conduct research? What did it mean to be ethically responsible to the knowledge we aimed to create? The work of researchers on self-reflexivity and most importantly on the new feminist ethics of risk in knowledge production began to influence my work (Haraway, 1997, Sandoval, 2000, Fernandes, 2013). These questions were part of my research process all along. They influenced everything I did and are thus worth discussing in this last part of the chapter.

As I moved through my fieldwork, I realized that the ethical measures I was taught as an early undergraduate sociology student were questioned in the field and needed some revision. Meeting my participants as a young and not completely inexperienced researcher meant I had many doubts about how I will protect them but also myself. Like every other young scientist, I shared the preoccupation with confidentiality and followed the basic procedures of giving participants a confirmed consent form. Such form was often rejected again because of the intersectional boundaries I mentioned earlier. My participants as experienced and grown woman could not agree to sign a paper, which they thought would serve to assert the reality of their stories. They considered such practice would protect me as a researcher but not them. Aside from this many of them had survived dictatorships, undocumented lives, and oppression from a lot of sources. Signing a document even if just with their initials or with a small mark meant they were giving their identity to someone they had just recently met (Duvell et al. 2009). Moreover, relying on my previous research experiences, I knew trust in Latin America among the subaltern is rarely gained through authoritarian means is rather a process that grows out of camaraderie and informality through several occasions (Zúñiga and Vivas, 2015). Instead, a new ethics of risk was necessary. These new ethics of risk involved a renewal of approval that was built through a long lasting relationship. Furthermore, it was about negotiating power relations and co-constructing ethnography. I as a mutated witness I set out to be could not afford to adopt a top-bottom view on such procedures. I could not impose methods, frameworks of analysis and a production of knowledge based only on my own interest.

I thus revised the notion of ethics by reading the work of other feminist researchers. Often, as researchers we resolve the questions of ethics with forms and questionnaires that clear our consciousness and make us free of guilt. New transnational feminist work instead insists that a conversation about ethics needs to go beyond self-reflexivity and a self-insisting almost forced confession in which the researcher cleans his or her consciousness (Fernandes, 2013, Mohanty, 2003, Haraway, 1988, 1997). In fact, as many of its critiques have implied, the act of self-reflexivity often comes at the expense of reducing the location of the self to elaborate representations of the researcher who writes his or her confessions about his or her object of study (Fernandes, 2013a,b). These modes of self-reflexivity made debate between reality and representation a never-ending practice. On the one hand, we could assume that the material, social location determines the effects of an image (Fernandes, 2013b.) On the contrary, we are left with the never-ending task of finding the right representation views to reflect the lives of the objects we study. This last practice is supposed to erase the material and ontological differences between the researcher and her or his participants. These two approaches as suggested by Fernandes (2013b) leave us with the unbearable division between representational and ontological practices as though the minute we called ourselves researchers weren't any longer parts of the realities we studied; as though we were able to always magically able to extract ourselves from the world we live in. Instead, the new feminist conceptions of knowledge production view the practice of self-reflexivity as a dynamic one.

As explained earlier, I made my choice to assume the position of the mutated witness. Inquiring in the adoption of such position needs a new kind of ethics of risk. Since, I bear with the participants the responsibility to produce knowledge that truly reflects their lives. Thus, doing knowledge under this new logic of ethics of risk becomes a practice that's no different from other world making dynamics (Barad, 2007). These new views invite us to reconsider and reshape ethics in particular historical and cultural contexts. Ethics as Fernandez (2013b) puts it needs to be redefined with each new research project. Ethics cannot be an anxious territory that's left unmarked, unquestioned and defined by predefined forms. Indeed, leaving the ethical concerns unmarked, unquestioned may itself lead to greater damage to the subjects we study and follow. The knowledge producer in this context is not involved with self-reflexive reflections on her social location. The researcher is instead engaged in witnessing, shaping and being shaped by the world out of which he or she is a part of (Fernandes, 2013a,b). In my mutated witness position I became an observer who participated in my subject's of study's actions and was engaged in shaping their realities as much as they shaped mine. Haraway's (1997) mutated witness breaks the conception of the modest witness turned who can only be reliable if he or she manages to observe a reality while being invisible. Haraway's (1997:37) conception instead insists on a more critical reflexivity. As she puts it: "*Critical reflexivity or*

high objectivity does not dodge the world making practices of forging knowledge with different chances of life and death built into them (pg.37)” The ethical imperatives of Haraway (1997) mutated witness are those of an inescapable and accountable engagement of the researcher at all times regardless of the style of representation practices.

Thus, through my research process there was a constant negotiation of ethics. Undoubtedly, as my participants retraced with me, their life course a differentiated consciousness (Sandoval, 2000) emerged in both of us. I touched their lives willingly or unwillingly. Through their life-stories, which became what in the Latin American traditions are “Testimonios” (Testimonies) they became conscious of the layers of oppressions they were often confronted with. As a mutated witness, I learned from my participants. In this sense, I became a student of my methodology (Fernandes, 2013b). Such approaches then gave me the opportunity to turn the practices of knowledge making into an emancipatory act both for the participants and for myself. As this kind of witness I dare to challenge the traditional power hierarchies that divide through clear lines participants from researchers. This wasn’t a trouble free approach. I bear with them the emotional labor of discovering oppression and or talking about difficult stages as they aged transnationally (Hoschild, 2003).

As time went by, I as a mutated witness also accepted the challenge of becoming part of the participant’s realities. I guided them to the actors that could answer their administrative queries. I thus became useful to them. In this sense, a reciprocal solidarity installed itself between my participants and me. During my trips to their country of origin to interview the actors they mentioned were key in their global social protection arrangements, I carried gifts, objects, and documents. In this act of moving objects, I risked myself. However, such risk became part of our solidarity contract as they became my teachers and let me into their personal and family lives. In these terms, my participants gave me the knowledge I will transmit in the following chapters. This approach represented what Fernandes (2013b:129) has distinguished as the often stretch and sharp division between the intellectual who knows it all, and it’s meant to educate others. The point in this research was to produce knowledge about reality but also to make that knowledge comforting and useful both for my participants and for myself.

The act of witnessing, however, is not free of fears and risk (Haraway, 1997). The act of witness carries with it an ethical responsibility. As one co-creates the ethics of the research, the work often becomes overwhelming. The conception of witnessing a reality and learning from it, in fact, brings in a profound sense of ethical responsibility. This design however in Haraway’s (1997) conception moves far away from a simple self-reflexive turn. This new understanding of ethics runs across the lines of ontology and epistemology. As Barad (2004: 384) notes, ethics becomes about “mattering, is about taking account of the entangled materialization of which we

are a part, including new configurations, new subjectivities, new possibilities, even the smallest cuts things. p. 384” Ethical principles in this sense are always re-contextualized and redefined. There is indeed a new ethics of control and risk (Welch, 1990) such ethics cannot be previously defined. It’s fundamental to recognize that one’s actions have an effect in the realities we study and that doing research means taking such risk. As one negotiates the ethics of risk regularly, one is extremely careful although there might not be any guarantees of success (Fernandes, 2013a).

In my efforts to conceptualize such ethics of knowledge I engaged in their realities assuming this responsibility with my research participants that agreed to include themselves in this research project orally. Participants then continuously reaffirmed their agreement to participate and do this project with me and were also informed that they could leave whenever they desired to do so. This ethics of consent is inspired on the work of social scientists who believe consent shouldn’t be a fixed procedures but a negotiated one (Newirk, 1996, Anderson, 1998, Acker et al., 1996). In my view, this type of consent was an act of constant negotiation that involved the researcher and the participants. In this sense, I gave away a bit of control as I discussed with my participants the strategies to cover up their realities as well as the theoretical tool that will serve to analyze them. I ran the risk of losing the material collected since the possibility to leave this project was always open. I knew these efforts would have political, material and ethical contradictory outcomes. Perhaps the riskiest of all action was our decision to give the reader the opportunity to co-witness the realities that were trace through this ethnography (Fernandes, 2013a,b). In this sense, those that react and read this dissertation will confirm our analytical certitude. I thus assume the responsibility of translating into these pages their lives. This exercise has thus being about covering, writing and translating the human experience of constructing global social protection arrangements (Fernandes, 2013b). In this sense, I agree with Mahmood (2000) that the prescriptive and analytical aspects of the feminist project can be left productively open.

Finally, this ethics of risk is also about decolonizing the image of women from the Global South as victims and rather to show their strategies to access social protection. My goal through the past three years has been to learn with them about the multiple aspects that oppressed or open up ways to access social protection and to discover the actors that made such global social protection a reality. In this sense, implicating myself in their stories has also meant to witness their personal transformation as they created a differentiated consciousness about what oppressed them (Sandoval, 2000). This means I followed and accompanied them in their political actions. Since, as they build their life stories for this project some of my participants have discovered the political right to protest. In this sense, my research as discussed in the

empirical sections discussed this research gave my participants an opportunity to demand their rights. I didn't stand back when this happen. I was there to witness such political engagement. I couldn't allow myself to stand back as this happened since in the post-colonial and critical feminist ethics this step of helping others to create differentiated consciousness (Sandoval, 2000) is part of the ethics of conducting research that's productive for society and leaves a footprint in the world.

Thus, an ethics of risk through this much has demanded that I'd be less certain about my approach to knowledge production. I have taken every precaution possible and even renegotiated my participants' consents continuously. However, I will never be completely sure of the implication of the results of this research for immigrant's access to social protection. Although I have tried to be selective and cautious about strategies of representation an ethic of risk such as the one I have decided to adopt demands that we continuously challenge the assumptions that we bring to the process. As one takes these practices of knowledge production, one continues to risk the task (Fernandes, 2013a,b). The challenge of confronting the ethical core of knowledge production fills our research with uncertainty as we engage with new realities and try to understand them (Fernandes, 2013b). Adopting this conception of risk demanded that I constantly reflect on the invisible dimensions that shape our practices of knowledge production (Fernandes, 2013a). This demands that we give up some of the comforts that we gain when we carefully follow our ethical questionnaires and guidelines. This according to Fernandez (2013a,b) demands that we worry less about visible issues or markers of what we might consider ethical or successful knowledge practices and discover the hidden unethical practices of knowledge making. This means that through the whole research process, we are carefully observing power dynamics, negotiating our roles and learning from our participants rather than trying to impose our criterias, our frameworks and academic tools. As we do so, we create what Fernandes (2013b) names new regimes of visibility. These new regimes of visibility are deeper there are more compatible with the needs to show an ethic of control. We become accountable to our own selves, to our readers, to our scientific peers and to the subjects we study. Thinking of our knowledge practices and the ethics of risk as more than merely a consent form means acquiring an endless responsibility with the agencies of the actors we study. This new ethics of risk ultimately represents our accountability with the world; with ourselves and with the realities we study (Barad, 2007). Having had attested the ethics that instituted this dissertation, the following chapters deal with the empirical tracing of global social protection arrangements. I do so while taking the stories as told by the participants. They were too consulted regarding such analysis and had given their views about it, which have been taken into account. It's their wish and mine as well that our collaboration would continue and the process we began 3 and half years ago would not stop simply because this dissertation has come to an end:

“Amelia: I wished we could write something in Spanish. I’m happy for you. I hope we will continue to collaborate.

María: We sure would! I just have to finish giving birth to this thesis and then we will do it.”

(Informal, conversation, Lima, 28-05-2017)

SECTION III:

THE ETHNOGRAPHY

Chapter 5: Sequential Global Social Protection Arrangement I: “Today for you, tomorrow for me”

1. Introduction

In the previous chapter, I introduced the posture of the mutated witness. I mentioned it was a position that led me to observe my participant's global social protection arrangements. As I move on to describe what they have taught me about the repertoire of practices that compose such arrangements, it is now important to briefly situate their efforts in the contexts in which they emerge. It is an important step to follow the intersectional framing of translocations (Anthias, 2016). As highlighted in chapter 3, individuals have multiple gender, racial, generational, religious, and class translocations that emerge and interact differently depending on the context in which they are situated. They, nonetheless, also produce different hierarchies and create uneven access to social protection resources. In this sense, Anthias (2016) argued that it was necessary to situate such translocations inside the historical, political, and economic contexts of the various geographical spaces in which they developed. So, through the first sections of this chapter, the participants narrate their translocations inside migratory, working, welfare and gender care regimes.

I present their narratives inspired by Majella Kilkey and Laura Merla's (2014) framework of situated transnationalism. Their framework argues that to make transnational phenomena explainable one has to invest time in understanding the regimes that influence migrants and their families' efforts to care for each other. Indeed, every regime conditions the ways in which the

participants are able to externalize their informal care needs and protect themselves through other formal avenues. I, expand their view to understand how people develop global social protection arrangements. Moreover, I do so while starting from the individuals' point view. I make emphasis on how the actors in this dissertation locate their repertoires of practices inside such regimes. Repertoires as defined earlier in chapter 3, are a multiplicity of cultural resources and frameworks that are transposed as practices intergenerationally (Coe, 2014). Repertoires allow actors to solve specific problems, in the case of this dissertation, to strategize their access to global social protection arrangements. Such repertoires in this dissertation include: mobility, remittances, and worker's insurance. The names and content of such repertoires emerged from continuous conversations with the participants through the analysis. As they used such repertoires participants assure a number of social protection resources. My argument here is that each of these repertoires is influenced by each regime mentioned in the first chapters, meaning the migratory, welfare, working and gender care regimes. Each repertoire is conditioned by a particular regime and sometimes by the interaction of all of them. I build on the previous categorization of such regimes described in the initial chapters of this dissertation (Esping-Andersen, 1991, Sainsbury, 2006, 2012). In this sense, the migratory regime affects the repertoire of mobility. The working and welfare regimes of every country in which the original participants or their family members work influence their repertoire of worker's insurance and remittances.

Consequently, the second part of this chapter engages in the description of the repertoires that compose the first global social protection arrangement, which together, with the participants we have entitled "*Today for you tomorrow for Me.*" This title emphasizes the temporality of these arrangements and the importance of informal care resources. Indeed, as we will witness the participants in this chapter rely on sequential modes of informal solidarity they establish with their networks of support more than on access to social protection resources. As I describe these arrangements through the participants' points of view, we witness their creative efforts to battle their uneven gender, racial, class, generational translocations within the regimes described in the previous sections. The chapter, then, concludes by offering an analysis of how each repertoire has continuously been affected by a combination of the participant's different translocations. I also conclude by explaining the mechanisms through which repertoires eventually articulate themselves into global social protection arrangements, which then leads me to present the second kind of arrangement in the following chapter.

What follows are the narratives of the original participants' eldest family members. They are mostly women who began their stories as they depart from the mountains and countryside of their countries of origin on their quest to access social protection rights that historically have

only been available to urban citizens in Peru and Colombia (Mesa-Lago, 1978). Their narratives have been chosen to start this chapter, because they highlight the participants' origins and permit us to see how their immigration to Europe was able or not to challenge their intersectional translocations.

2. Situating MDW's²⁰ Indigenous and Afro-Descendant Women and their Family Networks Inside Peruvian & Colombian Working, Welfare and Gender Care Regimes

2.1. Women Inside Colombian and Peruvian Working, Welfare and Gender Care Regimes: "*We, the Daughters of No One*"

Miriam and I met on my first trip to her family's home in Chimbote. Miriam was the 64-year-old mother of Norma, an original participant I had met earlier on in Brussels. I got there after an eight-hour trip from Lima the city where I had conducted a few other interviews. The trip was an exhausting experience. The family lived on the outskirts of the city where most of the rural migrant communities had occupied territories in earlier decades. Amelia, a participant from the Olivarde's family mentioned in chapter 4, along with her four-year-old son took the bus with me. Amelia had, in fact, become my gatekeeper in the field in Peru. Amelia had made it clear that a young Venezuelan woman with such a strange accent could not get by alone on the streets of Peru. Amelia had more than other participants accepted her role of being my mentor in the field and collaborating with the project.

After 7 hours in a bus, we finally made it to the bus stop in Chimbote. Amelia convinced the taxi man to show us a clean hotel in the area. Once, at the hotel, we waited for Matilde and Osvaldito, Miriam's granddaughter and son. I had been instructed by Norma to contact them once I got there. I called Osvaldito. He got to the hotel and drove me to the neighborhood where his sister had built a home. He referred to his hometown as a "*migrant community*". It was the slum neighborhood where he and his family had lived since his mother migrated from Huaraz, a city in Peru's northern Huaylas Valley in the Ancash Region. The familiar rhetoric in Lima mentioned that people originally from this region had a tendency to keep secrets and be

²⁰ MDW refers to main participants, hence Migrant Domestic Workers.

extremely cautious about their lives. I, thus, became slowly anxious and curious to meet every single member of Norma's network of support. I soon noticed that Miriam hid in her home for the first hours. Her family home was right on the hill in front of her daughter's house. Osvaldito attributed his mother's secrecy to her physical appearance, which regardless of her age had degraded, from sickness and hard work. Miriam as many other Andean girls had been employed as a child rural migrant domestic worker in the city of Chimbote and later in the fish industry (Anderson, 2009). After a few hours with Osvaldito, Matilde, and the other members of the Magallanes family, agreed that I would meet Miriam for dinner in the city center. As the dinner came along, I finally met Miriam; a short woman, with dark skin burned by the sun and wrinkled hands from her labor in the fish industry. We looked at each other for hours, and Miriam did not say a word. I had to wait until the next morning when Miriam after, a lot of thought, decided to stop working and spend hours with me in restaurants, markets, and parks recounting her story. From this point on, her narrative became a testimony of her position within the Peruvian welfare, working and gender care regime. The following quote shows these narratives:

"I'm from Huaraz, Ancash. First, my mother brought me here [Chimbote²¹]. She hand me to a lady who was supposed to be my aunt. That lady sent me to work at people's houses. I got pregnant young. I had the first two in Huaraz, Ancash, and then the last two here in Chimbote. I came over to give my children an education. I was young, 15 maybe... At some point, I wanted to return to the Mountains back home, but Norma [her eldest daughter] convinced me to stay, she said: 'Momma I want to stay here. I know that schools here are much better. The quality of schools is better here than over there in the mountains.' I accepted to stay because of her, so that she could go to school. I was aiming to move to Lima, that was my goal. I couldn't find anyone to sponsor me to go. I needed a contact, someone already working there as a live-in or just someone working in a factory there. Then they got older..."

(Miriam, Mother of Migrant Domestic Worker, Chimbote, Peru, 03-06-2015)

In fact, her story was familiar to many of the senior women in the families I interviewed. Indeed, as the story of the continent shows women, like Miriam, have historically appointed themselves as the "*daughters of no one*" (Stolcke, 1992). They did not belong to elite families. Moreover, if their fathers were white males that empregnanted their mothers, they weren't recognized. Their images have been erased from post-colonial accounts of societies in Latin

²¹ The information in brackets, serves to clarify information for the reader. It was not part of the original quotation but it's needed to understand the context.

America. The existing accounts about access to social protection reviewed in the first chapter have failed to contextualize how colonization represented an assault on their livelihood chances (Figueira, 2005, Martinez-Franzoni, 2008). Indeed, the work of Juliana Martinez-Franzoni, mentioned in chapter 1, depicted gender and class decommodification of social protection resources. However, even such research omitted the interacting gender and racial lines of redistribution of resources in Latin American societies. It's only since the 1990s that foreign researchers have examined their location inside Latin American welfare and working states. These researchers particularly highlighted the role of rural female migration for the domestic work sectors. They made emphasis on how such migration transformed urban labor markets in Latin American cities (Valenzuela & Mora, 2009, Stolck, 1992, Stefoni, 2009, Ceriani, et al. 2009, De la Cadena, 1992, Herrera, 2011). In this same vein of reflections, the Latin American feminist historians and economist of the colonial period have also given a clear account of these women's location inside such regimes (Stolcke, 1994, 1992, De La Cadena, 1992, Ceriani et al. 2009, Stefoni, 2009, Anderson et al. 2009, Herrera, 2011). The work of these researchers has, indeed, paid more attention to women and men's location within racially, gender, and class stratified working and welfare regimes in the region. Interesting enough, their work coincides with the narratives of the original participants in this thesis. There is a definite demarcation between white and mestiza women who have achieved a location inside a respected family in the urban context and the color indigenous or African women presented through these chapters who, in their own words, have remained "*the daughters of no one*".

As I discovered their narratives and remembered my own family history, it became apparent that, in the Peruvian and Colombian post-colonial societies, women's access to the labor market was strongly affected by their gender, racial, class, and generational locations. Thus, for indigenous and afro-Peruvian women such as Miriam or Caridad, the elderly sister of another participant, mobility from rural to urban areas to work in the domestic sectors of in cities such as Lima, Bogotá, or Medellín unconsciously became a repertoire used to erase colonial vestiges:

"I'm like a man. I worked outside the house. I was never afraid. We came from the countryside where women, even less women like me worked. If they worked they became domestic workers. I instead worked in a factory. I gave them an education."

(Caridad, Eldest Sister of a Migrant Domestic Worker, Itagüí, Colombia, 10-10-2015)

Their mobility became a repertoire used to find a new location in urban labor markets and eventually access either public, private or family and community social protection resources (Rodgers, 2009, Valenzuela-Mora, 2009, Anderson, 2009, Asociación-de-trabajo-redes, 2005). Indeed, it's women like Miriam or Sonia that have historically had the most trouble inserting

themselves in the familiarist welfare states of Peru and Colombia that historically have had low levels of decommodification (Martinez-Franzoni, 2008), (Martínez-Franzoni, 2007). Since, colonial times they have been seen as natural providers of care and their work as domestic workers not valued as such (Anderson, 2009). Certainly, the first generation of internal migrants like Miriam has had a tendency to be overrepresented in such sectors (Anderson, 2009). This location as servants, inside their countries working and welfare states for many, begins at an early age. This servant location conditions their access to the formal labor market. This aspect was also present in Sonia's narrative. Sonia is also the elderly mother of a migrant domestic worker. As I covered her life story narrative, I notice how it evolved, as she became a permanent caretaker of her entire family network and an informal domestic worker in Lima:

“Miss. we have suffered a lot! Our story goes way back! Sit down let me tell you! My father used to hit my mother and was never really a provider! I left when I was a little girl. My mother sold me to a lady who was supposed to be my grandmother. Years later, I discovered that she was not my grandmother. Then I started working for her. We weren't family even though we were supposed to be. She had a lot of money and used to humiliate us. I found out years later that she was not our grandmother. We were hers and we took care of her until the end. I never really worked anywhere else but where she allowed me. I worked in other houses. In fact I didn't even know my father. He was Japanese, back then it was common that the boy in the house would rape the little province girl that worked in the house. My mother was raped! We are the daughters of no one! Years later I made the same mistake as my mother. I let an unworthy man give me children. I end it up alone, raising them as I could. This made me become independent, stronger than ever. I raised my daughters to be otherwise...”

(Sonia, Mother of a Migrant Domestic Worker, Lima, Peru; 23-02-2015)

Sonia's narrative shows her inability to escape her position as an informal live-in domestic worker. Furthermore, as her mother Sonia was raped and had children to a man that left her. Her gender location as a mother of 4 children left her in the incapacity to find another job as she resisted the exploitation of being an informal domestic worker. Sonia's story continues as she repeats this repertoire of mobility with her daughter Laura. She however, encouraged Laura, to be different independent, mobile without having to comply with anyone:

“I told Laura, women have to be outside the household. A woman needs to work for herself and for her children. The day a man leaves you; you know how to take care of yourself.”

(Sonia, Mother of a Migrant Domestic Worker, Lima, Peru, 23-02-2015)

Laura, unlike Sonia, obtained a technical education and technically met the requirements to escape the worlds of domestics in a city like Lima. However, in Latin American labor

markets, traditionally women like Laura have been considered as a secondary workforce (Abramo, 2004). Indeed, in Latin American urban centers racial and gender lines determine the position of individuals within the labor market. Women like Laura end up in the domestic sector either because of the abandonment of their male partners or because they could not afford to live on the low salaries they obtained from the smallest scales of administrative jobs (Anderson, 2009). These stratifications are fed up by historical and cultural assumptions about indigenous and afro-Colombian or Peruvian women that have been present since colonial times. The imaginary is that if such women enter the labor forces because they aren't the legitimate partners of a male that could provide for them or that their male partner is not able to protect the family (Abramo, 2004). Moreover, their embodied images are associated in urban centers to domestic workers particularly for the first generation that immigrated in the 1970s and 1980s (Anderson, 2009). Consequently, the income obtained by these women is considered to be secondary, not important however as we will see later these changes with immigration.

Nonetheless, as the family history continues, Sonia's story shows one can only uplift one's gender and class locations by engaging in internal migration and later encouraging the younger generations to engage in transnational mobility. In fact, as time went by, the father of Sonia's children came back after many years of absence if only to require her care and attention as he suffered from a terminal illness. Nevertheless, all of her daughters had repeated her patterns and had too been abandoned by their male partners. In the midst of such context, Sonia insisted that such mobility had permitted the family survival by assuring her daughters place this time not in Lima but in Europe's capital:

"I recommended her to a family. I met them through a Bishop I knew. Since, I wasn't just another domestic worker. I worked with the Bishop. I took care of him since he has a kid. The lady, my fake grandmother had allowed me to work for him. Then a diplomat [²²], an important man, showed up to the Bishop's house. I spoke to him. I had to play a little trick to hide myself and talk to them. I asked him if he didn't want another girl to help out. I told him I had a daughter and thanks to that she is in Belgium today. So then, Lala [Laura] left to Lima and later to Brussels with them. Two years Later Pamela my other daughter who was studying to be a policewoman got pregnant. The guy left her as well. So, Lala found her a place in another house in Brussels and she left as well. They both travelled as Live-in workers with good families."

(Sonia, Mother of a Migrant Domestic Worker, Lima, Peru, 23-02-2015)

²² The use of diplomat corresponds to a term that has been negotiated multiple times with the participant, who has given her agreement so it could appear as such.

These same experiences were also common to women from Colombia who had also entailed mobility from rural areas in The Antioquia region to the city of Medellín. Caridad the elderly sister of a Lisette, another migrant domestic worker narrated a similar experience:

“No, women didn’t go out to work back in the days! I mean well it depends which women. I did because dad was out there playing around with a bunch of women and he used to hit mom. I had to work, so they [her sisters] could go to school. I worked first as a muchacha [domestic worker] in a house and then 30 years in a factory. I have always worked because I had to give all of these women [her sisters] an education. We all worked like that. Whenever one of us finished the 6th grade of primary school we left to work. We used to help a Madame in the city. They all help me out even now though. I have a little pension. I was placed in sick leave when I got my disease.”

(Caridad, Eldest Sister of a Migrant Domestic Worker, Itaguí, Colombia, 10-10-2015)

Articulating the voices of the senior women with the literature discussed covered in earlier chapters has helped us to obtain a first picture of the participants’ location inside working; welfare and gender care regimes of their countries of origin. However, as highlighted by Fog-Olwig (2007), the stories of these women and their intersectional locations only exist as they come to existence in relation to others. Thus, it’s important in the next section to discuss the often contradictory but complementary position of men in their networks of support.

2.2. Men Inside Colombian and Peruvian Working, Welfare and Gender Care Regimes: “*We, the Forgotten Ones*”

This section covers the narratives of the men in the original participants' support networks particularly those who have not participated in mobility strategies. For these men, the immigration of the female members of their families has represented a shift in their identity. In their narratives one finds a sense lost. They have lost their only privilege meaning their identity as the supposed to be male breadwinners. Historically, they had been obliged to whiten themselves through the gender power they exert on the women in their communities, but their efforts had failed them (De la Cadena, 1994, Oliart, 1995, Stolcke, 1974). As explained by La Cadena (1994), the racial and class system in post-colonial Latin American societies expected for men regardless of their racial origin to fit the standard image of the European white heterosexual male with enough labor skills and a career. They should be providers of their families following the western male breadwinner model, mentioned in chapter 1.

In this context, as highlighted earlier in chapter 1, men from indigenous or Afro-Colombian and Peruvian origins have found themselves in the middle of the racial and class pyramids that has historically divided access to social protection in the region (Mesa-Lago, 1978). These men have had access to a minimum of social security granted by their professions in the construction or service industry and to the charity based approaches constructed by the Catholic Church and other institutions (Mesa-Lago, 1978). Even in the industrialist period, when the Peruvian and Colombian states made an attempt to create Bismarckian, welfare states the protection provided was clearly more evident for professional workers than for indigenous, Afro-descendant or mestizo men working in manual jobs in service sectors (Cecchini & Martínez, 2011). Indeed, as highlighted in Martínez-Franzoni's (2007, 2008) typology of Latin American welfare states, Peru and Colombia have historically been in the conglomerate of countries with a familiarist welfare state. These familiarist welfare states, as mentioned earlier in chapter 1, have low levels of state *decommodification* and high levels of transnational informal decommodification through international migration. In this model, the use of remittances, that women have mostly provided since the 1990s has been key for their families' reproduction. In this context, citizens of indigenous and African origin, particularly those who have stayed in rural areas did not enjoy healthcare and pension reforms. Therefore, instead, they have had to rely on a mix of private and public access to health and housing paid mostly by the remittances sent by the women abroad. These policies of mix private and public access indeed became problematic since most of these men in the main participant's support networks have been employed in the informal service sectors (Iregui & Otero, 2003).

In this context, these men instead, of mobility to other cities or to other countries abroad are expected to leave their local communities while searching for local jobs (Anderson, 2009). They have lived their lives while being challenged by their levels of education. For the most part they become self-employed by the business created by their immigrant sisters, mothers or daughters with their remittances or had looked for ways to find jobs in the nearest cities. They became taxi drivers, cleaners, and handymen and remained without a family of their own, while working in the informal labor markets of their cities. German, the husband of an initial participant narrates these dynamics through his life story. As he greeted me inside their family home, these words became almost like his anthem:

“I have already told her [his wife, a main participant]. I put up with this solitude for them, for my kids! Otherwise I would have already left her for another woman, someone who was here for me. We are all migrants, all of us. We came here and we squatted these fields. Lord, knows we were strong... The women came first and we followed along. I sometimes get melancholic. I sent her pictures of the house we are building over facebook. I keep

telling her to come back. I keep promising her I will find a job we will live with a bit of money but with a house already. I haven't been able to and it kills me..."

(German, Husband of a Migrant Domestic Worker, Chimbote, Peru, 03-05-2015)

The male married partners like German gave an account of their unprivileged position as caretakers by obligation. German a man of Andean origin had migrated to the city of Chimbote thanks to the help of his mother. He followed his wife Norma on her migration to Chile but due to repetitive economic crisis lost all of his possibilities. Since then, German has not been able to find employment. He has instead assumed the role of a caretaker for his children and builder of his family house. Matilde, the couple's girl, is 24 years old and is now studying to become a doctor while also taking care of her two-year-old toddler. Juanito, on the other hand, the youngest boy, is 19-year-old and is also already the young father of a 5 years old boy. Juanito has not completed secondary school and like his father he is unemployed and dependent on his mother's remittances. German felt he had felt at his most precious task that of being a "*family chief*." The town was full of rumors of his wife going abroad to join another man and his kids been a failure. German resented his mother in law not wanting to take full commitment for his children and leaving what he considered a "*women's like*" responsibility on his hands. German however kept in his narrative a commitment to his family and continued to build his house as though it was the only kind of informal protection he could still offer his family. Regardless, of his uncomfortable position as we spent time together in Chimbote, German was proud to show me pictures of his wife and verbally reassured his commitment with his family:

"I'm here for them. Look at these pictures they were so young. They don't value it but I'm here for them."

(German, Husband of a Migrant Domestic Worker, Chimbote, 03-05-2015)

German's daughter, Matilde, seemed surprise her father had given me an interview. In the days that followed, German did as his daughter mentioned. I didn't see German's face again. He locked himself in his room and did not come back to say goodbye. As I mapped similar relations in Colombia, I found similar examples in the narratives of the least privileged men. This is certainly the case of Domingo, the husband of an initial participant who recounts his unlucky choices and the locations he holds in the working and welfare Colombian state:

"I have always liked to work to have a little money on my own. I have never liked anyone giving me anything. I left school because there was no way around it. I studied until my second year of secondary school. I worked initially in the factories but when they closed, I lost my job. Then my father in law got me a job as a handyman in schools and then they closed the public system. They fired everyone, including me. All of my life, I have wanted to be someone. I'm a natural leader but I never found a job again. I have been striving and

protesting to get a pension because they fired me. I didn't leave. Nothing has happened. She left. She did [his wife]... I know Ana, my daughter, doesn't really like me! I tried. I tried to be the best father but she valued other things. She got into a university to study, the national one, the best one but she left. She didn't even pass the first semester because her mother left. She got angry and bored and it really isn't anyone's fault. I let her be! She first moved in with her boyfriend in here [his house]. Then she left [to a place nearby in the city] to live with him and I left too [moved to his mother's house nearby]. I rented this house because honestly what was I going to do here alone?"

(Domingo, Husband of a Migrant Domestic Worker, Medellín, Colombia, 02-10-2015)

As German, Domingo faced a change of locations and a change in his identity as his wife left to work in Spain. Domingo, unlike German, had a different kind of location; he was a mix of indigenous and afro-Colombian origins. He had a calm gracefulness. In our first interview, he sat straight and looked at me right in the eyes as he asked:

"Where is the camera? Someone told me you were here to do an interview? I thought interviews happened with cameras."

(Domingo, Husband of a Migrant Domestic Worker, Medellín, Colombia, 02-10-2015)

He did not hide, and regardless of the unsuccessful paths of his, he was not shy to show his choices were due to his racial and class locations in the Colombian society as an aged man of color with no professional backgrounds (Arango-Gaviria, 2007):

"I know how things are. Mija [my child in Spanish] men like me [showed his facial features] are always underprivileged at this very age. We are people from the village and that's just how it is in big cities. Look at this picture I'm wearing my paisa sombrero [traditional hat from the Antioquia region]. I'm proud, Oh yes I'm! "

(Domingo, Husband of a Migrant Domestic Worker, Medellín, Colombia, 02-10-2015)

I noticed how convinced he was in his choice to stand by his wife's decision when she decided to migrate to Spain to provide their daughter with an education. As the life course evolved, he realized things in Colombia would never be the same and because of macro-structural changes in the labor markets, he didn't have a place on it. In fact, as highlighted by Eduardo Guarnizo (2006), a lot of the male population that's now in their 50's and 60's were first affected by the structural changes that privatize the public systems where many of them worked. Furthermore, as new temporary jobs in the private sectors emerged, they were slowly replaced by the growing and more educated younger generations. Ultimately as highlighted in Chapter 2, they found themselves caught in an era of fiscal austerity with neoliberal approaches

that aimed to replace public social protection by emergency safety nets that did not cover individuals like German or Domingo (Cecchini and Martinez, 2011:28).

The gender, race, class, and generational locations of the men and women in these past sections have also been transposed to other contexts, as the women in their families engaged in international mobility to challenge their disadvantaged positions in the Peruvian and Colombian welfare states. The following section tracks the main participants' engagement in such mobility both to Europe's capital and in other cities in the South of Europe.

3. Women Translocated in European Working, Welfare, Gender Care, and Migration Regimes

This is the Life we have had to live

May 13, 2014, was a cold day. It had only been two weeks since fieldwork in Brussels began. I took the train with hopes of finding at least one more participant. However, I was sure this would be a risky date to ask for support. It was Mother's day, an important occasion in Latin America, where most women are reminded of their roles as the main caretakers of their families and are either honored or critiqued for how they have to manage to fulfill such roles. For some migrant domestic workers particularly for transnational mothers, it is also a reminder of the physical distance that separates them either from their children or their elderly mothers in their countries of origin (Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila, 1997). Catarina, a 51-year-old migrant domestic worker who, by the perks of destiny, became my first participant was in such location. The community knew her as the woman who didn't have her children nearby. As we all stood by, waiting for the Mother's Day festivity to begin in the Ixelles commune in Brussels, all the women in the room looked around and made comments about Catarina's saddened destiny: "*Dear Lord! Poor lady, sick old and alone! Her Children aren't here!*" I stood there quiet and made it seem like I hadn't heard their comments. Instead, I began my quest to talk to Catarina. Slowly, as I reached for a glass of Pisco Sour a traditional drink from Peru, I manage to make eye contact with Catarina. Catarina was gladly laughing and dancing with a group of kids that seemed to be related to her. Finally, as the song was over, I managed to talk to her:

"María: How is it going? I'm María. I didn't mean to bother you. I know it's a hard day for someone of us, my mother isn't here either. I have no one but my husband here.

Catarina: I know how special today is but I'm not sad! I have already given them everything. I wish I could touch them! Since, in reality you never really stop being their mother regardless of their age, they are 19 and 23. It's been nearly 12 years since that last afternoon when we said goodbye.

María: I'm sorry! I didn't mean to...

Catarina: No worries, mamita [my little child]! María, your name is Maria. I will call you Marita then. Nice to meet you precious! You remind me of my boys so young and smart! Let me tell you my story. I heard you were looking for Peruvian and Colombian women because you're writing a book about us, how nice of you. Can I give you my phone number? We can catch up another time here is my phone number."

(Catarina, Migrant Domestic Worker, Brussels, 25-04-2014)

From a first sight, Catarina's case seemed to comply with the stories I had read in the literature about global care chains (Parrenas, 2003, Escriva & Skinner, 2008). Later as we talked, Catarina mentioned that in Brussels she had done what every other woman in her position would have done. She worked as a migrant domestic worker. However, unlike the images of the domestic worker as exploited individuals (Anderson, 2000), she considered herself proud of it. In the four months that followed Catarina and I met various times again. In our first formal meeting, we began to draft together her life story. We met in her house in a popular neighborhood in Brussels. On that very first day, as I walked outside the tram, I watched her walked worried but slowly. I knew it was Catarina because of her full curly hair that stood out from afar. As we got to her place, Catarina explained the reason for her walking slowly was a hipbone replacement she had suffered from. She had also forgotten her key inside, and we had to call in her neighbors to open the door. She seemed worried about this "*You see this is what happens when you begin to age...*" Even, with the adversities brought by the surgery and while still being undocumented at the time, Catarina had to continue working and seemed to be hopeful that things would work out:

"We come here with a dream. We do this for our children but as time goes by, you starting doing it for yourself too. I'm not a fool! I know things are getting hard after the surgery. Hopefully, I will get my papers because we just appealed again. The first time they didn't give them to me because technically I was not able to work with a broken hip! The hip is repaired and it would work out! I also have a new friend I see from time to time, Albert..."

(Catarina, Migrant Domestic Worker, Brussels, 13-08-2014)

In her narrative, Catarina showed that although she cared for her two children and grandchildren, her main responsibility was to herself. Catarina then, for the two meetings that followed up talked to me about her position in the Belgian immigration, welfare, and working

regimes. As I followed her life story, I witness how her life gave a 180-degree turn as she received her working permit and was able to access healthcare and the rights to accumulate for a pension. Catarina's story resembles those discussed by scholars in chapter 2 who discussed that some women from the Global South joined global labor markets in the service sectors to provide their families with formal and informal protection (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2001, Herrera, 2012). In the narratives of Catarina and other participants, one can trace and understand their locations inside these gendered and racial global labor markets. As suggested by Catarina's narrative, their stories are as argued by Helma Lutz (2008: 16-17) situated at the interaction between three regimes. Firstly, the gendered and working regime that naturalizes care task as women's tasks. Secondly, care and welfare regimes in which women have historically been given the responsibility to assume the informal care of their families whether, as first-hand providers or as organizers of it. They eventually led to an externalization of such labor and put it in the hands of migrant women like Catarina. Thirdly, a migratory regime that shapes and conditions differently, the migration of men and women leads them to work into racialized and gender sectors of the labor market. In the sections that follow, the participants locate their stories inside such regimes.

We did what any other women would have done: Indigenous and Afro Peruvian and Colombian Women in European Immigration Regimes

As we have witnessed in the stories shared so far in this chapter, the internal and transnational mobility repertoire of Peruvian and Colombian women in this dissertation is, in fact, a generational transmitted repertoire (Coe, 2014). The main participants in this dissertation engaged in internal and international mobility repertoires that could not be attributed solely to new economic, political, and social difficulties in Latin American countries in the late 1990s. This finding somewhat contradicts the studies that have observed Latin American migrant women mobility from a receiving country's perspective (Bermudez-Torres, 2011, Oso & Garson, 2005, Escriva & Diaz Gorfinkel, 201), Parella, 2003). In fact, as shown both by the review of the literature and the stories of their locations inside their countries of origin, my participants' mobility repertoires respond to a historical and structural dispossession of social protection resources (Mesa-Lago, 1978, Oliart, 1995, De La Cadena, 1994, Anderson, 2009). Whereas their mothers first migrated to the urban centers in Colombia and Peru, the main participants in this dissertation took off to farther destinations for some first in the Latin American region and subsequently to European countries where their networks of female families of friends were already settled. The main participant's mothers were part of the biggest rural exodus of populations from the countryside in Latin America to urban areas. Through these patterns of internal and transnational mobility, the participants in this dissertation have

supported higher consumption, urbanization, and access to social protection resources for their families even within their locations as racialized migrant domestic workers (Ariza, 2000, Carrasco & Lentz, 1985). As highlighted by Stefoni (2009), Latin America as a region is emblematic of a region that has lately send more than half of its female population abroad. Latin American migrant women make up 50% of the female population in the region (Stefoni, 2009). Small qualitative studies show their overrepresentation in the domestic sectors of urban centers in the region, in the U.S, and in Europe despite being often overqualified for such jobs (Herrera, 2011). They thus, participate in the new global reproduction of labor theorized earlier by Rachel Parrenas (2006) in which, women and men, depending on their class and race are welcome to migrate to fill in the gaps of the service sectors in urban centers in the global north.

There are, however, certain particularities to the stories of the migrant domestic workers in this study. Firstly, unlike other Latin American women described in earlier studies (Drebbly, 2010, Hondagneu-Sotelo & Avila, 1997), they did not or could not choose the United States as their primary destination. They, instead, chose either a Southern European country such as Spain or Italy, or a state in the North of Europe such as Belgium or the United Kingdom where their female solidarity networks had previously beeng established (Oso and Garson, 2005, Escriva and Gorfinkel, 2011). Secondly, they didn't stay in their first receiving country. Instead, in the midst of adversity or crisis in such country, they activated their social networks and generationally learned mobility repertoire and performed an onward migration to another country mostly in Northern Europe. Indeed, in the early 2000s, the U.S, Italy, and Spain comprised the primary destination for Andean migrants abroad (Herrera, 2012). In preferred destination countries such as the U.S, the gender balance between women and men remains relatively stable while in European countries such as Italy, Germany, Switzerland and Belgium, Latin American women remain the majority (Herrera, 2012).

For some of the initial participants the journey began in Southern European states such as Spain. Valeria, one of the participants in this group, indeed, was always happy to narrate the beginning of her migration in Spain, a country that had gladly received her. Certainly, in countries with post-colonial ties such as Spain, Latin American migrants had a partially privileged position since post-colonial relationships acted as a facilitator of their integration in migratory regimes (Escriva, 2005). Indeed, as explained by Carlier (2008), in the early 2000s, Spain erased Latin American countries out of the list of countries that needed a visa to enter the Schengen space. This negotiation for a three-month visa waiver facilitated the migration of women who saw their paths to a European country such as Spain, as less risky access than migrating to the United States where restrictions in borders and visa had been made harder since the events of September 11th, 2001. Moreover, Spain also facilitated the naturalization of Latin

Americans present in the territory for more than two years (Izquierdo-Escribano, et al. 2003). Latin Americans, particularly women, according to Izquierdo et al. (2003) became the preferred migrants of the 2000s decade in Spain. According to the traditional rhetoric, they were submissive women of the same religion unlike other northern Africans. However, as the numbers of Andean and Afro-Peruvian and Colombian women's Spain increased and the 2008 economic crisis hit the Spanish economy, a new visa requirement was imposed for certain nationalities including Colombians and Peruvians (Izquierdo et al. 2003). Other than such difficulties that are currently used in research to explain their onward migration from Spain to another northern European country (Bermudez, 2015), there are also narratives about racial inequalities in their treatment as migrant domestic workers:

“Spanish women treat you like dirt! They are not conscious that you're a woman too, that you have children. This lady used to accuse me of stealing her underwear. In a way, some things were better in Spain because I knew the language but I didn't like how they treated me. I think some of the old people I took care off didn't even know me, they weren't interested or they forgot...”

(Valeria, former Migrant Domestic Worker, Medellín, Colombia, 22-10-2015)

By the late 2000s, Spanish politicians mourned the loss of Peruvian and Colombian women. As announced by Ana Botella the former Madrid, mayor in an IMISCOE conference, in 2014, “*Latin America women who used to be good workers*” had unfortunately left the country in numbers. In this scenario, participants like Valeria invested and moved to farther and colder destinations. As the qualitative work of Beatriz Camargo (2016) and Anna Safuta (2016) has documented, in the late years of the 2000s new opportunities were flourishing in global cities such as Brussels as Eastern European women became Schengen citizens and some moved on from the domestic sector into other areas of the economy, or engaged in educational programs (Camargo, 2015). In this context, the participants in this study initiated gendered selective migratory chains that then extended to further and more northern European destinations. In Belgium, the participants in this dissertation are part of this recent feminization of migration that includes women from selected regions in the world such as Latin America, Eastern Europe, and South East Asia. Since 2013, women came to represent 48.96% percent of the migrant population in Belgium and 53% of new Belgian citizens (DEM, 2013, Martiniello et al. 2013). Although, we lack statistical knowledge on the matter; recent independent demographical studies partially mapped the presence of Latin American women in the country. In 2016, there were 17,530 Latin American citizens registered in Belgium. Inside this very small minority, there were 1836 Colombians and 1.102 Peruvians (DEMO, 2015-2015). Peruvian and Colombian women represented 59% of their co-nationals with 1056 Colombians and 748

Peruvians (DEMO, 2015-2016). These figures exclude undocumented and unregistered migrants.

In Belgium's migratory regime, the participants in this thesis, like other migrants that arrived before them in the 1950s and 1960s, have been categorized as either insiders or outsiders regarding their access to the territory (Sainsbury, 2006). Although Belgium has continued to be a country of immigration, policies aimed at the recognition of migrants and their social rights have been scarce (Gsir et al. 2016). Indeed, as is the case of other western nations, Belgium has unceasingly aimed to reduce the legal routes for migrants to access the territory, in fact, family reunification or working contracts remain the only possible options for women to regularize their status (Rea, 2007, CIRE, 2013). These possibilities of entering the country legally have become even more challenging after the economic crisis. The financial crisis discourse, and the ongoing political conflicts between Flemish and Walloons, has reinforced the zero migration policy approach that targets mostly migrants who aren't socially or economically active (Gsir et al. 2016, Lafleur and Stanek, 2017). These changes in Belgium's immigration regime as highlighted by authors on *civic stratification* in chapter 2, affected migrant women in very particular ways. The restrictions in family reunification influenced their ability to reunite with family members particularly children and increased the time in which they have to protect them from afar (Kofman, 2002, Kraler, 2010). Certainly, for many of the participants this has meant a re-evaluation of their initial plans to combine public- private and family and community social protection resources by having a family member move over to Belgium:

“When my daughter had a son we wanted for my sister Carmen to come, so, she could help her out when the daycare closed. It has been impossible! I mean the housing requirements, the salaries, it just too much. Forget it!”

(Marianela, former Migrant Domestic Worker, Brussels, 10-11-2014)

As highlighted by Gsir et al. (2016), newly created Family Reunification policies and naturalization laws aimed at being harder. One of the first reforms concerned the changes family reunification of 2011. They introduced new and harder requirements for sponsors seeking family reunification in Belgium with family members residing abroad (Gsir et al. 2016). The required level of income has to be, at least, equivalent to 120% of the social integration income and cannot be assured through social assistance (European-Migration-Network, 2013). This measure clearly had an impact in how aging Andean workers accessed informal resources of protection. For some of the women interviewed, the plans of bringing their children over to take care of them during an illness or to offer support in other areas seemed to be almost impossible.

Another particular difficulty has been the changes in treatment for E.U citizens. Certainly, participants like Valeria, experienced the hardship of being onward²³ E.U migrants (Ramos, 2016) coming from Southern European states, as Belgium began to categorize E.U citizens as a burden to the welfare state. According to Lafleur & Stanek (2016), E.U citizens could eventually lose their residence permit on the basis of a restrictive interpretation of Directive 2004/38/EC. This E.U directive allowed E.U member states to withdraw residence permits from E.U citizens who became an unreasonable burden on their country of residence (Lafleur and Stanek, 2016). Such restrictive interpretation, on the mobility rights of E.U citizens to move and reside within the Schengen space, resulted in an increase of the removal of permits from E.U citizens (Lafleur and Mescoli, 2016). Since then, certain E.U onward migrants have been perceived as overly benefiting from special non-contributory benefits (Lafleur and Stanek, 2016). Additionally, Belgium removed any unemployment or integration income assistance for E.U citizens residing in Belgium after more than three months. These new measures had a direct impact on some of the migrants that had been onward migrants. Indeed, some of the participants were touched by the new measures. Valeria a Colombian with dual Spanish nationality explained this:

“No one ever told me I would get nothing in Belgium, nothing! I came here and had to look for a job with the help of my friends and family members. There weren’t that many jobs for someone like me because I didn’t speak French. I came from Spain... I kept looking I found one but I spent two months here without nothing. They told me if I didn’t find a job I would have to go back, but go back where? Spain, I didn’t have a job there either...”

(Valeria, Migrant Domestic Worker, Brussels, 10-06-2015)

While for those that experience long-term immigration to Belgium their hopes of becoming Belgian citizens and been able to access benefits such as the old age pension became nearly impossible. The discourse on the crisis also facilitated the approval of a new nationality law on December 4th, 2012, which was the largest modification of the citizenship rules since the 1980s (Watelet, 2012). The new code of nationality awarded Belgian citizenship upon “integration” levels. These integration levels were put in place to make sure that foreigners gave valid proof of the economic and social integration in Belgium for at least five years (Gsir et al. 2015). The requirements included knowledge of an A2 level of one of the three national languages, holding a school diploma or a certificate of attendance of integration courses and

²³ Onward migrants it’s a term used by Ramos (2016) to describe Latin American migrants who in the context of the 2008 economic crisis made use of their Spanish or Italian citizenship to migrate onwards towards another E.U Schengen state.

having worked at least 468 days in the past five years. Evidently, for the women in this dissertation who as described in the following sections²⁴, had only recently started working in the regular sector of voucher systems, it was impossible to meet such requirements. As commented by one of the initial participants:

“It’s the second time they denied me an access to the citizenship. I have tried everything but after 12 years of working inside a house, how I’m I supposed to learn French or even worst Dutch? How am I supposed to go to school and take those “integration-courses? I told my boss, she got mad and hired another lawyer but still...”

(Laura Migrant Domestic Worker, Brussels, 10-06-2015)

The issues migrant women began to face with the economic crisis were coupled with the increasing challenges they confronted in the sectors where they were employed; for the most part, the care and domestic sectors. Indeed, as highlighted by Diane Sainsbury (2006, 2012), after immigrants have gone through the entrance requirements imposed by immigration regimes, they are slowly granted access to various levels of access to public social protection under contributive means. The informality of the domestic sector in the initial years of migration before, the participant's obtained an immigration status that was, certainly, detrimental to their global social protection arrangements. Thus, through the following section, I build from their narratives to position them in the gender working, welfare and care regimes of the countries in Europe where they have been employed as migrant domestic workers.

“We aren’t here just to clean after them!” Indigenous and Afro Peruvian and Colombian Women in Latin American and European Welfare and Working Regimes

Juana and I met as I followed her in the events of the regional campaign for regional elections in Brussels. I had learned that people had asked her to become a candidate for the Regional elections in 2014, but she had refused to do so. Juana, instead, insisted her work was done from below helping people and being humble. Juana came to Brussels in 1985. As her narrative recounts, she had never been a woman of many resources. Her mother as the senior women presented in earlier sections had also been a migrant domestic worker in Lima. Juana married a mestizo man who allowed her to upgrade her status but never really fully received the support of his family. Juana however, followed their advice and came to Brussels:

²⁴ Details regarding the voucher-scheme sector of Domestic Work in Belgium are given in the following section.

“We did what everybody did in Brussels. We started working in the cleaning sector. Well I did more than him because as always they never want to hire men for that kind of thing. Little by little I brought my entire family here. I didn’t really wanted to, specifically the boys, because really what would they do here? But mom [who was in Lima at the time] convinced me to do it and I was like a little lamb. I followed her in everything she commanded. Now that she is dead, the obligation is over with. Now, I have to live for myself, right? We aren’t here just to clean after people...”

(Juana, Migrant Domestic Worker, Brussels, 10-02-2014)

Peruvian and Colombian women from indigenous and African origin like Juana have arrived in European cities for various reasons and with very different assets. Their choice of Europe is linked among other things to the colonial past of Latin American countries with Europe (Padilla, 2008:73). In fact, movements of migrants from Europe to Latin American and vice-versa have been common all through the history of both continents (Padilla, 2008). In Brussels, they share the experience of being migrant domestic workers although from very different locations in the conservative Belgian welfare state. Belgium as mentioned earlier in chapter 1, can be considered as a corporatist democratic welfare state (Esping-Andersen, 1991) or according to Lewis (2001) as a modified male breadwinner welfare state. As other post-war European Welfare states, the Belgian welfare state is marked by a compromised between the workers and the owners of the capital. Thus, the benefits available to citizens and permanent residents can be said to be a heritage of the country’s industrial past (Kuipers, 2006:53). A first set of social protection resources are social insurance benefits paid partly by employers and employees, with certain exceptions like self-employed individuals who contribute to this system in a different way (Gosseyen-Heynen, 2010). Secondly there are social assistance resources that are non-contributive and paid the general contributions of citizens, and don’t require individual contributions (Marx, 2007). A third avenue of social protection resources in Belgium, are the more recently created labor market activation policies, that give complementary education and incentives for citizens to join the labor market (Marx, 2007). Increasingly, however with the sixth reform of the state the line between contributive rights, social assistance and labor activation policies, particularly in unemployment benefits has become blurred (Beland and Lecours, 2017).

At the heart of these social insurance and social assistances resources, there is a Christian view on the family as the entity of support, and the state as an institution that would only step in once no other solution is available (Kremer, 2007). This Christian view of social protection limited for a while the rights of unemployed women who were attached to the male breadwinner or family chief (Kremer, 2007). In the case of this dissertation, these male breadwinner standards also complicated the situation of participants whose male partners received

unemployment benefits, as they were restricted in their options to join the formal sector of domestic work in order not to risk their husbands losing their unemployment benefits (Marx, 2007). Additionally, not all social protection rights whether of social insurance or social contribution are administered by the Federal Belgian government; certain rights involve also regional and communal government structures.

In sum, contributive and non-contributive benefits include various resources. However, the description here would limit itself to those used by the participants in this study in the areas of: old-age survivors benefits, health, incapacity, family, active labor market, unemployment, housing and education. These areas correspond to Peggy Levitt's and colleagues (2015) definition of global social protection used to operationalize the results in this study. Inside such Belgian welfare state some of the participants work within the subsidized state voucher scheme systems, others are hired as diplomatic staff and perform their work as live in, while others remain in the informal sector. In this sense, they situate themselves differently within the Labor and Welfare state regime in Belgium. Besides the normative aspects of the Belgian welfare state, the women in this study also considered themselves as different types of domestic workers. Moreover, as the life course evolves they obtain different sets of limited social protection resources, of contributive and non-contributive nature.

Catarina considers herself a "free lancer" and a Live-out domestic worker with a work permit B that she obtained as the product of the 2009 regularization by her employment in Belgium. In this sense, her contract legally ties her to her employer for a maximum of one year. In views of escaping this dependency, Catarina intends to request her nationality shortly while showing proofs of her continuous work in the formal voucher scheme system.

Valeria considered herself as a "*cleaning lady*". She is a live-out Domestic worker who immigrated to Belgium as onward migrant from Spain. She is a Spanish citizen. In her narrative, she insisted that her co-nationals had mentioned it was best to leave the Belgian state alone and not ask for too many things. Valeria took this advice seriously and abstained from asking for sick days whenever she was ill. Laura, Lisette, Juana, Ana Lilia, and Marianela, instead are Belgian citizens. They obtained the nationality after having received asylum or family reunification before the recent changes in the immigration policies. Most of the women in this first and second group worked either under voucher scheme system or irregularly. Norma and Salma are, instead, Live in Domestic workers who are diplomat employees living and working in their private residence. These statuses, however, overlap and so do the rights that they are entitled to under them. Frida is, perhaps, the less advantaged participant as she currently awaits a pending regularization procedure through work.

Participants who work in the voucher scheme sector are part of the 73.4% of foreign women employed in the Belgian voucher scheme in Brussels, which functions as a triangular system that involves the Belgian state, the agencies and the clients that benefit from these women's services (Marten et al., 2014:37)²⁵. This scheme permits the state to subsidized working families that benefit from such services and gives the license to the intermediary agencies to act as mediators between the clients and the domestic workers (Perez and Stallaert, 2016). The voucher scheme system was created in 2004, as part of an effort to formalize and professionalize domestic work in the context of the European directives that aim to build further employment in a context of economic instability and greater unemployment among the native population (Maarten et al. 2012). However, as Camargo's (2015) qualitative research shows in global cities, such as Brussels domestic work has often being associated with migrant women. As the system evolves, it works as a musical chair dynamic (Waldinger, 2003) as ethnic groups leave while others come in to fill in the job offerings in the sector.

For Participants that use this arrangement, the voucher scheme system became the only solution to challenge their stratified and unequal gender, racial and class position inside Belgium's working and welfare regime. In some cases the system allowed them to step out of exploitive relationships with previous employers in the informal sector of domestic work and experience the acquisition of new formal rights. Furthermore, it also enabled them to avoid marriage in abusive relationships as a solution to obtain regularization:

“Slowly, I looked for jobs since I no longer wanted to be with the diplomatic I worked with. I wanted another option. At first I didn't speak French and they refused to give me jobs in the voucher scheme agencies. The couple I now work for trusted me in spite of this. They also made sure I didn't lose my status when I divorced my husband who had been harsh and abusive towards me for so long. They gave me an apartment so that I could keep my residence permit and they did all the paper work for me. I still live in the apartment they lend me.”

(Laura, Migrant Domestic Worker, Brussels, 17-12-2014)

As they stepped into this formalized system of domestic work their rights are however different depending on their locations in the Belgian immigration regime. Laura is, for example,

²⁵ Brussels is particular for the hiring of foreign women in the voucher scheme system. In (2014) a study ordered by the Service of Federal Employment, Work Social and Social Consultation and the Directory of Integration of Job Seekers, showed that: 56.4% of the women working in the sector were of an E.U-28 nationality (non-Belgians) and 20.7% were third country national women.

a long time resident with rights to weekends, public holidays, unemployment benefits, health care, and the rights to contribute to a pension. However, if she couldn't manage to get access to citizenship she was afraid of losing all of these rights, for her resident status might depend on the willingness of her employers to renew her permit on a yearly basis.

The participants who work in the voucher scheme system and have citizenship have gained access to contributive benefits. They have acquired rights to Weekends and Public Holidays and minimum salary with a work schedule of 38 hours a week (Michielsen et al., 2013). They have access to healthcare in the mutual health agency of their choice. Their own contributions as well as those of their employers cover their healthcare access. They are also entitled to unemployment benefits, which are also paid both by their employers and themselves. As they evolve in their working careers they also have the possibility to accumulate rights for a public pension. Additionally, some of the participants working in the voucher scheme system also made use of annual vacations and paid sick leaves related to work accidents. Some have also made use of social assistance resources, particularly during a period of difficulty linked to sickness. These social assistance resources included cash benefits for a physically disabled child, minimum income safety net for those who were at some point political refugees, urgent medical care and the minimum income pension for elderly individuals. Lastly, particularly for participants in their late 40s the use of active labor market policies, while taking courses to improve the level of one of Belgium's national language were also used. They have however, also been granted access to non-contributive benefits of social assistance. The same rights hold true for workers in the voucher scheme system that are European Union citizens and have moved with such status to Belgium. However, as suggested by Kraler (2010), such citizenship status is experienced differently according to the individuals' gender, ethnic and class translocations. Such is the case of Ana Lilia a 56 years old migrant domestic worker who, although a citizen, remained in the informal sector for 25 years under the advice of her former husband:

“Nothing changed for me when I got my papers. I kept working informally so he wouldn't lose his social assistance. I'm now divorced and learning how to be a citizen. I didn't know I had these many rights and at the same time those rights intimidate me.”

(Ana Lilia, Migrant Domestic Worker, Brussels, 11-01-2014)

Laura and Ana Lilia's case, however, are very different from those working as domestic workers in the diplomatic sector. Salma a 51 years old, and her sister Norma a 52 year old migrant domestic workers who are employed as a domestic workers for a diplomat, see their rights conditioned to their contract with her diplomatic employers. As I visited Salma and her sister, several afternoons in the ambassador's mansion, the house seemed impossible to clean

but remained spotless. Salma confirmed my worries as she spoke to me about her working conditions and the uncertainty of leaving under temporary contracts that were renewed yearly:

“The man was crazy. I have never had an employer as such. Cleaning that entire house leaving it spotless was a real pain in the rear! The plates are made out of silver and gold and cannot be washed in a dishwasher. He has dinners with more than 50 guests! Now, the new employer is a much nicer person. He is never there. He never wants us to cook. I’m even bored but I prefer this. We couldn’t even go out in weekends with the other guy. We were in complete solitude everyday and night.”

(Salma, Migrant Domestic Worker, Brussels 15-01-2016)

Salma, from a simple view, can be perceived a vulnerable domestic worker. Her stay in Belgium is tied to their relationship with their employer. They are entitled to a Belgian identity card (Model IV) provided by the Federal Public Services but aren’t entitled to social benefits in Belgium (Godin 2013). They have rights to hourly payment from 9.28 to 11.03 Euros per hour; their employer has to provide social security coverage that is equal to coverage in the Belgian system or equivalent, which is rarely accomplished (Godin 2013).

However, Salma’s repertoire of mobility has allowed her to play strategies that connect her access to social protection to the previous Andean state in which she immigrated to and worked in. Salma has, indeed, benefited from the agreements inside the Andean Community States and now contributes to a pension scheme there (Brumat and Artola, 2015). Since the late 1990s, the states in the MERCOSUR (Southern Common Market) have insisted in creating policies that permit the freedom of movement and working rights for the citizens of member countries. In practical terms, The Multilateral Social Security Agreement (AMSS) and Declaration of Labor Rights for equality of treatment of foreign workers and their family members act as palliative solutions for employees like Salma. These new conventions give workers, who traveled and work between states like Peru and Chile, the possibility to accumulate the rights for a pension (Brumat and Artola, 2015). Although, Salma had also previously benefited from the social security bilateral agreement established in 2002 between Peru and Chile that allowed migrant workers from these two nations to accumulate pension rights independently of their lieu of residency (Super-Intendencia-de-Pensiones, 2002). Indeed, as I witness in the case of Salma, for women like her their immigration to Europe represents only one step further since they had already worked and immigrated to a nearby country in the Latin American region.

Perhaps the worst position in the Belgian working and welfare regime is that of an undocumented migrant domestic worker in the informal sector. Since, their rights are limited to

the Urgent Medical Aid (UMA), which provides emergency care in the event of a work-related accident (KCE, 2015). From the original participants, only one remains in this uncomfortable situation. However, she has learned how to navigate it. Frida is indeed, always worried about her arthritis a sickness that seems to worsen through her life course. She leaves this disease untreated and instead relies on natural and herbal medicines to keep down the pain for fear of deportation:

“I don’t like to talk about it. Let’s just say right now that we are walking around them [the police] I’m scared. I’m in pain and I’m scared now that all of the ladies are getting jobs in the formal sector. What should one do? I’m starting to do nails and other kinds of care like jobs that them other ladies don’t know how to do. I’m also sick but I keep everything to myself. Bah I don’t want to talk about it...”

(Frida, Migrant Domestic Worker, Liege, 02-02-2016)

The gender, race, generational, and class translocations of participants inside migratory, working, welfare, and gender care regimes aren’t however fix and unchanging. Undeniably, through the repertoires of practices that conform these participants’ global social protection arrangements they are able to challenge such translocations. Through the next section, these repertoires are described as being placed inside transnational spaces of relations. In the participants’ narratives, the repertoires of mobility, individual and collective remittances, as well as formal worker's insurance, are discussed as practices that help them strategize their transnational constructions of Global Social Protection Arrangements. These GSP’s, as highlighted, in chapter one are composed of resources in 9 specific areas mentioned earlier (Levitt et al. 2015). Nonetheless, as announced in earlier chapters, these formal resources are intertwined with informal solidarities that are influenced by the moral economy of the family and a general principle of reciprocity and solidarity (Baldassar and Merla, 2014, Faist, 1998).

4. Sequential Global Social Protection Arrangement I : “Today for you, Tomorrow for Me”

4.1. Mobility: As the Odyssey Began

Health Care Access Through Mobility

Pachacamac, Laura's hometown is close to the Pacific Ocean on the outskirts of Lima. Laura is one of the original participants. Pachacamac is a town of migrants. It's a place filled with pioneer female internal migrants from the Andean region like Laura's mother. Laura's mom, like many other women in the 1950s and 60s migrated internally to provide their families with housing, healthcare access, education, and all of the social protection resources that were not available in their rural areas of origin. The racial and class stereotypes about the town were a common rhetoric among Peruvian participants in Brussels. Indeed, before I landed in Lima on February 12th, 2015 Catarina one of the participants had described Pachacamac as a town of anarchies:

“It's a town of no one Marita. There is a bunch of cholitos there [people of indigenous background] there. Is not like in Lima where my family lives. There is anything but order there! They are all indigenous invaders. I never mention this to Laura because she is a friend but still... Mami [my child] please be very careful.”

(Catarina, Migrant Domestic Worker, Brussels, 10-02-2015)



Figure 2 by MVR: Pachamac by Daylight, 20-02-2015

Keeping Catarina's words in mind, I asked Amelia, the eldest daughter in the Olivarde's family who happened to be in Lima at the time to drive me there. On our way there, through the Panamericana, the biggest highways in the continent, the houses made out of cardboard reminded me of the neighborhood where my mother had grown up. Sonia, Laura's mother was the second family member I would meet and perhaps one of the richest life stories I would capture. Below is a schema of Laura's family network with its members and their location in time and space:

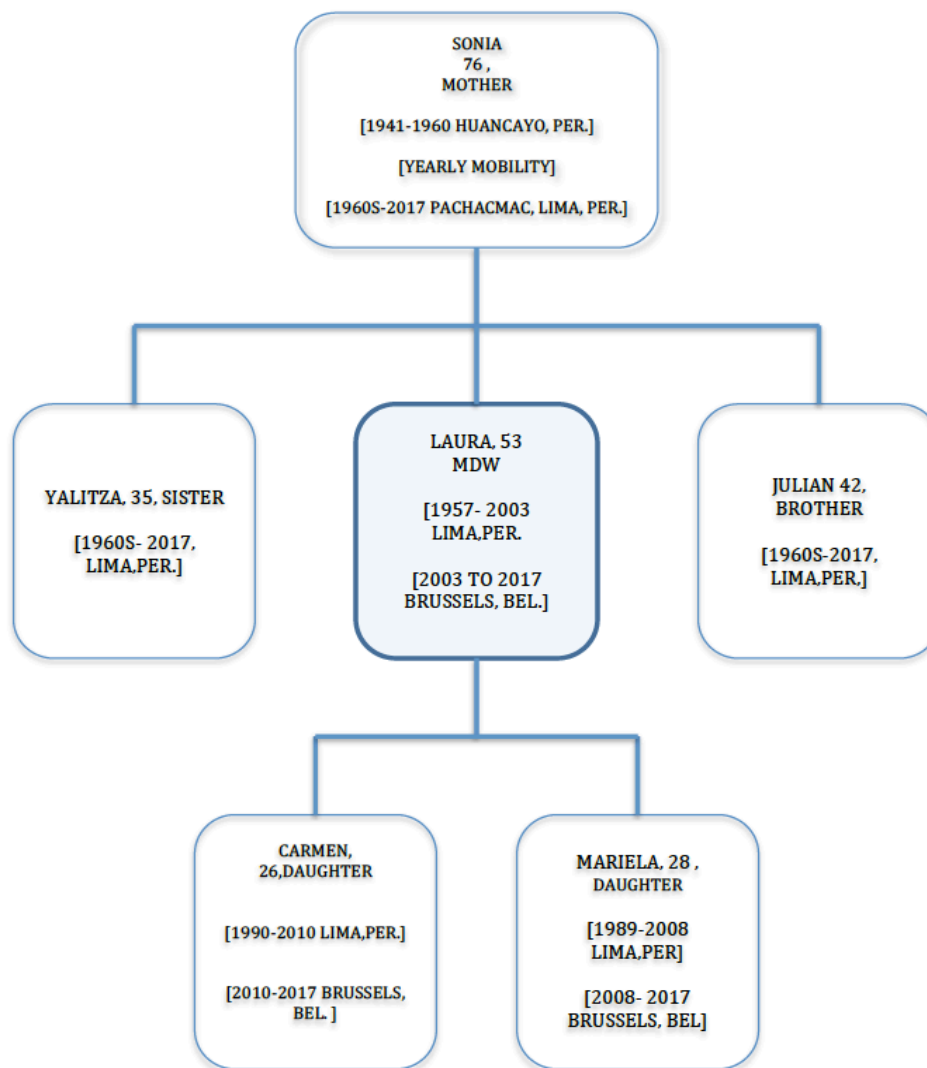


Figure 3: Laura Cobres' Family and Support Network

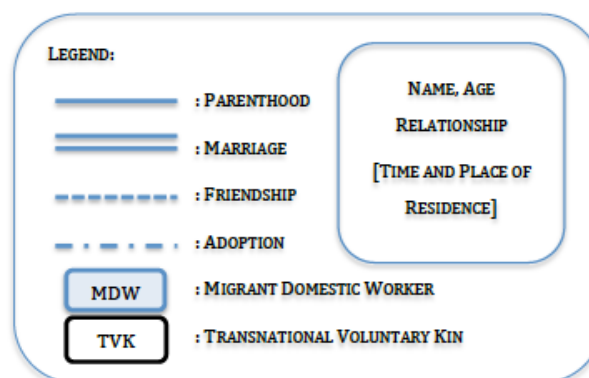


Figure 3 bis: Legend of the Migrant Domestic Worker's Family and Support Networks

Sonia, or Mamita Sonia, as she introduced herself had a radiant smile. Her hair was half white and half brown. Purple Orchids and other exotic plants covered her front yard. I had the package sent by her daughter in my hands. This package with clothing was my ticket to a story of internal and international mobility that was almost 70 years old. Sonia hugged me firmly as we met, but insisted that she didn't have the time to talk right on the spot. From that first visit on February 17th, 2015, I visited her on four other occasions for it was impossible to capture the full details of her life story in one simple visit. Through our long meetings in her kitchen, Sonia highlighted her origins in Huancayo a city in the Junín region in central Peru. She then, related the path she had to follow migrating as a child domestic worker to Lima and later hiding away with her former husband in the outskirts of Lima in Pachacamac. In her story, Sonia narrated the fear attached to her location as a poor color woman in Peru while giving birth in public hospitals in Lima during the 1950s. Sonia recounted that woman of her condition had a tendency of being rejected for their racial and gender conditions. Sonia mentioned this fear did not disappear and perhaps became even bigger during the Fujimori regime. Indeed, Sonia seemed above all to be thankful that her daughters have migrated so that she could access health care abroad in Belgium:

“Thanks God I get treated in Belgium now! My daughters spend 500 euros in my medical visits to Belgium. In Peru it hasn't always been that way. Back when Fujimori was on power, rumors had it that they were injecting diseases on poor people so that they would die! And since then, I insisted that my children wouldn't go into public hospitals. I made sure the girls took off to Europe with my contacts in the Catholic Church and had access to health care abroad. I have a sister. She is almost 80 years old. She didn't have any children and lived alone most of her life. She has a house near here where she rented apartments and now she has Alzheimer's. I know she only has access to the public hospitals and has no private insurance. So, in my own goodness I take care of her because I'm afraid of what they could do to her in the hospitals... We have sent her to the hospital a couple of times and the consequences have been awful. They left her alone for hours. They almost killed her. They gave her sleeping pills. They called me because they had droven her to her house and left her alone, filthy and sad... See what happens to women who are alone and don't have children abroad! That's why I have always told my daughters: Women need to be out and about! They need to go and work and be independent and do whatever it takes to save their children and families!”

(Sonia, Mother of a Migrant Domestic Worker, Pachamac, Lima, Peru, 17-02-2015)

The repertoire of internal and transnational mobility, as highlighted by Sonia, becomes the foundations of various practices that composed the global social protection arrangements that give participants access to incapacity, health, and family benefits. However, the departure across the Atlantic Ocean to work in Europe's capital is not always a straightforward solution.

Indeed, the racial and gender translocation attached to their conditions at times travels with them. Laura, Sonia's daughter and one of my first participants, explains this in her narrative captured in Brussels. As we sat at her small kitchen table and while she cooked our lunch Laura told me in tears the story of her ex- employer²⁶:

“When mom [Sonia], sent me to Europe I came with this one family she had recommended me to. Mr. Rodriguez said he would give me 600 euros. So, I was happy with it. I mean, I used to get 300 euros in Peru... So, I lived thinking this was my salary for over 5 years. I felt in heaven! Until years, later I found out he lied twice. He lied and it was for his own misfortune. I was all happy because I would get a health insurance as well. I read the contract and I was informed. One day he came home and said: ‘Laura this are the health insurance papers can you please sign them?’ I saw that he lied to the Insurance Company. He told them he was paying me 1200 euros. So that when he got the bill for the health insurance they were charging him 150 euros or 200 euros. He was scandalized and furious. He might have thought that I was stupid. I mean just because I’m this way [pointed out to her body]. I’m not an ignorant person... I told him: ‘Well just tell the truth that you’re paying me 600 dollars²⁷ and you would pay less, it’s better of for you isn’t it?’ I convinced him to put down 600 euros instead and pay cheaper for my health insurance but he would always put it out on my face, I was too expensive for them!”

(Laura, Migrant Domestic Worker, Brussels, 17-12-2014)

As explained by Laura, the diplomatic she worked for had justified and neglected the importance of her access to healthcare based on post-colonial gender, race, and class relations that have historically not seen domestic work as labor where employees are entitled to rights (Anderson, 2009). As she suffered mistreatments from this family, Laura met her former husband, a Portuguese man who insisted that she should have her rights respected. Locations are, as highlighted by Anthias (2016), always mutate, change, and evolve as actors enter in contact with others and change settings. As Laura met her former husband, she realized in a corporatist welfare state such as Belgium worker's had a minimum of rights including the opportunity to mutualize risk and applied for health insurance among other benefits (Esping-Andersen, 1991). Laura then went away one afternoon without letting her boss know and married her former husband and change her migratory status. She proudly exposed that although

²⁶ Following the feminist ethics of risk, the disclosure of this interview details, was previously discussed with the participant for the last time on May 14th, 2017. She agreed that we mentioned it and disclosed him as “a diplomatic employer”. I then changed the term to keep this part of the story that both the participant and I consider very valuable.

²⁷ Participants that work for diplomatic non-European employers are usually paid in dollars.

Carlos, her former Portuguese man, had been a troublemaker; his advice had helped her to apply for a job in the formal voucher system:

“15 days before my old boss left, I had played it out fine. I had changed my status without him knowing. He wanted to keep me forever but I’m no one’s property. He only trusted me for his food! So I went around looking for a job into what is it that is called? What you might call it? An agency, yeah a voucher scheme agency... They hired me almost immediately. They were a Belgian couple. I mean they were Belgians, Belgians and then it’s totally different. I’m telling you my situation changed like woaw... I’m in paradise.”

(Laura, Migrant Domestic Worker, Brussels, 17-12-2014)

Laura’s mobility, as her mother had commented earlier, had served the purpose of allowing her entire family support networks to better their livelihood chances. As she stepped into the Belgian formal voucher scheme Laura’s efforts to protect her family in Peru were also made easier:

“When I was working with the other employer I told him I needed help to bring my sick daughter. He lied. He said he couldn’t do anything. I realized one of my two daughters had cancer! I could send all the money in the world but she wouldn’t get cured in Peru. Clearly, I didn’t have enough with my 1200 euros a month to do the family reunification. I didn’t have an apartment. I lived in a little room with my former husband. So they denied her visa and the family reunification. I spoke to this new Belgian couple. I told them I needed an invitation letter but still it got denied... So the monsieur [her boss] told me: ‘It’s O.K Lala, he calls me Lala. Lala it’s ok we are going to bring her. She is going to be fine. So, they talked to their friends who have a lot influence and money. The very next week the monsieur came over and said ‘ Lala I forgot to tell you can you tell your daughter she can go pick up her passport in the embassy in Lima, the visa is ready!’ I called Mamita Sonia and told her: ‘Do you realize the influence they have got.’ I could not believe it! Then Margarita, my daughter, came... My boss’s mother is a doctor and they made sure Margarita got the best treatment possible. She had the surgery, they removed the tumor and now she is fine. She stayed because they helped me do the family reunification and she is finishing school now.”

(Laura, Migrant Domestic Worker, Brussels, 17-12-2014)

Laura finished this story with tears of joy in her eyes and hugging a picture of the two twin daughters of the Belgian employers that helped her. She referred to their help as precious, since formal healthcare was a valuable resource that saved her daughter’s life. Nonetheless, she had also been able to give her daughter the informal care and support she need it at that time. Laura, then with the help of her employers manage to bring her second daughter:

“We are all O.K now. Things worked out. I worried about myself thought. They are all going away, my two daughters now live with their boyfriends. The little girls I helped to raise up they are getting old too. At least for now, I have a healthy life. I go see my doctors every year. I feel safe. I have two cousins who have passed away from cancer and I don’t want that kind of a future. So, luckily here the insurance covers everything. Today before you came I went to go get a Pap smear to check for cervical cancer and a mammogram. I feel healthy! I learn a lot from them [the family she works for] every single day and they take care of me in every way. My own mother is also O.K whenever she comes; I take her to see all the doctors. I spend a little money on her since I cannot sign her up for a health insurance here.”

(Laura, Migrant Domestic Worker Brussels, 05-05-2015)

Laura has, since coming to Brussels in 2003, achieved a global arrangement through mobility that covers herself and the members of her immediate networks of support with access to healthcare and housing. This arrangement, however, covers the women in the family more than the men. Since the women's labor in the domestic sector facilitated such mobility (Escriva, 2005). It is harder for her brothers who couldn’t do this type of work in Europe and who must, according to gender orders in the Peruvian society, lift their pride and take care of their families (Oliart, 1995, Mesa-Lago, 1978). Indeed, her brother Julian who works as a security agent in Lima, although key to the informal support that helped to raise Laura’s daughters has not been able to engage in such mobility repertoire. Through various occasions, Julian ignored my visits and hid in his room. He attributed this to his night shifts and suddenly one of my visits he pulled me outside for a walk to tell me his story. During his life course, he highlighted the sadness of being immobile:

“I have been waiting to go away too. I went to go ask for a visa last year. I took all the paperwork except for a letter allowing me to go in vacation. Just that the embassy called my company and they told them that they didn’t give me a letter to leave on vacation. So, they refused my visa... I would want to leave to move on in life... They have said that next year they won’t be requiring visas anymore for Peruvians, have you heard anything? I would want to go and visit my sisters.”

(Julian, Brother of a Migrant Domestic Worker, Lima, Peru, 15-03-2015)

In Julian’s narrative I perceived his willingness to leave. This willingness was coupled with the sadness of not being able to comply with his gender role as a male breadwinner. Julian was, however, not the only family member who had not engaged in transnational mobility to access healthcare and other social protection resources. Yalitza, the youngest sister had also in her own words “*stayed behind*.” In numerous occasions, Yalitza recounted the story of her

teenager daughter who passed away due to an illness that could have been cured had she gone away. Yalitza as a single mother of three children wished she could join her two sisters abroad.

“Maria: How come you didn’t leave yet?

Yalitza: Well, I tried and when Lala [Laura] tried to help I was still married. I was married to an idiot who kept me here. Then my daughter died and he killed himself. Now, I’m here. They just fired me. I found a job with this lady in Lima, 50 euros a month. I have three kids what can I do with that? Please, Mari, help me find a job in Europe; you must have friends with money.

Maria: I can’t promise you anything Yali, I will ask around...²⁸”

(Extract from fieldwork diary, Informal Conversation, Yalitza, Pachacamac, 09-04-2015)

For Yalitza, Laura’s younger sister, the predicaments are different, as her traditional husband whom thought of her as a primary caretaker of their children held her back. Yalitza, now awaits the natural course of things. She believes one day or another, her future like her two elder sisters would be to cross the Atlantic Ocean, to provide her children with an access to an education and thus to upward social mobility.

Education and Housing

The immediate action of receiving health care to improve the family’s wellbeing is only one of many other social protection resources that are accomplished through the repertoire of mobility. The participants also consider education and Housing as the two most significant resources to assure the family a long lasting upward social mobility. Education, which has only, being historically available in urban areas, is one of the most important reasons for internal or transnational mobility (Mesa-Lago, 1978). Since receiving a higher Education might represent the ticket to upward social mobility for the newer generations. Caridad, the oldest sister of Lisette, a Colombian participant recalls in her narrative an internal mobility from high mountains of Antioquia to the outskirts of Medellín to provide her smallest female siblings with an education. Below is a figure of Lisette’s family networks that mentions the mobility through time and space of its members:

²⁸ This particular detail was negotiated with Laura the initial participant, who asked that I did not intervene. I thus stopped my search for a job for her sister. I did so in compliance with the ethics made explicit in chapter 4.

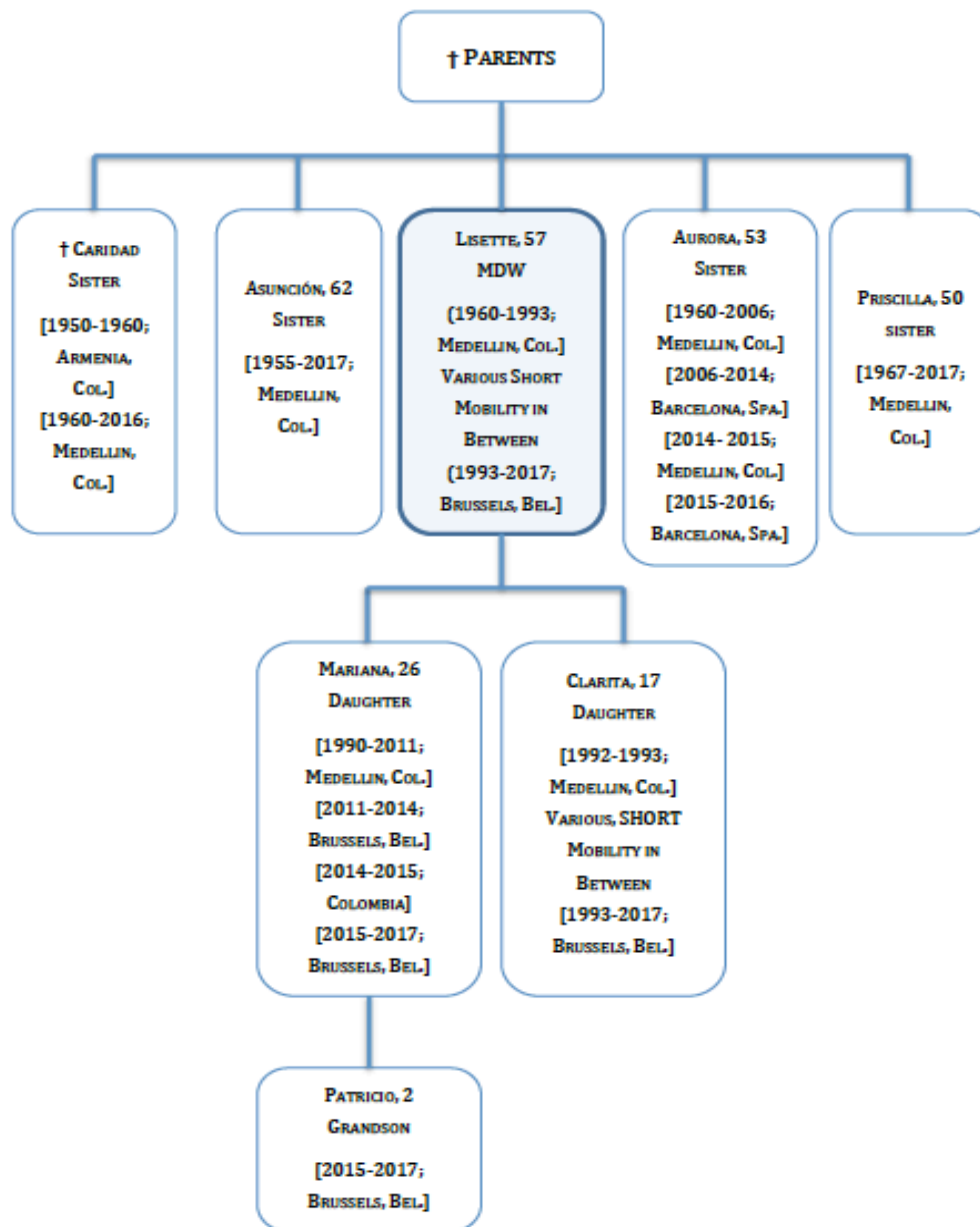


Figure 4: Lisette Hernandez' Family & Support Network²⁹

Caridad has since then passed away from complications with a liver cancer, expressed in her narrative her aim with her mobility was to be able to provide her sisters with an education:

“Mom brought us here! I can’t recall at which exact moment. She came first and then brought us. We were all little kids. We needed an education. We lived squatted in made up houses in various spots in the city. I mean social housing sometimes and at other times just

²⁹ For the detailed legend, please see page 226.

cardboard houses we made ourselves. I worked hard to give all these women [her sisters] an education first as a child in a house with a lady and then in factories....”

(Caridad, Sister of a Migrant Domestic Worker, Medellín, Colombia, 25-10-2015)

Caridad’s misfortune was due to her sickness; a cancer that had been too aggressive on her over worked body. Nonetheless, her immediate preoccupation was keeping a safe place to live while doing her treatments.

“I don’t have my own house. I pay a rent that Lisette helps me pay with the money she sends. I live here with my son, my nephew, and all the sisters, nephews and nieces who constantly take care of me and take me to see the doctors. Thank Jesus; I have insurance so I don’t pay for the doctor’s visits. It’s the treatment that’s expensive and when one thing gets better the other ones gets worse. But I don’t have my own house.”

(Caridad, Sister of a Migrant Domestic Worker, Medellín, Colombia, 25-10-2015)

Caridad’s contribution to her sister’s education had, by all means, paid off. Her younger sisters Priscilla, Asunción, and Lisette took care of Carida’s formal and informal health care access. Priscilla, the youngest sister, was perhaps the most concerned by the situation and gave immediate practical care:

“Caridad is the Matriarch of our family. Caridad was the man of the family! She raised us all. She gave us everything! Here it has been the women who put up with each other. Caridad helped mom and we have helped her. No man ever told mom: ‘Here, help yourself with this little bit of money!’ So, I help Caridad the same way I help Lisette, Asunción and Aurora [her sisters]. We all have our own houses except for Caridad and Lisette. So, then it’s like I told Lisette: ‘Listen, momma since I go get the remittances I’ve heard there are special programs from the government to buy your house from over there’. I would help them out with all of the paper work because I would want for Caridad to have a house. I mean is just that the last time she came from Belgium she forgot a lot of the paperwork...”

(Priscilla, Sister of a Migrant Domestic Worker, Medellín, Colombia, 26-10-2015)

Meanwhile on the other side of the Atlantic, Lisette, my original participant on the phone, shared the exact same preoccupation with Caridad’s health and sent remittances to help pay for rent and the extra medical procedures that were not pay by Caridad’s insurance:

“Lisette: How do you see her, Mari? Is she doing any better? I’m worried she won’t make it.

María: She looks well, although she has been visiting the doctor’s a lot.”

(Extracts from the fieldwork diary, Medellín informal phone conversation with Lisette, 26-10-2015)

While the dream of having a house for Caridad never actually came true, the dream of educating the second generation of girls, at least, until their high school diplomas did come true. Aside from the immediate need to access healthcare and housing, education seemed to be another priority for Caridad and her sisters. Indeed, it was this priority that had caused Lisette to use the mobility repertoire and move across the Atlantic Ocean. As a mother of two daughters one, of which who was physical impaired mobility for domestic work, seemed to be the only solution to provide education and health care for both of them:

“When Clarita was born I noticed something weird. She couldn’t hold her head straight. I kept taking her to the doctor’s and they said nothing was wrong. Until I took her to see an expensive doctor in the city who mentioned it was because they had let me waiting in the birth room for way too long when she was born. She had drunk amniotic liquid. She had Hydrocephalus. He said she wouldn’t talk or walk. So, I told him: ‘We would see!’ I took things on my own hands and left with my husband’s family since his own mother was already in Brussels. Many years later, with many social workers and friends of my employers I was able to get around. We are now citizens in Belgium. Clarita goes to school and she is more or less independent. Mariana is another story she is now gone. She is in Colombia getting her high school degree. I brought her here to finish up and she couldn’t do it. So she went back.”

(Lisette, Migrant Domestic Worker, Brussels, 10-19-2014)

As narrated by Lisette, mobility to access education not only happens from the sending to the receiving country, but other repertoires of reverse mobility are possible. At this point of her life course, Lisette had assured education and healthcare access for her youngest daughter. However, Mariana her eldest daughter had trouble in schools in Belgium after family reunification and required yet another type of mobility. Mariana back then, 24 years old, had left to Colombia with the help of her mother to finish her secondary education. Months, later when Mariana came back after getting her high school degree she commented on this as well:

“I think I came to Brussels when I was too old. I was 15. I don’t judge mom. I always knew Clarita was a priority. I think if I had come here, as a baby like Clarita, then things would have been different. It was good when I came. I had a social assistance allocation because I was in school but I couldn’t do it. The language was hard; the students in school treated me badly. So, I failed that last year of high school. I went on to do workshops on Tourism and other things. It was fine but I just knew that without a high school diploma I would end up in the cleaning sector just like mom. I think the job is dignifying but all her sacrificed need it to be worth. Then I told mom: ‘I cannot be here without a high school diploma. Let me go

back and finish.’ She did and she supported me to pay. I worked during the day with my cousin that has a furniture store.”

(Mariana, 26, years old daughter of migrant domestic worker, Brussels, 10-06-2016)

A year later into the ethnography as I kept visiting Lisette, she informed of what she thoughts were: “*good and bad news*.” On the one hand, the remittances to pay for her daughter’s education had been worth it since with the care of her sister in Colombia; she had finished high school. Mariana proudly became the second girl in the family to obtain such degree. Mariana’s graduation for the household represented an upward mobility in the community both in Brussels and in Colombia. However, she had other news that had been less appreciated by everyone. Mariana had gotten pregnant, and she wanted to keep the child. So, once again Lisette placed generational authority in her daughter and mentioned that she needed to return to Brussels to receive appropriate health care access during the childbirth. Mariana had a baby two years ago, and as I followed her, she has insisted that without a university level education she might have to work in the domestic sector, at least temporarily. Unfortunately, as the senior women in her family, Mariana’s baby father abandoned her. The lack of social networks outside her mother’s employers and other friends in the domestic sector left Mariana feeling as though she had no further opportunities.

On our last conversation, in spite of Mariana’s situation, Lisette’s argued that mobility had been a major strategy that had to allow her to combine informal and formal resources to obtain health care and education for her two daughters. In doing so, she combines formal access to health care, education and family allowances for her disabled child. While from constant phone calls and communication over the Internet she obtains emotional care from her sisters who are also invested in her negotiations to get a pension in Colombia. The transnational mobility repertoire in Lisette’s case as other cases mentioned in the literature assured her and her solidarity networks both formal and informal social protection resources (Bilicen et al. 2015, Amelina, 2016).

Pensions and the inevitable future

As the life-course follows its certain way towards aging, one of the last resources that are negotiated through the means of mobility is that of Pensions and Survival benefits. Late in life transnational labor mobility was usually not discussed within the literature that perceived migration as a means of supporting the individual livelihood needs (Katz and Stark, 1986). Valeria, the main participant who was presented in earlier pages, is one of those late in life labor migrants. She joined the global reproduction of labor (Parrenas, 2006) at 45 years old as her

aging father passed. The figure below features Valeria's family network members through time and space:

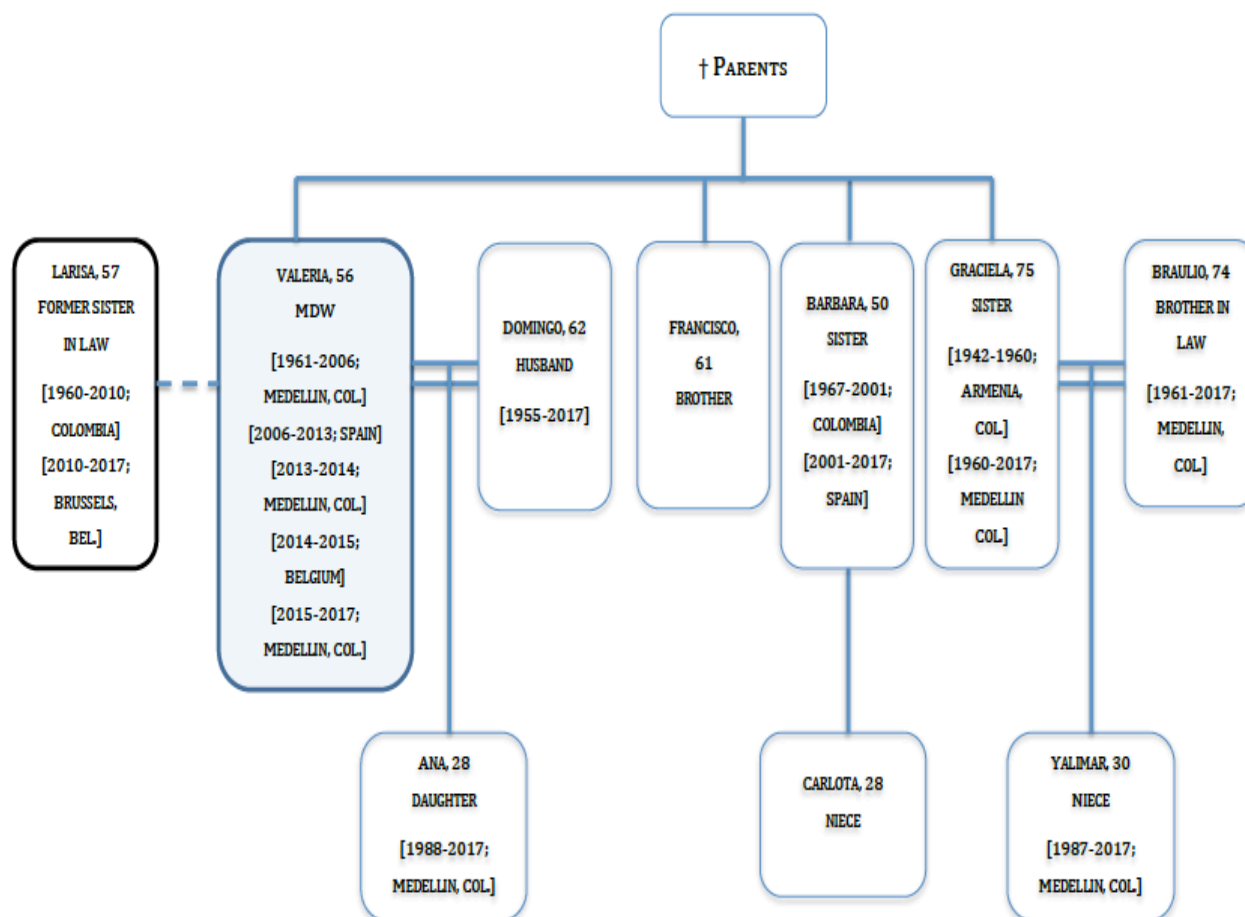


Figure 5: Valeria Rodriguez' Support and Family Network³⁰

In the years before migrating, Valeria took care of her father a terminally ill person and in exchange received his pension to comply with her family's needs. Valeria lived in such situation since her husband Domingo who is now 62 years old was fired for no apparent reason from his job as a handyman for local schools in Medellin. Valeria had been herself fired from the factory where she worked.

³⁰ For the detailed legend, please see page 226.

The couple had bought a small house benefitting from a housing program offered by Domingo's job. The house was a small house on the outskirts of Medellin in Itagui a neighboring city. The house was nonetheless their only patrimony and to save it and help Domingo pay for it Valeria followed her sister to Spain. This transnational mobility to Spain followed a familiar pattern of generalized gender reciprocity. Earlier on Valeria had helped her sister take care of her daughter while she migrated to Spain. Valeria had also contributed to the care of their terminally ill father. In the quest of filling the reciprocity debt Valeria's sister helped her relocate (Faist, 1998). Once in Spain however, Valeria felt in the trap of a now eternal debt and escaped by going to work in the Spanish countryside. She was employed with a family of four older siblings who lived together on a farm. As her employers died, Valeria was not able to find a job and return to her native Colombia.

While returning to Colombia Valeria found herself again in the middle of an endless battle between Domingo her husband and his pension providers. Year after year Domingo was told he needed pay another year of contributions or work another year.

“We need a fix income. At this point we could only get this if Domingo gets his pension. So I told Ana my daughter, I need to leave again to help him pay his pension contributions. Just one more year...”

(Valeria, former Migrant Domestic Worker, Brussels, 10-19-2014)

Valeria, then, left to Brussels this time around helped by her brother and her sister in law whom she had also helped with their children as a caretaker.

“Domingo doesn't know if he should just take the money they are offering him or wait and pay for another year to have a real pension. And when I call him he tells me: ‘Valeria, just wait another year and we will have my pension.’ I mean it is just the same old story he is been telling me for years and I just can't do it anymore. It would be nice to have his pension to back me up but not like that... I told him maybe what I can do is to see if I would have another pension from all of the years I worked in Colombia, those in Spain and in Belgium. I always worked under the law and legally. I heard the years in Spain and Colombia can be put together.”

(Valeria, Migrant Domestic Worker, Medellin, Colombia 15-10-2015)

By the time Valeria and I had the conversation here above I had been following her story for over nine months. By then Valeria, had decided to move back to her native city of Medellin. I then followed her to Medellin a few weeks after she left. We had talked about the possibility of meeting those people who were her closest friends and family. Domingo, her husband, had that ambiguous position in her life as her husband by loyalty but at the same time as the cause of

all her troubles. In the midst of adapting to her new return to Medellin, Ana Valeria's daughter became her only source of support. As the retribution for her remittances while abroad, Ana had signed her up to benefit from her worker's health insurance. Ana seemed to be worried about her mother; she came to pick her up twice to take her to the doctor's appointment. As we talked about this, Valeria seemed to agree that although the pension was still not approved Ana's worker's health insurance was of great help:

“María: Health wise how is it going here? How are you managing to pay for the healthcare?”

Valeria: Well, Ana works so she has the right to have us as her beneficiaries in her health insurance at work. She has her dad and me because she has no children. So through Ana's work at least we get access to health care... In the event that Ana lost her job we would have to sign up for a CISBEN (Public Health Insurance in Colombia). The CISBEN is for people who don't have a private insurance and that can't pay for their healthcare. I know they will take care of me but never as good as with Ana's insurance.

“María: And how about all the treatments you take that you have to buy yourself?”

Valeria: Yes, that's up to us! But even that we pay half the price for it! The bad thing would be if I had cancer or some other weird disease, then it's more expensive. That's why I'm worried because Domingo had shown signs of Alzheimer. His whole family has it! You saw his sister in law how hard it's for her and her husband... Now I can't even begin to imagine. That's why I'm telling him we need to sell the house, move in with my niece pay for her apartment and then put up a business where I can work and make money.”

(Valeria, former Migrant Domestic Worker, Medellin, Colombia, 14-11-2015)

As Valeria seemed worried about her future, we spoke about her pension and the possibility of requesting at least the Colombian and Spanish pension while there:

“María: But why shall you be worried, you said you would get a pension too? Tell me about that?”

Valeria: So, since I worked in Colombia at least 4 declared years and 10 more in Spain, I could get something. The lawyers told me Colombia has an agreement with Spain. But I won't have enough weeks even like that... I worked for only 10 years in Spain and four in Colombia plus I'm not 57 yet. So, I think I'm just going to get some money back for the years I worked. So, it's four more years and I would have to pay a lawyer and everything.”

(Valeria, former Migrant Domestic Worker, Medellin, Colombia, 14-11-2015)

In the midst of her worries Valeria seemed confident that if anything happened, Ana her daughter would be there for her. It was the law of general reciprocity that had for too long involved her daughter, her and other women in the family in a series of exchanges and gender

specific social ties that had to work out (Faist, 1998). Before even deciding on returning from Brussels to Colombian Valeria seemed confident in such solidarity as a reciprocal act from her daughter Ana:

“I mean I have to come back and see Ana my only daughter. I have nothing else in life but her. She is told me: ‘You all can rent the house and come and live with us and with that money you can pay for dad’s pension’ I mean I thought about all possible scenarios, we can rent a room for two old people and take care of them... Whatever happens I think is best to be over there with my loved ones. I’m just afraid that I will get a heart attack or worst off a disease that would leave me handicapped. My friends here in Brussels me it’s all right that they have all eaten shit there and put up with stuff. Some times I just want to tell them: ‘but I don’t want to eat shit anymore, darn it!’”

(Valeria, 56 years old, former Migrant Domestic Worker, Brussels, 14-11-2015)

As I approached her in Medellin, Ana seemed a bit distance much more than what I would have thought. However, through our various informal conversations she insisted that her biggest worry had always been her mother:

“Before she decided to come I got fired. I don’t know how that happened it just did. I was worried and depressed. I wouldn’t leave the house. I always told everyone that my biggest dream was to have a good enough job to be able to bring my mother back and I had just lost that. I was at manager at a store... So, I accepted this job I have now so I could provide her at least with her medicines and doctor’s appointment.”

(Ana, daughter of a former Migrant Domestic Worker, Medellin, Colombia 30-11-2015)

In spite of Ana’s revelations through our late afternoon talks with coffee, she seemed distant. Her cousin Yalimar with whom I spoke various times seemed to think Ana was nothing but insubstantial:

“Ana is a spoiled brat! She is always wanted to be white and rich. Have you seen her blonde hair is ridiculous? She doesn’t love her mother in spite the sacrifice.”

(Yalimar, Niece of a Migrant Domestic Worker, Medellin, Colombia, 25-10-2015)

Indeed, several afternoons we had taken a walk together with Valeria, Yalimar and her daughter to Ana’s workplace and Ana hid away. I didn’t judge Ana. I couldn’t do so for in her actions there was a woman who wanted to succeed and achieving this in such a society meant to engage in a relationship with those in power. One fine afternoon, we finished our usual coffee talk and Ana decided to stay and talk:

“Ana: I brought some Arepas, the corn ones. Mom said you liked them because they don’t have them in Belgium. Here, warm them up mom and make some hot chocolate with Agua Panela [Sweet sugar cane water].

María: Alright, Ana it seems like we can have our talk today

Ana: The interview?

María: Nah, just a talk. Let’s not get too formal. I have some points to talk about... Easy... You talk me through it... Maybe we can just talk about your life.”

(Ana, Daughter of a former Migrant Domestic Worker, Medellin, Colombia, 30-11-2015)

This introduction put Ana at ease. She was the type of woman who liked to be in control. Through our life-story interview, she was at all times in control. Perhaps the hardest moment in the life course was talking about her mother’s departure and the fact of her returning to Colombia:

“I think her coming back it’s a time for retribution. In life we all go through such periods, with our grandparents, with our parents with everyone that has been an essential part of our lives. I know that I can leave my family [her immediate family husband and dog] but I can’t leave my parents. I know mom left to another country at first because she wanted what was best for me. She knew when grandpa died that no one was going to give her a job here and that it was going to be difficult for me. I was always a straight A student, perfect! I got into the University with the best grades and passed every selection test for the National University the best one... I didn’t get it. Why did she go away? I got angry and I wouldn’t have understood back then! Now, I know that parents do whatever it’s possible and impossible for us. She went to another country and put up with so much humiliation, another language just so that we would be alright... I would never be able to pay her back! I want to leave and do the same. I couldn’t finish school because it wasn’t enough having her money. I felt alone and empty. I saw that either way, in Colombia, is not your diploma that gets you places, it’s who you’re and I’m not someone’s daughter. Here in Colombia is about having a social status and I didn’t have it but then, mom left and that got me to be strong and leave this barrio [popular neighborhood]. I needed to be a lady and Fernando my boyfriend and his family has helped me to do that. I want to move on maybe to another country to help them but that’s just not possible to leave my boyfriend here...”

(Ana, Daughter of a former Migrant Domestic Worker, Medellin, Colombia, 30-11-2015)

The interview finished and she came back more often to her mother’s place. We talked about perhaps going out and staying at her house, but it never happened. I did, however, notice Ana was distant from her father something she explained in gender logic of generational support that’s extended only to those who had been of financial support for her education:

“Mom has always been busy taking care of other people first it was my grandfather and then those people in Spain. Dad was always there for me but it wasn’t the same! It wasn’t the same because since I was a little girl I have always felt an emotional rejection for him... Perhaps, because he never was... He never was, never mind... I don’t know it has no explanation he is never been mean to me... I have always had that emotional rejection towards him. Perhaps, because my fatherly figure was my grandfather. Grandpa paid for all my schooling, my food everything. I always had everything I needed. So, ever since I was a little girl I have never gotten along with my father. What a pity, because it’s my dad but I love mom!

(Ana, Daughter of a former Migrant Domestic Worker, Medellin, 30-11-2015)

I noticed Ana never spoke to her father. This relationship gap in between them worried Domingo who knew that unlike his wife Valeria, he wouldn’t have a daughter who would take care of him in his old days:

“Anita was 18 years old when her mother left. She had started university but she never finished. We then realized studying chemistry lead poor people to be cookman for the Narcos. Yes, Rumors have it that they kidnap them for it! I didn’t say anything to her when she moved in with her boyfriend. Who I’m I to tell her wrong from right? Then I stayed alone and she left with him. I rented the house because what was I doing by myself in these four walls? She never came to visit, never.... So, I know she would have no obligation towards us. I feel like in Colombia we have lost that. These kids don’t give a darn for their parents anymore. They don’t! So, I tell Valeria I want you to die first. I want you to die first so I can take care of you until the very last day. I would be left to God’s goodness! I would see some of my nephews and nieces being more willing to take care of me than Ana. Those kids have seen how I take care at least physically of everyone in the family. I took care of my father, now I’m taking care of my mother... But Ana, no she loves her boyfriend’s family they come first...”

(Domingo, Husband of a former Migrant Domestic Worker, Medellín, Colombia, 22-10 2015)

As the days went by before my return to Brussels, other possibilities other than transnational mobility were put forward to make up for Domingo’s pension that never showed up. Valeria insisted that they could take care of Domingo’s mother and take her pension. Her sister’s in law got on the way, and during tense days constant verbal fights went on. Finally, Valeria came up with another plan selling the house to go live with Yalimar her niece and her sister. I left while these ongoing discussions took place. In the back of Valeria’s head was the fact that she could always move to Europe again since her Spanish nationality would still be valid. A year later rumors at the Catholic Church in Brussels had it that Valeria and Domingo had finally received a compensation for his pension. The couple also had sold their family home

and invested in their daughter's cocktail bar. As Valeria's birthday came along, I called her, and she explained they had moved in with their daughter. She worked full time in a restaurant, but they had fired them after the vacation period:

"I only hope Ana's Bar would work out. We are surviving as we have always done."

(Valeria, former Migrant Domestic Worker, informal phone conversation, 2016)

While this happened, her sister and niece whom she had also helped insisted that they too would help if necessary. As Yalimar had explained before:

"I have told Valeria she could always come and live with me. I don't mind living with her. I know Ana hates her so I'm there for her. She was there for me. I don't know what I would have done if she hadn't help me to pay for mom's open-heart operation. I will never forget it. Mom helps me with my daughter imagine if she was dead."

(Yalimar, Niece of a former Migrant Domestic Worker, whatasp conversation, 19-11-2015)

Yalimar mother's Graciela during our various interviews the year before had also confirmed that the solidarity among the women in the family would always persevere:

"We have deceived each other at times. If Saint Peter ever told God to put a family of bulldogs fighting together, that would be us. But the women in the family we are there for each other. Valeria has always been a fool! She has been a fool to trust Ana. She raised her to hate her. But in US [her extended family] she has a family."

(Graciela, Sister of a former Migrant Domestic Worker, Medellín, Colombia, 22-10- 2015)

Indeed the complicity between Graciela, who had raised Valeria as a child was proofed day after day. While in Medellín, I noticed the two sisters called each other every day and seemed to want to spend their ageing days together. Meanwhile, for the women in the family, Graciela's husband Braulio and Domingo were an encumbrance. They were men who had never been capable of providing for them. Through Valeria's story once again, as highlighted in earlier work (Faist, 1998) we perceive a female-to-female solidarity that has resulted at times in transnational mobility to assure the family's livelihood chances and at others in internal solidarity to informally take care of one another. There also as highlighted in previous research (Amelina et al. 2012) the men instead have been excluded from such transnational mobility and remain less able to make profits of the solidarity offered by such strategy.

In the near future, Valeria's mobility will perhaps also serve the purpose of assuring an indemnity for the years she worked both in Colombia and abroad. Through such bureaucracy, her niece, Yalimar, would help her. Yalimar spoke at various times about helping her uncle and

auntie acquired their house with the Colombia United Us program and the credits they facilitated for migrants abroad. She mentioned while recuperating remittances there was always someone in a western union that would inform her of the options her family abroad had including paying for a pension, a life insurance and even buying a house. Overall, as we spoke several times, Yalimar seemed at all times convinced that she would do anything for her aunt who was always there for her. Valeria also assured a sense of reverse remittances (Mazzucato, 2011) with her daughter who promised her healthcare access and housing for as long as needed. Although the future seems uncertain, Valeria seems confident that the female informal solidarity and the moral economy of the family would pull the constant string to put her through life (Baldassar and Merla, 2014).

4.2. Remittances: One Euro at the Time

Getting Housing, Education and Health Care

In Latin American countries like Colombia and Peru, the outskirts of the main capital cities are filled with houses built to host large extended families. The patrimony of such a house stays within the family for generations. These houses are composed of various floors. The different floors are constructed by each and everyone one of the children in the family and host their nuclear families. This type of housing then leads to a kind of intergenerational living arrangements in which younger and old generation interact while taking care of each other informally and formally at various periods of their life courses. The Magallanes house in the outskirts of Chimbote a city filled with a dying fishing industry was an example of such houses.



Figure 6: Norma Magallanes's House, March, 2015

The Magallanes are the extended family network of Norma's a first participant. The figure below illustrates Norma's family network through time and space:

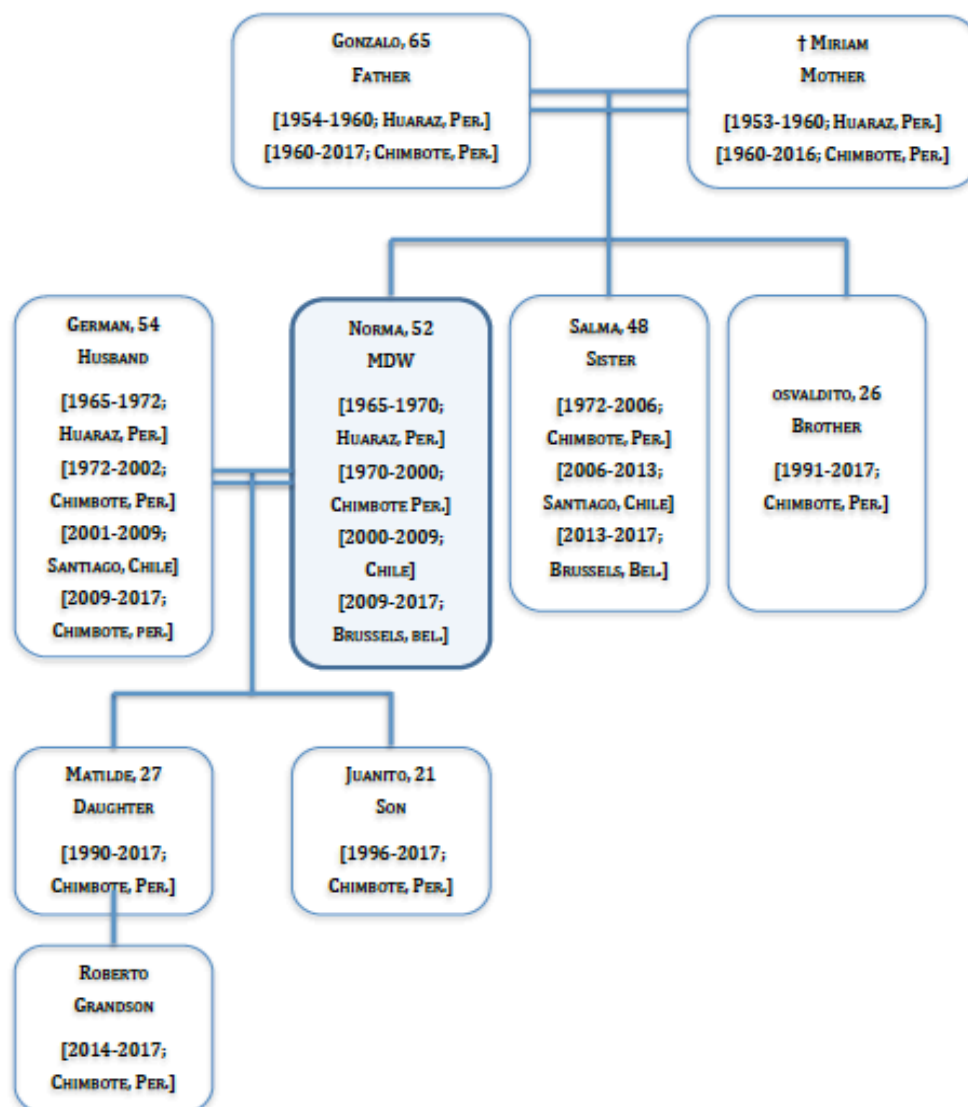


Figure 7: Norma Magallanes' Support and Family Network³¹

As I moved along the relationships that matter to Norma's network of support I traveled along to meet them. The house was probably the one social protection resource that Norma and her family had achieved through the repertoire of continuous individual remittances. The house stood strong solemn and on its own. The wooden tiles on the outside gave the impression of an

³¹ For the detailed legend, please see page 226.

old colonial house in the capital city of Lima. The houses next to it were in the process of completion and the Magallanes, particularly Matilde, Norma's daughter was very proud to show this had all it been her mother's work:

"Mom has probably done all of this for us. I remember this house was sticks and stones for so long. Mom used a piece of cloth to protect us from the rain and dust. She left when we were poor, we truly were."

(Matilde Daughter of a Migrant Domestic Worker, Chimbote, Peru, 06-03-2015)

As Matilde's uncle Osvaldito drove us from the hotel to the house, she wouldn't stop talking about the family house. We approached the house and she immediately put down the bag sent by her mother with me. I watched her proudly walk to the kitchen to finish breakfast. I was instructed by German Norma's husband to have a sit in their living room while Matilde finished cooking.

The Living Room had huge sofas that resembled those of the house where Norma and her sister worked in Brussels. As in my working class family in Venezuela, they were covered in plastic in order not to ruin the precious fabrics that adorned them. The computer and the phones were placed behind the dining table and the living room. They were there so that when Norma called, she could too participate in the family meal. It was early in Peru and probably late in Brussels, so they decided not to call Norma this time around. German played the music loud enough to avoid listening to me. I sat there and moved my head around since it was one my favorite music groups. I kept my notebook close and looked around to observe the house. The entrance was a long corridor made out tiles, Matilde said her father had imported from Chile. The hall was long enough to connect to the kitchen. The kitchen was a modern one, with appliances imported from Chile and Belgium over cargo. The fridge was one of those American ones I had growing up with an ice making machine and a water service. German still has things to finish, but as I looked around, he got up to quickly show me the patio behind the kitchen. As in Colonial houses in Lima, the house had an enclosed patio in the middle of it. The sun hit directly into it. Matilde's room was on the patio. She shared the room with her boyfriend and her two years old toddler. Juanito her brother shared the one next to her. German slept in the room next to theirs, which was not the couple's bedroom but rather where he felt best since Norma went away. Upstairs, there were two other floors filled with construction material and relatively undone. German mentioned they were there mostly for when Norma came home. She liked to host parties and invite all of her family members to stay over.

The house was evidently a product of Norma's remittances, but German was quick to point out that he too had worked in Chile for a good period. His work for the house acted

according to him as the principle of general reciprocity and loyalty towards his wife Norma (Faist, 1998). During breakfast, German took the middle spot on the wooden table. We ate quietly except for Osvaldito Norma's brother who wouldn't stop making comments about my infamous married life as I had abandoned my husband to come this far and examine their lives. German was quick to remind him he should mind his own business and be happy he was being fed. As we finished eating breakfast German turned around and said: "*Want a little tour of our palace, friend?*" I knew I would experience difficulties talking to him like to the other men, so I carefully witnessed what he was about to teach me. We started downstairs, and German began his narrative about the house:

"We have worked hard here. I told you earlier this morning if he hadn't been for my children I would have already left this place... They don't value the sacrifice we have done for them. Well, I have to be honest Matilde values it more than Juanito. The first five years she [his wife] went to Chile. I left with her the second year she was there. We manage to send some money in those 7 years. We built the bottom floor, which as you saw are just the living room, three rooms and the kitchen. Those were hard times. At some points it seemed like we weren't going to make it. I mean we were moving on but slowly. Until the family she was working with offered her to leave to Belgium and I told her she could go so we could finish the house faster. I mean she was going to get paid better and things would move on faster. We made a deal that she would only leave for two years until we finished the house."

(German, Husband of a Migrant Domestic Worker, Chimbote, Peru, 03-03-2015)

German shared just one tear as he mentioned this. He hid his face under his shirt and kept going. Gender predicaments in Latin American societies have presented mestizo or indigenous man as not manly enough and crying in front of a woman, a foreigner someone he did not know seemed inappropriate and shameful (Arango-Gaviria, 2007). So, I looked the other way around and pretended I didn't see it. We were already on the second floor he explained it was kept closed and only open for special occasions, but it might also be Matilde's house when she got older and finished university. We then got to the terrace from there the view was of all the other houses in the slum. I asked him if the slum had always looked like that:

"We squatted these fields. These houses were all made out of cardboard, sticks and palm tree mats. I was already here when I was born... I think so, my mother never really mentioned when or how we were born. Norma's family comes from the Mountain fields in Huaraz. In reality we are all migrants here. We squatted. We put down our sticks and stayed with all the strength in the world. I don't know if Norma loves me anymore but I send her pictures of the entire house all of the time. I tell her I'm working in the house. I mean she sees it when she comes and always leaves proud and happy. I mean, I know there are other

husbands who aren't like me. She even told me this one lady kept sending her husband a little money for the house and he spent it all with his other family. I mean he had even mortgaged the house they had. I could never do something like that. You tell me, why would I lie to her? I tell her things just how they are. I send her pictures through facebook so she could see how the house is coming along.... I have done this all by myself..."

(German Husband of a Migrant Domestic Worker, Chimbote, Peru, 03-03-2015)



Figure 8: The Slum view from Norma's house, Chimbote, March, 2016

The house than had been a private informal effort both Norma and her husband had managed to make over the years (Bilicen and Barglowski, 2014). Norma had earlier told me they still owned money to the bank for the primary material, but things were going to be O.K. Norma, on the other hand, had no intentions to return and was indeed not sure about her feelings for German. She, however, did not doubt that he had been an honest father for Matilde and Juanito. As we came downstairs after the tour, Matilde grabbed me by the arms and asked: "*So, you must be hungry? What would you like to have for lunch?*" Matilde's comment surprised me and although she had promised we would have a formal life story interview I took the chance to go grocery shopping with her to make small talk. Like many of other talks, they revolved around the house and the sacrifices of her mother. Matilde refused to discuss her father except

for the last night out when tears came out as she expressed he had turned into an alcoholic since her mother left. On our way to the town Market, Matilde spoke to me about her mother:

“The house is hers. It’s her sacrifice and sweat. She has done everything for us.”

(Matilde Daughter of a Migrant Domestic Worker, Chimbote, Peru, 03-03-2015)

Slowly, however Matilde talked about her education. Her education according to her had also been her mother’s investment and perhaps her biggest pride:

“I have always been a good student! When Mom left I was a bit depressed so I failed a year. I was 9 the first time she left. My brother was 10. Mom thought if she left I could go to an all girls’ catholic school a private one. The school was particular because we all had a mother that was paying our tuition while working abroad somewhere. Whenever we had a special holiday or a school party we were always alone with our grandmothers but never our mothers... They all had an absent parent but mostly their mom. We helped each other a lot. We listened to our stories and difficulties while dealing with our mother’s absence. We knew it was hard but not impossible to finish school. The sad thing is that although we are getting a higher education we are all young moms as well... I heard rumors in the slum has it it’s because our moms left... [...] Now I have a kid. I tried calling mom many times. I tried to explain, I didn’t want to have this kid. How could I explain this to dad without her being there? So, grandma became the female figure. She took me doctor’s appointments and all... So, yes I have missed mom at every stage of my education and in my pregnancy. For my 15th birthday she convinced me with my grandmother that we needed to throw a huge party. I told her, Mom what for? We could use the money for my education, for later...”

(Matilde, Daughter of a Migrant Domestic Worker, Chimbote, Peru, 03-03-2015)

Matilde remained proudly in school and being the housewife of her house. Matilde’s deal with her mother was she would take care of the household while she pays for her education. As Matilde finished school to become a midwife specialist and later a doctor, her life was beginning to be a lot like her aunt Salma. Salma was also a migrant domestic worker who in spite of her education had to follow her sister abroad. Salma told me many times while in Brussels:

“Regardless of one’s education it’s always about which family one comes from. I was very proud of my profession. I wanted to be a registered nurse but that’s just not how things turned out. I had to leave to give my brother an education maybe he would have a better chance.”

(Salma, Migrant Domestic Worker, Brussels, 21-10-2014)

Like her aunt Salma, Matilde found herself in the middle of complex decisions. She saw her peers in medical school striving to make it. Indeed, as highlighted by Goesthechel and Espinosa (2013) access to a higher education for women of color in Latin America does not guarantee a way out of poverty. She suffered to see her mother already in her late 40's working, 40 hours a week while cleaning a mansion thousands of kilometers away. She also thought about giving her son an education, and inevitably Matilde thought about using remittances sent by her mother for two purposes, first, to finish paying for an education and secondly to save money to try transnational mobility to work with her mother abroad when her aunt Salma retired:

“I think it's time to be together. We have been apart for way too long. I have been thinking that with the money she sends I'm going to pay for my own education and save some money to pay for airplane tickets. I could go there work and then invest in a little business here. So that she can come back sooner. So, when I'm done with school, she comes back and I leave to replace her. My aunt Salma keeps saying she wants to come back in December. I told momma I wanted to replace her. Then eventually Mom would come back and with aunty Salma they will handle the business. Mom doesn't want to let me go she keeps insisting that I only have one year left and I must finish my studies. I mean, I help to compensate for my brother who hasn't really done a thing. I'm mom's right hand. I help her with everything. I get the money and I distribute it. She can only trust me. Dad told you he built the house but he also like to go around drinking with his friends. I pushed him around. I yelled at him so he could finish the house faster... So, that's why I think I should leave... Mom worries me because what would she do when she comes back? I want her to have something to fall into. Imagine my responsibility. I pay the house mortgage with the money she sends. I cook. I clean. Matilde is there for all these man, my boyfriend, my dad, my brother. Month by month it's always a battle, between paying everything, forcing my husband to get me a health insurance and monthly allowance for the baby it's a nightmare.”

(Matilde, Daughter of a Migrant Domestic Worker, Chimbote, Peru, 06-03-2015)

Matilde's planned to come to Brussels and work as a domestic worker never fully worked. Salma and Norma came to an agreement that Matilde would remain their right hand in Peru. Salma and Norma expected for Matilde to take responsibility for them just as they had supported her through her education. The feeling of expected reciprocity among the women in the family grew faster as Miriam the family's grandmother was diagnosed with cancer. Back when I met her Miriam had confessed drawn in tears during our conversations that she had used most of the remittances her daughter had sent for her healthcare to pay for Osvaldito's last year in college:

“Osvaldito would become the first engineer in the family. I mean that’s important isn’t? I have lived enough and who knows maybe I will get cure?”

(Miriam, Mother of a Migrant Domestic Worker, Chimbote, Peru, 08-03-2015)

Back in Brussels, Salma had insisted that she was proud of supporting Osvaldito:

“I’m proud of him. He is almost done. I’m glad he is done things right. Otherwise, I would be suicidal... I mean all that sacrifice for nothing...”

(Salma, Migrant Domestic Worker, Brussels, 20-10-2014)

Osvaldito unlike Matilde had been supported both with the payment of his full education and the housework of his mother:

“I did what I could do? I went to school I did the right thing! I also bought this taxi to make my own money and become independent. Will you please tell Salma when you get back that I’m loyal? Please tell her that I’m working because sometimes she is negative... I mean even Norma put money on this car because she believes in me. She thinks this investment will stop her from sending money for Mom.”

(Osvaldito, Brother of a Migrant Domestic Worker, Chimbote, Peru; 07-03-2015)

As we met during my trip to Chimbote, I went around for a few hours with Osvaldito, while he proudly drove his taxi. The passengers got inside and he was sure to tell them: “*You see I got this little car with my sisters’ help.*” He asked me not to talk or else they would know I was a foreigner. I came back to Brussels and heard the news about Mrs. Miriam being terminally ill. Salma had by then changed her views on Osvaldito. As she mentioned her brother had been a bit irresponsible in all of it.

“Salma: You sent the remittances to pay for Mom’s health and they end up doing something else. Unless you’re there everything is a mess. You end up having to go yourself and taking your vacation time to do that. I mean you end up taking them to their doctor’s appointment. Look dad never got his knee surgery. Mom never got checked on time. I’m not saying you can prevent cancer but maybe if she had gotten help earlier.

(Extracts from fieldwork Diary, informal conversation with Salma, Brussels, 16-01-2016)

I witness Salma, in absolute despair preparing an unexpected vacation in Chimbote to take care of her mother. As she came back I asked how Mrs. Miriam was doing and she replied not fully convinced that things would work out:

“She is doing better. I mean she is not eating. I don’t sleep because I keep thinking that she will die. It’s hard to hear your own mother has cancer. One is never fully prepared for such

news. I mean is not just the money you send to pay for doctors. It's really everything else. It's about preparing her meals and taking her for her chemotherapy and radiations and staying with her. I'm not sure my brother is doing all of that. I'm not sure Matilde or anyone is doing that. I understand they are young adults they go to school, they have their jobs."

(Salma, Migrant Domestic Worker, Brussels, 2016, 22-08-2016)

As we kept talking for months, Miriam's news never got better, and unfortunately, the expected happened. Miriam died on July 25th, 2016. The Magallanes story shows that while individual remittances fulfill the formal access to social protection resources such as health, housing, and education when women step out of the kin work (Di-Leonardo, 1987) that's required for them to be effective these formal channels are useless (Amelina, 2016). The care chains (Parrenas, 2006) and reciprocity established between the women in the family are sometimes disturbed by the influence of men who in their expectations to brighten their futures with an education or a jobs take decisions on their own. In fact, as the younger generation of men witnesses the older generations suffer from alcoholism and health issues, they try to hard to be in better locations. Recently, over facebook, Osvaldito has shared his feeling about his mother's death and his sister's opinions:

"Our parents come from the Moutains. They have wanted us to get a better life. I'm O.K! I did the right thing. My sisters left and send money, but that's just not the right thing. I should be able to provide. We are going to start a business once my sister comes back."

(Osvaldito, Brother of a Migrant Domestic Worker, informal conversation over facebook, 01-03-2017)

Pensions and the Long Term Care

These examples of housing, education, and health are highlighted in the most recent literature on transnational social protection and even in the care Circulation research (Baldassar and Merla, 2014, Bocagni, 2014, Amelina et al. 2012). There are, however, other examples of how individual remittances can be used to access public social protection resources. One of such examples is the use of mixed public and private Diaspora pension plans for which migrants contribute partly with their individual remittances. In this repertoire market, the state and the family intervene together. Indeed, the kinship economy of the family allows migrants to establish trusting mechanisms of reciprocity between them and the family members with whom they share a gender and generational translocation to make this possible (Faist, 1998, Bilicen

and Barglowski, 2014). Lisette³² a participant presented in earlier sections is a user of such arrangements:

“When I got a divorce from my husband I got really scared. I have always been a hard worker. He never gave me anything but still... I wasn't sleeping. I would cry all of the time. So, I went to the doctor's. On my sleepless nights I worried. I worried about Clarita my child who is sick. And the doctor told me 'But I have seen you've been capable to go on in life with your two daughters. You're capable of a lot! The medicines she gave helped me a lot. At least I had a job and the Belgian government helps me with Clarita's education and health treatments... I'm capable of moving along. I have always worked my entire life. When I was 15, I started working with this one lady in Colombia as a domestic worker. When I was 18 and got my Colombian identity card, I started to look for jobs in the factories. So, in total I have 240 weeks that I contributed to the Colombian social security. So, I figured it out with my sister that I could still pay for my pension from here. I can keep paying for the pension from abroad monthly. So when I'm not able to work on my own I will have a little something to back me up. My wish is that we will move back. I will invest in a little house or something. I know that my sister, my nieces and everyone would help me with Clarita. I want to know that when I'm not there she will be O.K. She is my biggest worry....”

(Lisette, 54, Migrant Domestic Worker, Brussels, 7-09-2014)

Lisette, contrary to other migrant domestic workers I interviewed, seemed to have a sense of tranquility. She seemed confident about the future that she had built herself and the global arrangements to access social protection that she had put forward with her friends and family members. Mostly women that in Lisette's Colombian slang were “berracas” what in English would be more or less “badasses.” During our first interview as we touched on the aging period of her life, she seemed confident enough:

“Maria: So who do you think would take care of you when you move back to Colombia?”

Lisette: Priscilla, she is nuts. I tell her 'so you're going to clean up my behind? You promised huh don't tell me otherwise when the moment comes. I know she will though.”

(Lisette, 54 years old Migrant Domestic Worker, Brussels, 7-09-2014)

More than the other migrant domestic workers, Lisette regularly visited Colombia to make sure her older sister; Priscilla was paying her pension contributions on time. They also called each other frequently. Apparently, Priscilla appeared as a key individual in helping her

³² For a reminder of Lisette's network of support see page, 232, figure 4. Otherwise refer to Appendix B Figure 4, page 346.

negotiate the mixed private and public pension in Colombia. Priscilla like her sister Lisette had also been the victim of domestic violence and had been supported by her sisters to move on. Lisette had been of great support during her divorce helping her to gain independence. Lisette had sent remittances to help her move, start her own business a small corner store in front of her house. In our interviews Priscilla constantly reminded me of personal informal and formal links of support that were established with her sister Lisette in Belgium:

“I have a little business. All three of us have our little business here in Colombia. Lisette has helped us all through everything. Lisette sent me a bit of money and helped me to get started. Aurora has a daycare center and she paid social security so she is covered for the future. Asunción might be leaving to Spain again but she also has a little corner store. Lisette has a little pension I’m helping her pay from here. So, when she came I helped her get everything straight. I got informed and I realized with the new government they allow you to keep paying your pensions based on how many years you contributed before. Sometimes, when you don’t have a lot of resources or when you have lived abroad the government gives you a bit of extra money for it, to compensate for the time you would be missing before you’re of age to retire. Lisette had only contributed for 320 weeks and they made up for it to make 420 at the end. She was lucky and we are only paying 25.000 pesos monthly. I do all of that paper work so she can pay for that little pension. I also told her they got new programs to buy houses. I told her: ‘Get yourself a little place so that when you back you have a little something to back you up... I help her because she has helped all of us.’”

(Priscilla, Sister of a Migrant Domestic Worker, Colombia, 30-11-2015)

As partially described by Faist (1998, 2000) the general reciprocity that allows Lisette to access both formal and informal resources of protection are however, not common to all migrant domestic workers. Ana Lilia, an initial participant who is now 58 years old, constantly brought forward this concern through many of our life-story interviews.

María: Listen, Anita, I have got some last questions. What would you like to do in the future? How do you see yourself in the future?

Ana Lilia: How do I see myself in the future? Are you asking about a pension? As if I have a right to a pension? No, I don’t have the right to a pension. I mean maybe when I’m 70 years old and not even. Maybe if I work year-by-year and live until I’m really old.

María: I heard they keep augmenting the years. So, I mean even for those of us who started working young it’s not sure... We are going to be working until we are 80 years old or more.

Ana Lilia: Really? So I think it might be in Colombia perhaps. I mean either way just for my own health. I have arthritis and the weather here doesn’t help. Plus, it’s expensive to

live here in Europe to rent a place but on the other hand I'm used to my safety here in terms of walking easily and carelessly on the streets.”

(Ana Lilia, Migrant Domestic Worker, Brussels, 01-11-2014)

As I followed her story, I also realized Ana Lilia did not have any children and had instead supported her nieces in Colombia in getting a higher education. Nonetheless, she felt that the training she had provided them with had been insufficient since they were still unemployed and now single mothers. Indeed, as highlighted by authors cited earlier in the Latin American context having access to higher education does not immediately guarantee upward social mobility (Portocarrero, 2013, Goesteche and Espinosa, 2013). Instead, there are other racial and gender translocations that can keep an individual from reaching their goals and moving on in life. The figure here below illustrates Ana Lilia's family network through time and space:

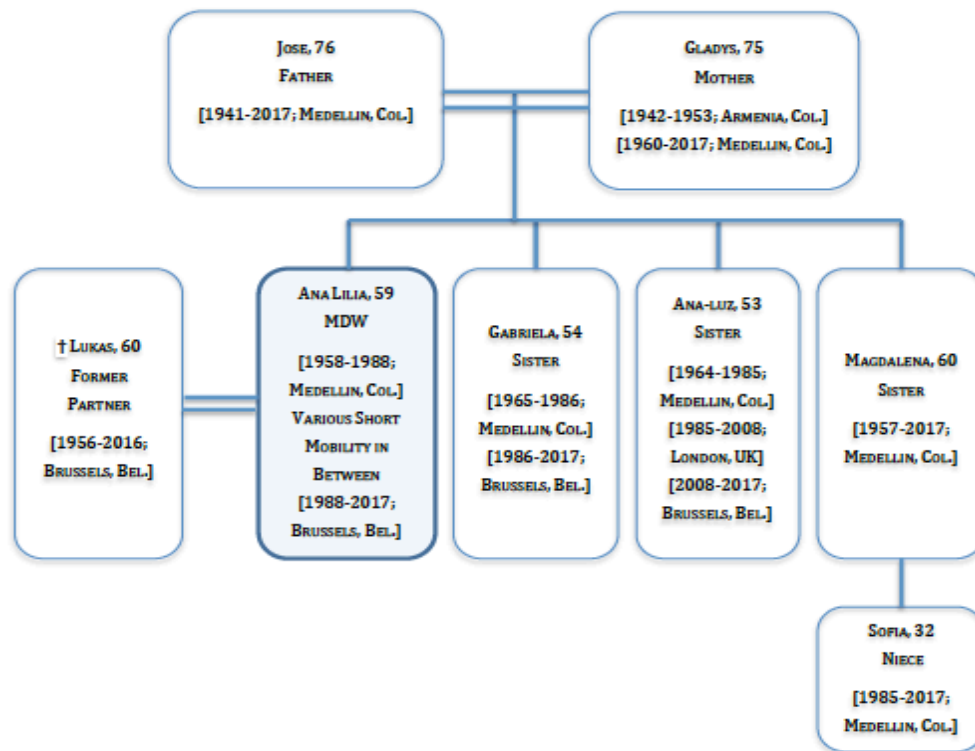


Figure 9: Ana Lilia Castaño' Support and Family Network³³

³³ For the detailed legend, please see page 226.

Ana Lilia's niece Sofia according to her had moved on but had met unsupportive partners and had become a housewife and a mother of two. Ana Lilia had placed her higher hopes in her former partner Lukas a Russian-Belgian man who was himself part of the aristocratic class in Belgium. Ana insisted that I met Lukas for dinner in Brussels once. We did meet. He was an impressive man, tall, handsome with a way of speaking that left one speechless. He took us to a famous restaurant in the city, to have a drink and chocolates like in their first dates. Lastly, slowly in between his coughing caused by his lung cancer he was sure to show who he was for Ana Lilia and vice-versa:

“She has saved me from everything. She made me go to the doctor's more often and to a psychiatric. I met her when we were young but then left her. I found her again. I saved her too. I told her she had to start working legally immediately and not longer be exploited”

(Lukas, Former Partner of a Migrant Domestic Worker, Brussels, 20-12-2014)

When I last saw Ana Lilia in her native Medellin, she had been informed that she wouldn't get a pension. She had her hopes that Lukas would get cured from his terminal cancer and they would live together forever after:

“María: So, how did it go did you check if you would get a pension?”

Ana Lilia: I did but I'm not going to get one. I could only get some money back. I didn't work enough weeks to get one. I'm not going to get one in Belgium because I worked informally. It was an arrangement between Pablo my first husband and I. I would work informally so that he wouldn't lose his social benefits and I would get my papers... But now that I'm with Lukas, he told me I shouldn't be afraid and work legally. He almost forced me to. I'm just now hoping God would give us a miracle and Lukas would live to help me. I now live with him in his apartment. He is my everything...”

(Ana Lilia, Migrant Domestic Worker, Brussels, 26-10-2015)

Since this last time Ana Lilia and I met for an interview with her mother, Lukas passed away. This became a turning point for Ana Lilia, a woman who in spite of being a citizen of two countries had very little formal access to public means of social protection. Certainly, as highlighted by Kofman (2002) and Kraler (2010) there are often intersectional stratified ways in which a person could live inside their citizenship status. In Ana Lilia's case her gender roles as permanent caretaker of her ex husband, her family in Colombia and lately her former partner kept her in an unfortunate translocation that led her to a dead end with nearly no solutions for the future. Her arrangement reduced itself even more to an informal saving strategy with the expectations that later in life she would get a reciprocal care from the nieces she had supported in Colombia.

Intertwined Collective and Social Remittances: As We Help Each Other to Survive

Aside, from the individual remittances that can lead to formal and informal arrangements that include resources such as pensions, houses and health access there are also other collective forms of remittances. These joint efforts are made between those that share historical gender, racial and class translocations. They usually serve to help a larger group of similar individuals either in Belgium, their countries of origin or another country in the Latin American region to access healthcare or education. Juana a Belgian and Peruvian citizen but an informal migrant domestic worker, it's usually in a leading role when organizing such initiatives:

“Most people, most Latin Americans stay in the cleaning sector forever. Their bodies are in pain after so many years of water and cleaning products. But they don't do anything either to get an education and be heard. I for example do a lot of activism but that's because it fits me up with positive energy. I get involve in different groups that help those in trouble here but also in Peru. I know associations here that ask for money to do this and that and they do nothing. This is just not right! We work hard for our money! So, for the ones here I help in campaigns to improve our educational skills! I think education is key to help us change our rights and how society perceives us. In what respects Peru is another story! I support groups when they get together to help people in natural tragedies, to get access to healthcare for Andean children in the winter; it's that kind of thing.”

(Juana, Migrant Domestic Worker, Brussels, 21-10-2014)

Across the two years I followed Juana, I witnessed the differentiated consciousness that appeared in her (Sandoval, 2001). Juana organized with other women from her family and church activities to support healthcare access for those left in the mountain regions where her parents originated. The discourse around helping children and women in the Andes achieve a minimum of social protection was, however, a contested one. As racial and class translocations clashed between Juana and those that were different or similar to her. Laura, a migrant domestic worker who was mentioned earlier, was one to question Juana's efforts and her alliances with Peruvians of other ethnic and class translocations:

“I agree that we help those back at home. I mean especially in the Andes region where many of our parents are from. Juana's friend Herminda asked me if I could cook for an event to help poor children in the Andes. I did it with all the love in the world. But then there were rumors of Herminda stealing the money and putting it towards her own private benefits. I don't know Hermindad and when I saw that you were there through pictures on facebook I asked myself: What is our sweet girl Marita doing with that Beast? I mean because literately that's what they are. I don't know where they think they came from. They think they are something out of this world just because they are lighter or whatever...”

(Laura, Migrant Domestic Worker, Brussels, 17-12-2014)

As highlighted by Laura, the process of collecting remittances for their communities in their countries of origin is also a process that's affected by their ethnic, racial, and generational and gender translocations. However, participants like Juana and Laura who have been in their communities in Brussels for longer manage to create alliances while taking advantage of their generational and gender translocations. In certain occasions, it's how they manage to defy these differences and make their collective remittances efforts successful.

In other occasions, collective remittances are used to provide with immediate access to healthcare for those physically present in Brussels, who shared an ethnic, racial and class translocation. As I participated in Sunday masses, I was able to observe how those efforts took place. One of the first occasions in which I noticed such dynamic was at the beginning of fieldwork before the Christmas of 2014. Martina a woman who had been for 15 years a part of the solidarity community was ill with cancer, and unfortunately, she had not paid for her life insurances to repatriate her body:

“Maria, I had a Colombian friend who died a couple of weeks ago. You saw people in church selling tamales to help bury her. I mean I had told her: ‘Martina, are you paying your life insurance in Colombia, have you been to the commune to fix things? Nothing, she didn’t do any of that. One has to be organized. It was too late when she wanted to fix things and the Colombians here only paid for half of their funeral. That poor woman she lived her whole working and never worrying about herself.”

(Lisette, Migrant Domestic Worker, Brussels, 11-11-2014)

These collective efforts to help those in the religious, ethnic communities in Brussels sometimes were also made to help those of a different gender. In the spring of 2015 as the holy week approached Ernestina a Colombian woman in the Catholic community who often seemed reserved made a special announcement at the end of mass. I had in fact never met her or heard from her before she got up to the podium in Sunday mass:

“Dear community my husband is sick, awfully sick. We came from Spain because we weren’t doing great there. We have four children! Now, he has cancer and Belgian hospitals won’t give him access to treatment. Could you please help me by buying a ticket for a lottery to support him?”

(Ernestina, extracts from fieldwork notes, Brussels, 11-11-2014)

Immediately as though called by the grace of a higher being, Laura, Juana, Lisette and many of the original participants began to plan the initiatives to help Ernestina’s husband.

Indeed, the story was linked to a man, but it was in all cases the female committee for solidarity at church lead by a woman that made the efforts work. Notably, Patricia, a Belgo-Chilean citizen who as she would always mention: *“put an order in their efforts”* made lotteries and helped get everything organized. Although most of the other indigenous, mestizo and Afro-descendants in the Catholic community despise her authority, they often followed her lead when those who needed help were like them.

Lately, though as the life stories of the participants go on there is a differentiated consciousness that has emerged (Sandoval, 2000). This consciousness has been able to challenge many of their gender, racial and class translocations. The repertoire of collective remittances has been particularly affected by this change. This change became visible as the recent natural disasters caused by the flooding in Peru put the participants in this study in an uncomfortable position. As I talked to them on the phone, they mentioned the floods had tremendously hurt their extended families in the North of Peru. The need emerged to come together in spite of religious, ethnic, racial and gender differences. Laura, Catalina, Juana and her nephew Victor became the dominant players in such efforts. Their images and photos in the events page evoked a nation beyond races and geographical distances mainly with logos such as: *“Rivers, Mountains, Cities and furthestmost of all warm hearts that’s who we are Peru.”* Indeed, such phrases challenge the old racial, class and gender divisions mentioned through this dissertation. Through their organization of multiple meeting, they managed to gather the efforts of various Latin American consulates, The Peruvian government and congress and other civil society associations in the city of Brussels. As the event took place, this was perhaps the most significant collective remittance effort that will provide with access to housing, health care and food to their communities of origin in the North of Peru. This last evolution of collective remittances shows that repertoires are constantly under revision and change as the life courses emerge and as the translocations of individuals mutate (Coe, 2014).

The stories presented in this section have given an account of how the repertoire of remittances is capable of allowing individuals, to access health care, future pension benefits, housing, and education. However, most of these global social protection resources don’t freely flow among continents and countries. We have also witnessed how their transformative translocation of gender, race, ethnicity and class crossed their efforts and affected them. Concluding, although remittances are an informal effort we have witness how they also interact to allow participants to gather resources in the public sector as well (Bilicen and Barglowski, 2014). The following section instead recounts the last repertoire that composes this arrangement the worker’s insurance and diaspora policies. This new repertoire is perhaps the newest one in the lives of the participants and gives thus the least access to resources. Nonetheless, it’s

important to mention it because it represents an evolution in their global social protection arrangement as in the last period of their working lives they learn how to assume the rights obtain through domestic labor in the formal sector.

4.3. Worker's Insurance and Diaspora Policies: Learning Rights and Opportunities

Learning how to be a Citizen: Pension and Health Care Access Rights

As described in various parts of this dissertation, the participants have been historically affected by their dispossession from different social protection resources (Mesa-Lago, 1978, Oliart, 1995, De la Cadena, 1992). In this sense, obtaining worker's insurance rights and the more new access to diaspora policies that provide them with certain resources represents a significant advancement. Certainly, acquiring such rights is more than simply a matter of obtaining them; it's a matter of learning how to live with them and discovering how to access them. Repertoires as discussed in chapter 3 as embodied practices are always evolving as people learned them and combined with previous ones (Coe, 2014). This is the case of worker's insurance particularly in what respects access to healthcare, sick leaves and access to pension rights.

Ana Lilia a participant presented in earlier sections is a clear example of how repertoires can take a long time to be embodied, learned and put to practice³⁴. Ana Lilia migrated to Belgium in the late 1980s, and like most of her co-nationals who came during this period the nuns of a Catholic church introduced her to informal domestic work in Europe's capital:

“I tried coming to Brussels and leaving to London with my sisters many times but it never really worked out. So, I stayed here in Brussels, I met Marianela and Frida two other Colombian girls and they introduced me to some nuns who were the “daughter's of charity”. These nuns hosted Latin American girls who came to work in the domestic sectors in the city. We were all girls. We pay them I don't remember how much but it was expensive. This is how I met my current boyfriend but it's a long story I never marry him. I married another one who put up with my broken heart. We were never really in love I would say. It was more like an agreement. My life didn't really change a lot, some people would say but you got your papers, well... I really continued to be just the same. One of the agreements with our wedding was that nothing would change that I would keep working in

³⁴ For a reminder of Ana Lilia's family support network, please, turn to page, 254, figure 9, or see Appendix B, 349.

the informal market and he would keep his social assistance. My sister and her husband who were already here at the time got mad. They insisted on too many requirements. He [her husband] didn't want to follow up with them and things were like that until the end of our marriage.”

(Ana Lilia, Migrant Domestic Worker, Brussels, 10-11- 2014)

Ana Lilia's marriage lasted for twenty-five years out of which she obtained her nationality but never a formal contract in the domestic sector that could allow her to accumulate a pension nevertheless to obtain sick leaves or other rights. Years, went by as her health deteriorated in a fortuitous event Ana Lilia met her former boyfriend who had a different influence in her life:

“I won't have a pension. I don't have children either because I gave my whole life for my nieces and nephews in Colombia. I mean I divorced this guy I told you about already. I got together with my sweetheart a guy that I met when I first came here in 1988. He insisted that I started working legally... He says it's for my own good.”

(Ana Lilia, Migrant Domestic Worker, Brussels, 2014)

I seemed excited to notice this transformation that would give Ana Lilia, sick days off to help her with her poly-arthritis a condition she had been diagnosed with a year earlier. However, Ana Lilia then introduced me to the harshness of learning this new repertoire of having worker's insurance rights. The novelty had indeed not always been so fulfilling:

“I'm leaving to Colombia in November next year. I wish I could have gone this year. I needed for my health. I need to see the sun more often for my poor bones but since I now work legally I have to wait for my vacation periods. I get depress and I get sick easier just thinking that I can't go see them [her family in Colombia]. On other hand, I have to be there for Lukas and care for him. Overall, I don't know if I like. It's like you're not use to being legal...”

(Ana Lilia, Migrant Domestic Worker, Brussels, 1-11-2014)

In 2015 Ana Lilia, had returned to Colombia where it had finally become clear that she would not get an access to a pension she could pay from abroad. It has been nearly three years since Ana and I met. As recounted in earlier section Lukas Ana Lilia's partner has since passed away from his pulmonary cancer. Her closed friends Marianela and Frida keep informing me on Ana Lilia's situation. They have mentioned that she is not ready to talk just yet. In Ana Lilia's narrative one sees how her gender translocation settled her as a permanent caregiver. He numerous years in Brussels had contributed to her nieces' education and the healthcare and housing access of her elderly parents. Her informal practical care had been put at the benefit of

her former husband, her former partner and the old individuals she cared for in her jobs. This position as permanent female caretaker made her avoid the formal venues to access a pension for her old days. Instead Ana Lilia preferred to rely on the informal gendered solidarity she had installed with her female nieces in Colombia.



Figure 10: Ana Lilia's profile as we spoke about her access to a Pension, Medellin, November, 2015

Learning about Worker's Health Care Access

Whereas for Ana Lilia it was her gender translocation that made it difficult to learn and accumulate a worker's insurance repertoires for other participants it was the combination of their gender, racial and class translocations that complicated their lives. Norma and Salma two participants who were also mentioned in earlier sections are good examples of this. When I first met the two sisters in Brussels Salma³⁵ seemed convinced that something had gone terribly wrong with her since she had moved to Brussels:

“There is no real schedule! I mean it was my sister who recommended me to work here. We work together in the same house and in that sense we are lucky. She came with them from Chile where we had migrated to before. They are Spanish and you know how it is [phrase used to describe the racialization of Spanish employers towards Latin Americans]. They have that entire name calling for us... The man though, I mean our boss is crazy though! He would be happy one minute and scream the next one. He would call me in front of everyone

³⁵ For a reminder of Salma's family network, please turn to figure 7, page 244, or see Appendix B, figure 7. Page 348

and say: 'look my meat isn't exactly how I like it to be!' There is no reason to treat us like that. I might look poor but I was a nurse many years ago. I forgot everything I knew but I'm still someone. I have saved money like I haven't before because I don't pay anything since I'm a live in."

(Salma, Sister of a Migrant Domestic Worker, Brussels, 1-11-2014)

The mistreatment of her employer who kept accusing her of being incompetent got Salma into an uncomfortable situation. Since we met in October 2014, I didn't hear from her for weeks, until I called Norma her sister. She mentioned that Salma had lost her ability to communicate for a few weeks. Salma had kept her worries quiet because they had told her that no one wanted to put up with intolerant migrant women who works slowly and got sick often:

"I didn't want to be like that. I was scared. They say they let people go for these things. I couldn't talk my voice wouldn't come out. The boss wouldn't tell where to go to the doctor's or if we had insurance. The mind is a powerful thing. I couldn't swallow my own food. Norma would take care of me and make soups and so on. Eventually we figured it out found a doctor and someone told us we had an insurance.

(Salma, Sister of a Migrant Domestic Worker, Brussels, 1-11-2014)

Salma, found a way to avoid the racial narratives of her employer who at first did not find it important to communicate her rights to a health insurance. Salma explains her recovery and the strength to claim healthcare access as part of the repertoire of a worker's insurance. She explained this was her right since we lived in different times, things had changed and woman like her now had rights. Various, times Salma highlighted how various repertoires of mobility, remittances and most recently worker's insurance gave her the confidence to be who she was:

"This is the life we have to bear with! So, since I left I never forgot why I left. I had a purpose and I never forgot about it. My purpose has been to move on, to move on life, to always move up and up! I graduated as a technical nurse and I wanted to be a registered nurse. I wanted to be boss... I couldn't do it but my brother did. If back then I had a sister who paid for it maybe I would have been such a great professional woman. Now, I'm this woman but sure of myself and with everything under control. I always had many aspirations and I have accomplished some of them. Thank the lord my parents are fine, my brother graduated. I'm saving for my pension in Chile. I'm still paying for it and always ready for whatever comes. I'm always learning, always moving ahead!"

(Salma, Migrant Domestic Worker, Brussels, 1-11-2014)

Salma has managed to make repertoires out of the multiple translocations she occupies in Brussels, in Chile where her partner lived and in Chimote where the brother she supported

through her education lives. Salma's experience is perhaps exemplary however not every participant experiences this repertoire of worker's insurance in similar ways for example in the case of Valeria³⁶, a participant who was also presented earlier things turned out differently. Valeria's transition to learn and put to practice a worker's right repertoire was regularly challenged by her gender, racial and ethnic translocations. Valeria had worked and lived in Europe for the ten years previous to our first life-story interviews. In her native Colombia, she had been employed in the clothing industry and as factory employer. In Brussels and Colombia, those she mentioned in her network of support often described her with adjectives such as "*dumb*" a "*fool*." I never compromised with those narratives and instead tried to see what Valeria could possible teach me about her life.

As time went by, I noticed Valeria would be nervous on Sunday masses. In one of them, she confessed her fear of reaching doctors for their price. Sooner than later she also confessed her fear of joining other worker's in their strikes and not being able to get to work due to transportation shortages in the strike days. I explained numerous times her rights, but it always seemed impossible for her to embodied, accept and put them to practice:

“Maria: Valeria, you have the right to call in sick if you're not feeling well. Also if there aren't any buses because of the strike and is snowing just tell her you cannot make it. These are your rights.

Valeria: Yes, I know mamita (my child) but Madame is gonna get mad! She is like that she called me and said: 'You better walk here and not be late.' Lately, she is also accused me of stealing her panties, I mean why would I do such thing. Thank God Larisa my friend took me to the doctor's the other day for my insomnia, my arthritis and my ear infection. I get so many things lately.”

(Extracts from the fieldwork diaries, Informal Conversation with Valeria, Brussels, 12-01-2015)

As highlighted in the extracts from our informal conversations Valeria was often ready to help herself last. Her narrative always began with how her work and care was enabling her family members to access social protection. Her strategies revolved around them, her preoccupations were about her husband getting to pay for his pension, her sister-accessing healthcare, and her whole family being protected by life insurances. Her case was indeed emblematic of migrants whose support for others hinders their own ways of accessing social protection (Boccagni, 2014, 2015). Only as we spoke and hung out with her other friends had Valeria begun to wonder about her means of protection. This wondering had left her thinking

³⁶ For a reminder of Valeria's network of support see figure 5, p. 236, or see Appendix B, figure 5, p. 347.

that returning to Colombia was perhaps her best option. Notably, to solve her situation of continuous exploitation with her brother with whom she shared a house. This had led her to think that return was probably the best option:

“I’m worried now that I’m leaving. Francisco [her brother] has been creating a bomb getting his social security and working sometimes although he is sick. I don’t get it. I’m leaving but I have questions many questions. I want to know if my health insurance can cover me while I return to Colombia if I stop paying. How do I make sure I stop paying for it? My brother’s ex girlfriend gave me her address so that he wouldn’t get in trouble and I don’t want to leave her bills and worries. I also want to get out of the trade union that I was paying for. I need to know if I could get unemployment benefits if I quit my job now. How can I make sure I leave with all of these things answer?”

(Valeria, Migrant Domestic Worker, Brussels, 26-07-2015)

As a mutated witness, I watched Valeria struggle. I offered to help her get in touch with a Spanish speaking public social worker in the community. I struggle to make this decision but keeping with the ethics of risk it was my duty to step forward for someone who had been loyal to our collaboration for at least a year (Fernandes, 2003). I thus carefully took the necessary measures to help her out. Valeria and I visited Beatriz on a summer morning. Beatriz gave us a list of contacts prepared the letters for Valeria to leave her health insurance and trade union. We made sure the letters were sealed and mailed to the Health Insurance and Trade Union. We visited the trade union and made sure things were clear. We called the trade union where they informed us that in Belgium leaving a job could never be the best option since unemployment benefits could be permanently lost. The way out for Valeria was to get a sick leave for her continuous health problems and be absent for a determined period. In fact, getting on a sick leave would make sure Valeria could travel to Colombia with three-month unemployment benefits. Valeria visited Dr. Marcano, a well-known practitioner in the community who mentioned although Valeria was experiencing hormonal issues and arthritis they were not enough reasons for a sick leave. He recommended giving her a day off for sickness and for her to leave little by little eventually. Multiple times the social worker and I explained to Valeria that her employer was the agency and she should give them a leave notice at least five weeks before her departure:

“Valeria: But how do I let Madame down, just like that? I mean it’s true she has been a horrendous person but she needs me...”

Beatriz: You don’t owe anything to that lady! When the lady leaves on vacation and she leaves you out of a job, does she care? No, she doesn’t why should you care? Just please talk to the agency so that you won’t lose your unemployment benefits. Although since

you're a Spanish national you probably won't have any because you have only been here for 8 months. Now, please let the agency know to avoid issues. You don't have to visit the commune administration just let it be. Eventually they would find out that you left and they would take you out of their list as simple as that. This will prevent you from losing your status, let's say you came back in three years and you're still on the list you still can count those years for your nationality. I will write the letters for the mutual (Health Insurance) and the trade union."

(Extracts, from my field notes, visit to social worker with Valeria, summer, 01-09-2015 Belgium).

In spite of informing Valeria multiple times about the benefits that she could perhaps still keep if her employers were informed of her departure, Valeria never truly believed us:

"Maria: You heard her, you need to let the agency know probably today the latest.

Valeria: What about if I don't get paid? I would need this last salary to pay my tickets back home.

Maria: You will get pay it's just called an advance notice. You do this so that they can look for someone else. Also you need to think about Larisa, she recommended you so she won't lose reputation...

Valeria: No, I think I won't tell them until my last day. I will just ask the doctor to give me a sick leave for three days and then I will leave.

Maria: Alright, that's for you to make a decision."

(Extracts from fieldwork diary, informal conversation with Valeria, former migrant domestic worker, Brussels, 01-09-2015)

As time went by Valeria had asked me to take her to the airport. The day before her departure I stayed with her former sister in law Larisa, who had also helped her to get a job in the voucher scheme agency and gave her an address to avoid her brother losing unemployment benefits. Larisa had been a key voluntary kin to Valeria. In fact, Larisa had been a compliment to Valeria's networks of support as she performed duties that her family by blood could not performed (Vivas-Romero, forthcoming). Valeria in spite of our advice had gotten a sick leave from her doctor but had left to go to work. As I got to Larisa's place I found her annoyed by the situation:

"Larisa: Listen Maria, she has been stupid. Stupid is not even the word, but I'm mad. The doctor's came in to check if she was sick and she wasn't here. Now, she will be fired and there is nothing I could do. I told the girl in the agency I haven't seen her yet but we are supposed to live together so...

María: I don't know what to tell you Larisa.... I mean, I did everything I could. I gave her all of the right information and it was for her to decide."

(Extracts the fieldwork diary, informal conversation with Larisa, Brussels, 11-08-2015)

I spend the night with Larisa as she spoke about her relationship with Valeria and the commitment she felt with her. In fact, having her leave was like having her sister go away. The next morning we headed to the airport with Valeria, who finally showed me the small bed in the tiny room she shared with her brother. She promised we would see each other again in Colombia. She also mentioned that surely her daughter would help her fix the situation with the agency in Brussels from abroad. She wanted above all things to avoid giving Larisa a bad name:

"Once, I get there Ana would help me contact the girl in the agency. I will file a health certificate from Colombia. I'm sick. I'm depressed and I just couldn't do it anymore. I thank you María for everything and I'm sorry. May my God give you everything you need and more! I promise you I will host you in Colombia and take care of you just as you have taken care of me here."

(Extracts from the fieldwork notebook, informal conversation with Valeria at the airport, 11-08-2015)

Valeria's translocation as a migrant domestic worker, who has been instructed to be an unconditional, selfless caretaker else makes it difficult for her to learn a repertoire of worker's insurance. Various times I heard other friends in the community giving Valeria the choice of being a live-in domestic worker to avoid living with her brother under stressful conditions. However, Valeria always gave the excuse of not wanting to let her brother down for any reason. Instead, even as she went back to Colombia Valeria kept worrying about how she would pay for the transnational life insurance, she offered to most of her family members. In one of our late afternoons visiting Medellín, for the day of the dead, we spoke about funerals and what each of us wanted to do with our bodies.

"María: Vale, I have always been kind of afraid of dying abroad. If I died abroad my family probably won't see me again. Plus, remember when we used to talk about this in Brussels, how Marcela and Josefina your friends used to say funerals were really expensive in Belgium?"

Valeria: I would simply want for them to burn my body. I bought a life insurance a while ago and put down 7 beneficiaries: Ana [her daughter], Anael [her son in law], Domingo [her husband], Carlota [niece in Spain] and my sister Barbara the one in Spain, Fausto my brother the brown skin one and myself. Yalimar my niece told me about this when she went to go get the remittances. So, I used to pay from over there it's around 50.000 pesos and we are all included. This covers the funeral, the urn and everything. Some people pay more to have a fancy funeral; I just paid for the normal thing because once one is dead no one cares,

right? One doesn't even know once is one is dead. I only included something different for myself and that is that it can only cover me if I'm Colombia. I did it to make sure that I didn't die abroad and if by any chances I did I heard that the government in Brussels would have helped to bury me over there.”

(Extracts from my fieldwork notebook, Medellin, Colombia, 01-11- 2015)



Figure 10: Valeria the day of our last interview, Medellin, Colombia November 14th, 2015

Undocumented and Claiming Worker's Rights

In Valeria's case, her gender and class translocation as that unconditional caretaker, who constantly care for her family and those families she worked for would continue to influence her learning of a worker's insurance repertoire. For other participants strategizing their global social protection arrangements around those translocations was made even harder by the position they occupy in Belgium's migratory regimes. Catarina who was presented earlier in this chapter is an example of this. Unlike the other participants described in this section, Catarina at the beginning of our collaborations, lacked access to a worker's insurance due to her undocumented status. Catarina nonetheless had access to social networks of other Afro-mestizo Peruvians from the North of Peru who came to help when need it:

“Maria: Aha, well just tell me how your life has been like...

Catarina: But do I start with coming to Belgium or before?

Maria: As you like, really you have the freedom to start in whichever period... Honest to God, it doesn't matter just sit back and we will drink this cafecito [little coffee cup].

Catarina: Well, Marita what comes to mind right now is the day when this happened.”

(Catarina, Migrant Domestic Worker, Brussels, 21-10- 2014)

As in a lot of our other conversations, Catarina would always show the progress she had made since that horrible morning when she fell down the stairs of the house where she had first worked in Brussels:

“My Marita, my life is a miracle mamita [my little child]. When I first came here a couple of years ago my sister in law who is Belgian got me a job as a cleaning lady. The family was Spanish and they lived in Uccle a famous neighborhood here in Brussels, where all of them rich people live. They had various servants and one fine day I was cleaning... I hadn't even looked around and the baby sitter left the baby on the stairs while I was vacuum cleaning them. I saw the kid gathered around the vacuum cleaner and he almost fell down the stairs. I mean he was going to fall down them stairs! I felt that it could have been one of my children. I went to get him but I tripped with the vacuum cleaner cable and we fell down the stairs. I held the child in my hands so he wouldn't hurt himself. The child was fine he just cried a lot... I felt an intense pain because I fell right on top of my hips. The Madame took me to the hospital but told me I shouldn't say anything because otherwise they could call the police. I mean this was partly because she knew I was working with her illegally. So, I told her: ‘Don't you worry Madame, I'm going to be fine’ Right around that time my own mother had died in Peru and my children needed this money more than anything. I kept working 11 years just like that with all of that pain...”

(Catarina, Migrant Domestic Worker Brussels, 21-10-2014)

Catarina highlighted that in her story her knowledge on worker's rights and her social networks in Brussels were crucial to her recovery. Particularly, Dr. Garcia a successful practitioner in the community who insisted in explaining that undocumented workers had social protection rights and one of them was an urgent medical help that could provide her with treatment. Dr. Garcia was recommended by Catarina's voluntary kin Amelia a lost kin someone who she considered a cousin. Below is a picture of Catarina's family network

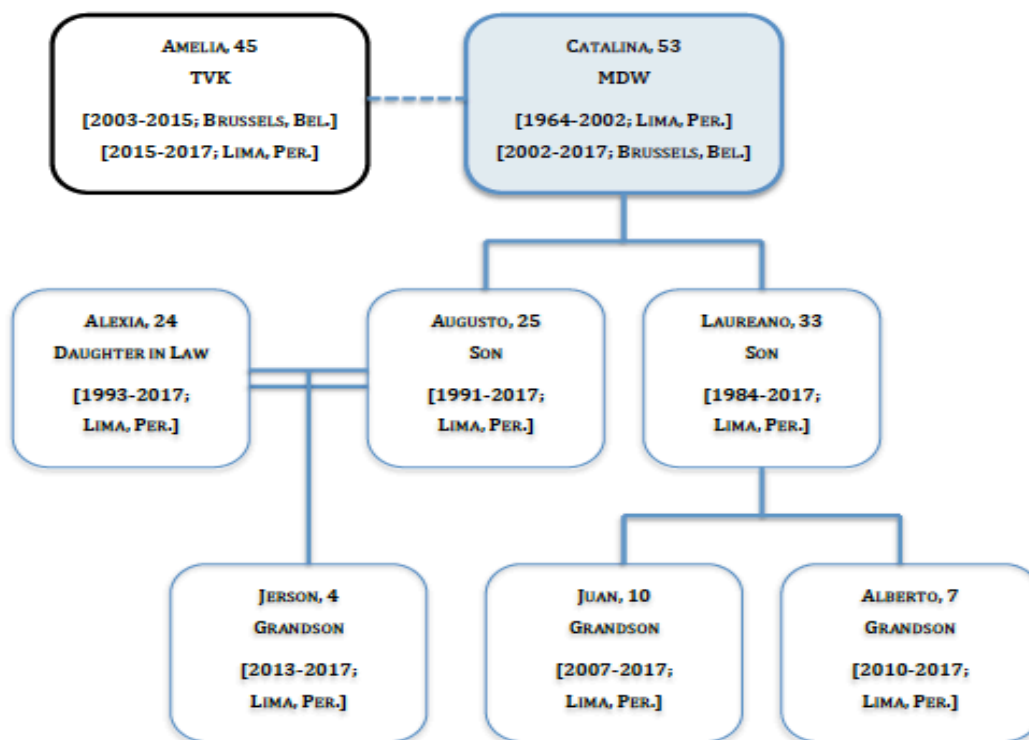


Figure 11: Catarina Zapata's Support and Family Network³⁷

Dr. Garcia as Catarina recalls made all the paperwork so that the service for social assistance in Brussels could contact the hospital and get her with the best practitioners. As we spoke in Lima Amelia, recalls Catarina being robust enough to go through surgery and ask at the hospital in a half French and half Spanish dialect if she could stay longer to receive care:

“She stood up the day after! She was so strong! I called her children. I told them: ‘your mother has been through a very tough surgery but she is been doing great. Please call her, she needs you! She asked them if she could be sent to a special unit where she could get all the rehabilitation. I would go see her every day and changed her pots because she could not get up to go to the toilets. Cata spoke to everyone in that hospital including a social worker that then helped her to get her papers. They had denied her the regularization through work because of her health condition. I helped her to make sure they gave her the paper work that said she was fine.”

(Amelia, Catarina's Voluntary Kin, Lima, Peru, 02-03-2015)

³⁷ For the detailed legend, please see page 226.

In the past two years, I have witness Catarina, moving along and showing me as she re-learns the repertoire of worker's right. Catarina had been a legal secretary in the judiciary power in Peru right before Fujimori's government. Most of the time, she was amazed at how many rights the Belgian welfare state could grant her if she played by the laws. She has since the operation got her status regularized and now works as a formal domestic worker:

“My health insurance now covers everything. I can go get check and continue with my treatment for my hips. I have my 5 days a week and on the weekends I can take a break. This year I have a 3-week vacation planned. I will go see my children after thirteen years. I feel like finally I'm getting a normal life... I'm also going to get married with Oscar my Belgian boyfriend. He used to be a client. I told you remember? He felt in love with me. Maybe he will put his house under my name so I can start paying for a house in Peru for my kids. I'm not a fool. I know this operation left me in a bad shape. So, I'm doing everything to be ready. I don't want to be a burden for my children.”

(Catarina, Migrant Domestic Worker, Brussels, 04-06-2015)

Since we had our last formal life story interview, Catarina has gone to see her children in Peru twice. Her plans of getting married have become a reality. She has since then moved into her new husband's house. In less than two years her translocations have been transformed she is not longer the transnational mother who everyone looks at with pity. She is a regular employee of the voucher system in Brussels, "*the woman of a Belgian man*" as she calls herself and a mother and grandmother that can now live a transnational life. In Peru, her family recognizes her as someone who has gone beyond the expectations of someone of her ethnic, racial and gender condition. As her children were interviewed they highlighted her audacity and the role they expected to play in her old age:

“My mom has done everything for us. I told her already: ‘Momma when you're old I want to be your walking stick’. I want to be able to study here and move on to take care of her.”

(Laureano, son of a Migrant Domestic Worker, Lima, Peru 19-03-2015)

“When she got the surgery I got scared. I was perhaps not doing things the right way. I began to call her more often. I realized my momma could have gone away. I was there for her and I know this helped her to recover. She had something in her blood and she couldn't have surgery until they cleared that up. So, I felt she could have been gone forever... I also value what she does for my son and my wife when she helps out. I will be there for her always.”

(Augusto, Son of a Migrant Domestic Worker, Lima, Peru, 20-03-2015)

Nonetheless, Catalina has also gained the respect, love and informal practical and emotional care of Augusto's wife. His daughter in law Alexia did in various occasion repeated it was her who received remittances to help her with her son's healthcare access during periods of emergency and with housing payments:

“Madame Catarina got mad at me at first. I went to go live with her son. She didn't like me at first but since we have the baby things have changed. She helps us pay for rent. I mean if she didn't help out we would be leaving in the outskirts of the city in a little room where things aren't safe. She knows I don't work to take of her grandchild and she appreciates that a lot. And when baby Alexander gets sick I just have to call her and I know she will be there. Last time he got sick, really sick. We were scared and we couldn't take him to a private clinic... The insurance Augusto has in his job just didn't cover it. He was hospitalized and we called his mom. She called sent me the money through his aunt who gave it to me. She saved him. She saved my child! Really, honestly if things worked out that we had the money to support her here I wouldn't mind her living with us. I would definitely be there for her. I sent her pictures of the baby every single day and she tells me that keeps her going.”

(Alexia, Daughter in law of a Migrant Domestic Worker, Lima Peru, 19-03-2015)

Catarina, unlike other participants, had thus through her gain of worker's insurance also assured the informal reciprocity of her male sons and her daughter in law. The general reciprocity among them now allows them to live a transnational family life. Catarina visits them periodically and is preparing the purchase of a traditional family home along with planning a small restaurant business that could provide her with the fixed incomes to move back when the old age gets the best of her.

5. Preliminary Remarks

The repertoires presented through this chapter are the locus where various global social protection arrangements are constructed at different points in the participant's life course. The repertoire of mobility is the foundation of the sequential arrangement “*Today for you, tomorrow for me*”. It's through mobility that participants are first able to see the possibility of combining gender informal reciprocities with more formal resources available in the places where they move. Mobility, as highlighted by the stories of the participants, is often initiated by senior migrant women and passed along as an intergenerational practice that permits to erase some of the racial and class translocations associated with the participants in their countries of origin. As

the senior family members moved to the city, they obtained new translocations as paid domestic workers. Translocations are however fluid and changing across the life courses as the main participants themselves engage in transnational mobility across the Atlantic Ocean.

The first resource that is then obtained through the repertoire of mobility is health care. The participant's mobility to Europe as paid domestic worker despite their migratory status represented a significant shift in their gender and racial translocations and thus in their access to formal healthcare. For those who had obtained an education before their immigration, they put their imaginations to work to claim their rights when their employers especially those of their same nationality made use of a racist post-colonial rhetoric to deny them such rights. Once healthcare for the initial participants was achieved through transnational mobility in Europe, the priority became giving the same access to formal healthcare to their mothers the initial internal migrants who were in their narratives responsible for their success. On the contrary, men had less of a priority for access to health care. The men in the participants' family network had engaged themselves in fewer degrees of transnationality and had thus less access to resources such as health care (Amelina et al. 2012).

Transnational mobility for the participants also worked the other way around; when sickness emerged, the participants were able to travel back to their countries of origin, where the younger generations of female family network showed reciprocity for remittances they had received earlier. In doing so they were able to offer the main participants healthcare access through their worker's insurance.

The repertoire of mobility combined with that of remittances also assured the participants' offspring access to private education in their countries of origin. The initial participants made sure to pay for their daughters, nieces and grandchildren education so they would provide them with informal care later on in their lives (Faist, 1998). Moreover, by awarding an education to their female daughters or nieces, the participants ensure that they will be seen with different eyes in their communities of origin. So, in paying for their female family members' education, they were in a way intending to break a cycle that kept them for generations inside the sectors of domestic work, while hoping that this new generation will be able to contribute to the family livelihood needs with their professional labor. The resource of formal private education was however also challenged by the participant's gender and generational translocation. To be sure, the social mobility expected for the younger generations continue to be challenged by the racial and gender post-colonial vestiges of Peruvian and Colombian societies. Accordingly, education gained through the repertoire of transnational mobility could not always act as a safety asset for the main participants. This last resource of education can nonetheless also lead to other types of mobility that don't necessarily take place

just in one direction from sending to receiving country. In fact, according to the education needs of the younger generations, they would be encouraged to move to wherever the remittances can best serve them to obtain an education.

The repertoire of remittances nonetheless also assured the housing of the female seniors in the participant's family, who are considered to be the rocks and foundations of the family. The male participants instead built the housing structure. However the caring responsibilities of paying mortgages and engaging in household chores were left to the female family members. Finally, when the life course had finished its evolution, the repertoire of transnational mobility and remittances allowed the participants to construct global social protection arrangement that gave them and their networks of support access to resources such as housing, health care and education. In this sense, the last resource to complete the arrangements becomes a pension or an investment for the participant's ageing days. The last resource can then be assured by individual remittances and worker's insurance that help participant's access transnational mixed private and public pension funds. Remittances then acquired a different sense; they are sent to other female members of the family so they could deal with the bureaucracy of their countries of origin and assure the payment of such pension funds. This last use of remittances is nonetheless, combined with the formality of diaspora pension policies that have been put forward by the participants' countries of origin. This is true in particular for the Colombian case, in which as mentioned earlier the government has given migrants the opportunity to pay for private-public pension funds while partly financing these funds.

The repertoire of remittances, however, as we have witnessed can also be used to improve the healthcare and housing access of larger communities either in the country of origin or the receiving country. As the participants gathered with similar members of their religious, gender, racial and generational communities, their efforts served to assure a larger solidarity that permeated in a transnational level as well. In this particular, repertoire, we also witness an evolution as when the need to reach those who were different and help them to access immediate social protection the participants were able to interlope their gender, class, and race translocations.

One last repertoire composes these global social protection arrangements and assures the participant's healthcare, working rights and in certain cases access to an aging pension in Belgium. The worker's insurance repertoire is perhaps the one in which the participants' gender, racial, class, and generational translocations play a bigger role. The challenge becomes to unlearn their gender locations as permanent caretakers of their family members and slowly learning how to prioritize their needs. As the participants learn how to live as professional domestic workers instead of servants, the invent new class translocations and in some cases

assured their access to health care, sick leaves, child benefits and rarely pension funds in the receiving country. This repertoire is perhaps one that is also influenced by how the participants are perceived by their employees, civil servants and community actors in the receiving country.

Concluding, these repertoires as we have witness took place inside transnational social spaces. The stories shared through this chapter showed that the participant's gender, class and racial, ethnic and generational translocation inside various regimes of the nation states in which they have resided or worked partially challenge their global social protection arrangements. However, as the participants took us through their efforts to build such arrangements we also witnessed that the very foundations of their mobility and remittances repertoire are informal reciprocity and solidarity mechanisms. These mechanisms are established with those in their networks of support who have a similar gender, race and class translocations (Portes, 1995, Durkheim, 1965). There was a distinctive "tit for tat" principle that assured the participant's construction of global social protection arrangements (Faist, 1998). These mechanisms of solidarity and reciprocity will certainly played out differently for the more advantaged participants whose global social protection arrangements will be presented next. Indeed, for the participants in the following chapter patterns of solidarity and reciprocity between those who shared similar translocations become less determinant in their constructions of functional arrangements (Durkheim, 2010 [1893]). In what follows we will witness how the arrangements of participants in the next chapter are based more on formally organized and reliable solidarity mechanisms.

Chapter 6: Sporadic Global Social Protection Arrangement II: “Helping Each Other Sometimes”

1. Introduction

The previous chapter introduced the first global social protection witnessed through the multi-sited ethnography. This last chapter instead deals with a less sequentially planned arrangement entitled with the participants “*Helping Each Other, Some Times.*” Eva, Amelia, Amaranta, Alejandra and Zaida, the main participants in this chapter have similar gender translocations both in Belgium and in their countries of origin (Peru and Colombia). They are mostly Belgian citizens with the exemption of Eva who was awarded a nationality but return to Peru before obtaining it. Their networks of support considered them as “*permanent caretakers*” by nature. However, as we would witness through their narratives, they have managed to partially escape such gender roles by making use of their ethnic, racial as lighter skin mestizas and their class translocations as educated women in the various contexts in which they have lived and worked. Thus, through the following sections, we will witness how and through which repertoires they have done so. Indeed, the repertoires are similar in many ways to those explored, in the previous chapter. Yet, they are used differently and according to the participants’ more privileged translocations.

This chapter contains two sections. In the first part the mothers of the four first participants narrate their situation within the Colombian and Peruvian welfare, working, and gender care regimes. There were, however, two cases in which I could not capture these

narratives. The first is that of Alejandra's mother who had died a few years before this research started. In the second case, Zaida's mother had become terminally ill and could not participate in this research. In these two cases, I took as a basis Alejandra and Zaida's narratives on their mother situations.

In the second section, the first participants and their support networks uncover the repertoires that compose their global social protection arrangements. This chapter then concludes by discussing these repertoires and how they were affected by the participants' translocations. However, unlike in the past chapter, in this chapter's conclusion, I offer some elements of contrast between this arrangement and the previously explored arrangement. This discussion then is the basis for this thesis conclusion.

2. Situating White, Mestizas MDW's and their Family Networks Inside Peruvian & Colombian Working, Welfare and Gender Care Regimes

2.1. Women Inside Colombian and Peruvian Working, Welfare and Gender Care Regimes: "*We, Las Señoras*"

Eva had a light brown skin complexion. She had dyed her hair blonde. She was tall and slim. Her clothes were always matching, and her perfume smelled like flowers. She wore sunglasses even indoors. She attributed this to a particular light sensitivity. I often questioned if this was simply a mechanism to not look some people in the eyes. I met Eva for the very first time in a Mother's day event in Brussels. I witnessed her quietly observing everyone else in the room. She carefully observed all the other ladies. She seemed to be unhappy to be there. I instead spoke to her daughter Amelia who appeared more outspoken. Amelia mentioned her mother disliked those types of activities that mixed everyone:

"Mom doesn't like to get mixed. I mean she thinks all of these women can be trouble markers... I mean in Peru they wouldn't be considered like us. Belgium makes them Peruvians like everyone else but still... You can talk to me first though. What is it that you're doing? Even though if you're looking for women with children abroad that wouldn't be me...."

(Amelia, former Migrant Domestic Worker, Brussels, 25-05-2014)

Eva and Amelia both worked in Brussels as domestic workers. Amelia much younger than her mother worked in the voucher scheme system. Eva, who was by then 73 years old, because of her advance age could only work “*informally and occasionally.*” Eva first migrated from Pisco a city in the southern Peruvian coast to Lima in the early 1970s. However, unlike the women in the previous chapters, her migration to Lima was explained by her need to emancipate herself, become educated and perhaps more western like. Eva was one of those participants that preferred I took continuous notes of her narratives. Various time she insisted in these distinctions:

“I always told my children they should be well behaved. They should speak Spanish correctly. This saved Amelia here. She knew who to talk to and how to do it. We always got on her nerves for her ways of talking. Arcadio [her son] used to slap her in the face for doing it. Her father would say: ‘Why I’m I giving her an education?’ Then she came here and started cleaning. She lost half of her education. What a pity, really!

(Eva, former Migrant Domestic Worker, Brussels, 4- 06- 2015)

Eva made sure I understood she had fought hard to give her children an education and a class status that would erase the vestiges of any uncomfortable racial or ethnic attributes. She had made out of her children citizens in Lima and abroad. Indeed, as I followed their stories Eva and her daughter Amelia always made sure I noticed their willingness to become legitimate mestizas. A mestiza is a term used to talk about Peruvians, or other Latin Americans who although born with indigenous or Afro origins have whitened themselves through various processes. These processes for Eva first included her pregnancy from a man with a lighter skin and economic capital. As highlighted by various authors, in cities like Lima, since colonial times, women from other provinces would often want to marry with lighter skin or white mestizos, to improve their social status (Wade, 1997, Oliart, 1995, Moreno-Figueroa, 2008). Lorenzo had been her former professor. He then became the father of her children. Eva had relocated to Brussels, since 2013, but she made sure to keep the distinctions she had created in Lima. The practices that kept Eva and her daughter away from “others” included a perfect Spanish pronunciation contrary to Peruvians of Andean origins, a higher education and their knowledge of the French language:

“We aren’t like the others. I can’t stand it when Amelia [her daughter] hangs out with those negras [black girls] here in Brussels. They just aren’t like “US”. We are family women. I always insisted in their education. Their father a good criollo [a son of Spanish and Japanese parents] gave them everything, an education, a family, a home. I even had two ladies to help me out in the house. Two young girls I helped out with a little salary. They [her children] are someone. I couldn’t care less if she is cleaning here! Look at the way she

is talking now, because she hangs out with that Cata! Cata is a bad spoken woman from a place in God knows where, certainly not Lima...”

(Eva, former Migrant Domestic Worker, Brussels, 04-06-2015)

As the other senior women in the participant’s support networks, Eva had sacrificed her professional future to have children with Lorenzo and placed her hopes in her children. Although she had obtained a technical education, she stopped working when Lorenzo prohibited it. There was, however, no remorse in Eva’s narrative. She often proudly talked about her children’s father who in spite of his “*his demanding attitude*” had guaranteed her kid’s social mobility, her pension and healthcare rights in Lima, the city of her dreams. In the following section as in the previous chapter, Eva and the other senior women in the participants’ family networks will introduce themselves. They will situate their narratives inside the Peruvian and Colombian working, welfare and gender care regimes. In this chapter more than in the previous men have a stronger voice since the initial participants’ arrangements; have been strongly affected by their influence as the supposed to be main “*male breadwinners*.”

We have sacrificed who we once were: Senior Women

The senior women in the participant’s network of support recounted stories of a mestizaje that allowed them to be part of their countries of origin middle classes. Indeed, this forced mestizaje that took place between the white populations and other indigenous or afro-descendants in Latin America became the foundational myth through which societies were organized (Viveros-Vigoya, 2016: 9). Thus these women’s trajectories are a continuous search to find their place in Peru and Colombia’s urban centers as “*first world woman*.” In this sense, for the older generations, this meant becoming promising housewives while, for their daughters, it was about leaving their households and becoming well known professional women. Unlike, the women in the previous chapter, their insertion into working and welfare regimes were not entirely conditioned by their racial and class translocations but rather by their gender.

Similarly, to what has been described by Patricia Oliart (1995:278), and Marisol de La Cadena (1992:4), the senior women in this dissertation, challenged the order of things by marrying a white or European man to pay their entrance into the more advanced world of urban areas. In their narratives one perceived that their marriages or free unions with lighter skin man were often choices they made under pressure:

“I didn’t want to marry him. He followed me everywhere. I had his children. He forced me to be with him. My brothers would have not let him walk away [leave without taking

responsibility for her child]. He had to marry me, they said. I didn't marry him but I had to stay beside him. I had his children after all.”

(Eva, former Migrant Domestic Worker, Brussels, 04-06-2015)

In this sense, as also highlighted earlier by Oliart (1995) in Peru and Colombian urban centers, they were known as rebellious irresponsible and unfriendly. Additionally, Eva and the other senior women in this chapter also became known as “*city girls*.” Certainly, women like Eva became referred to as the women who could subordinate indigenous and Afro-Peruvian or Colombian men but never men of a lighter complexion. Thus, their power and their access to opportunities to improve their social and economic status remained limited. This position limited their entrance to the labor markets as their husbands or male partners forbid them from doing so. Amaranta, an initial participant, narrated in our first encounters in Brussels, how this ethnic and class mobility happened for her mother who is now 76 years old:

“Mom married dad and we lived in a little town at first. Little by little dad brought us to the city. My dad was the son of a white man with blue eyes. He never recognized dad. Dad gave us part of his genetic qualities, look at my eyes. I know however that I also have another genetic background. Dad's mom was an Indigenous woman who was impregnated by a white male. On mom's side her mom was Afro-Colombian and her dad was indigenous. Mom was never happy. Dad did the same as his father. He first didn't let her work and then abandoned her! Either way I'm proud of his gifts to us. I'm conscious of the privilege that gives me. I'm educated. I had a profession in Colombia. Now, I'm a cleaner but not just a cleaner. I keep doing academic work...”

(Amaranta, migrant domestic worker, Brussels, 21-10-2014)

Amaranta's mother Arnelia was also conscious of how her translocations had helped her in life. Arnelia, was a quiet lady who didn't say much. I spend days next to her in her kitchen. She however loved to talk about her position as a permanent “care-taker”.

“I'm here for them. I have never worked. This has been my role forever. I have been a little sick lately. I fell down the stairs but I'm doing my job. My job is to cook, to take care of them to make sure they are doing well! Thank God I gave these children an education. Thank God their father helped me to have these bright children. Their father at least did that for them. Thanks to that I'm here today.”

(Arnelia, Mother of a Migrant Domestic Worker, Brussels, 21-10-2014)

Undeniably, for the senior women in the participants' support network their gender translocations inside the gender regimes of the countries of origin as “*permanent caretakers*” was an important part of their identities. Eva the woman presented in this chapter's introduction

is also eloquent in highlighting this. Eva is now 76 years old. In 76 years and in her own words this is what Eva has been:

“I came to Lima with my sisters. I had already met Lorenzo my children’s dad. He was my professor in my hometown Pisco. My family is from the South from the seaside. We are mix like everyone but a bit better! I came to Lima in the 1970s. I had forgotten about him. He had wanted to marry me back then. I wanted to come to Lima and study. I studied to be a commercial secretary. I worked for a few years and we bought the house where mom lived until she died. I sacrificed myself for them [her children]. I stopped working when I had them. He [her children’s father] said I couldn’t work. He brought me to live in a house he borrowed from his sister. They [her children] had to take on the opportunity that their dad could actually give them an education. I helped them at home with their homework. I made sure they were the best students ever! He would come back every week with fresh fish and vegetables. I would give them to my neighbors. Everyone knew I was doing well...”

(Eva, former Migrant Domestic Worker, 74 years old, Brussels, 04-05-2015)

Eva’s image of a permanent caretaker was common to many other mestiza women who married white or mestizo man. As La Cadena (1994) eloquently puts it, they could not by any means disobey them or go against their will. They thus disappeared from the labor market and instead invested in the next generations’ education. Eva as many other mestiza women in Latin American urban centers became a single mother while being helped economically by her children’s father. However, to her biggest frustration, Eva became the female partner of a man who was the male breadwinners of at least two families.

The future of the younger female generations hence the participants in this thesis were fairly different. Women like Eva gave priority to their son’s education. In Eva’s case, Arcadio her son, became a doctor and the official male breadwinner of the entire family network. Instead, Amelia, her daughter was supported to finish her university education but discouraged from entering the labor market. She was instead secretly encouraged to migrate with the help of Eva’s sister. Eva’s Sister Carmela was already in Belgium and had married a white Belgian man. Eva’s children had thus different views about her. Her daughter Amelia highlighted Eva’s translocation as a sacrificed woman in a mocking but recognizing tone:

“Mom has the soul of a martyr. You would never hear someone say something negative about mom. She has given her whole life for us and now for her grandchildren. She loves to give away care although she does not always receive something in return... When we were little she used to scare us and tell us: ‘I’m going to leave this place and go look for a job! You all will be left with a nanny like the other children in the neighborhood!’ And I think

her man... I mean, Dad would tell her ‘Go ahead and do that! The door is open but don’t you dare to come back afterwards! She has told this story about how she actually went to go look for a job. I don’t believe it....’”

(Amelia, Daughter of a Migrant Domestic Worker, Lima, Peru, 28-03-2015)

Arcadio instead recognized his father as a true male breadwinner. He viewed his mother as the one who had done the additional work of raising them:

“Dad was the cornerstone of our family. He gave us everything. Mom just took care of us. Then she took care of my children as well. I lent her [Eva his mother] to Amelia, to take her to Belgium. It was a loan so Mom could help her with her children.”

(Arcadio, Son of a former Migrant Domestic Worker, Lima, Peru, 11-04-2015)

As seen earlier in the work of Plaza (2000), Eva partially challenged this gender translocation through her immigration as a flying grandmother. She migrated to follow her daughter in Belgium and support her with informal care duties. Indeed, this generation of senior women in the participant’s supports network wanted to provide their daughters with their care services so they could fully emancipate themselves and joins labor markets. In their narratives being far away could finally allow them to become someone other than a housewife. Nonetheless, in some instances, they too joined informal labor markets in Brussels. Eva also became a temporary informal domestic worker, in her own words “*helping people who need it a little help.*” The repertoire of mobility in their narratives is thus perceived as a way to accomplish their roles as caretakers in their daughters’ families. They see their immigration to Belgium as way of allowing their daughters to overcome their gender, racial and class translocations. These women had the expectation that in Belgium they could run the chance of marrying a white Belgian man with more modern principles. Since, they expected for them to be “*more modern like*”. They imagined them as men that could allow them to be both caretakers and formal actors in the labor market. This logic was again clearly visible in Eva’s narrative:

“I came to help her out. She [her daughter] told me: ‘Mom, Belgium isn’t like Peru. Here women are expected to work. I need help with my daughter. The daycare center is available but when she gets sick I need you.’ So, I came to help her. I too felt better because I was free for the very first time. I went out alone. I went to school to learn French. I had fantastic doctors.”

(Eva, Migrant Domestic Worker, Brussels, 04-05-2015)

Eva’s daughter Amelia has returned to Lima since. Eva is thus now in Lima and unlike the women mentioned in the previous chapter she receives a Peruvian pension and healthcare that were paid by the father of her two children. Eva was also given the Belgian citizenship and

she could technically be back in Brussels. She however wishes to remain close to her two children and grand children:

“You see we are doing fine. Now, that I’m here I do much less. Maria, my son’s wife is from the mountains. She brought her little cousins to work here. They do all of the housework. I have my little pension for my personal things. I got the Belgian nationality. They called me two days after I got here. But I mean I won’t go back, not now...

(Eva, former Migrant Domestic Worker, Lima, Peru, 29-05-2017)

The senior women in this chapter are in fact similar, as they have assumed the position of informal caretakers of their families. They expected to be incorporated in their home countries’ welfare regimes through the help of their families’ male breadwinners. They assumed the responsibilities that could not be assumed by their states. As highlighted by Juliana Martinez Franzoni (2008) they have been essential in Colombia and Peru, as they have filled in the gaps by informally taking care of their children, the elderly and the sick. They thus continue to organize or provide directly such care on a daily basis and even more in occasions of emergency, as we would see later on in this chapter. The need to provide care is not only informal for, as we have seen, such women also privilege the access to education of younger generations particularly of boys who would then become themselves the male breadwinners of their families. The last time I spoke to Eva, she seemed proud that her son Arcadio had assumed the financial care of his family network:

“María my daughter in law doesn’t work. She stays at home to take care of her children with me. Arcadio provides for everyone in the house. María’s cousins are employed in the house as the help. I supervise the children but don’t really do much. Arcadio is sort of like his father now.”

(Eva, Migrant Domestic Worker, Brussels, 04-05-2015)

Eva’s narrative resembles those of the mother’s of the remaining participants. Indeed, Zaida and Alejandra both expressed regret when talking about their mother’s choices to remain obedient to their male partners or to their male sons:

“I have been different than mom. She had 9 children. The first were all boys. She wanted a little girl who would take care of her later. I was the 9th child and the girl. I have been different than her. I only had my two girls. I split up from my partner. I went to school. I have worked my entire life. I provide for my children.”

(Zaida, former Migrant Domestic Worker, Brussels, 04-02-2015)

“My dad was a countryman with a lot of land. He got mom pregnant 8 times. She didn’t dare to say no. He was a good breadwinner. She couldn’t do anything. I guess for our own good. I have been different. I have made my own choices. I had two children. I worked. I left abroad.”

(Alejandra, Migrant Domestic Worker, Brussels, 21-10-2014)

The senior women’s translocations in working, welfare regimes in Colombia and Peru have been challenged by the immigration of their daughters as they either improved their positions or increased their sense of privilege (Anthias, 2008, 2016). Indeed, their daughters are no longer wholly dependent on their male partners or the father of their children. They instead as part of the younger generation left their homes and entered the global workplace in cities located across the Atlantic (Moreno-Figueroa, 2008). However, as highlighted earlier by Fog-Olwig (2006), on her ethnography of Caribbean family networks, both the stories of the initial participants and those of their senior mothers are constructed in parallel to the men in their families. It’s thus worth it to explore their position in the following section.

2.2. Men Inside Peruvian and Colombian, Working Welfare and Gender Regimes: “We, the Breadwinners”

Mestizo and Criollo men experience very different intersectional translocations in welfare and working regimes in their country of origin. As highlighted previously in chapter 1 by the work of Fernando Figueira (2005), these men were part of an urban elite that had the privilege of being permanent “*male bread-winners*”. They, unlike German and Domingo, presented in the last chapter had access to higher education. Their translocations as educated light-skinned man in Peru and Colombia helped them to avoid the consequences of fiscal austerity and neoliberal policies in the late 1990s (Cecchini & Martínez, 2011). They faced other issues as they tried to contest the political and economic systems but no one ever questioned their roles as male breadwinners. Aureliano a Colombian lawyer and former husband of an initial participant is an obvious example of such men. Amaranta and her family had told me that meeting him would be “*such an experience.*” Undeniably, Amaranta’s office in Brussels was a sanctuary of Aureliano’s memories. Amaranta often shared the stories he had written about their life in exile and pictures from those old days:

“Aureliano was such a handsome man. Those days were beautiful [while looking at his pictures]. You should meet him! You should definitely meet him! He has done a lot for

Colombia. I stood behind him. I took care of his children and sacrificed my career for his. I have always worked here but not as a teacher... I'm a teacher..."

(Amaranta, Migrant Domestic Worker, Brussels, 03-08-2015)

Aureliano had been an important character in Colombia's peace agreements and still held in his hands a lot of his fame. He was well recognized in Colombia, where journalist and writers had covered his story. Indeed, contrary to German and Domingo, in the previous chapters, Aureliano was a tall man with a confident presence. His presence evoked his role as a male breadwinner but also as a servant of his nation. Aureliano a light skin Mestizo of indigenous, Afro-Colombian and Spanish origins emphasized his capacity to stand out in his society. As I called him to meet up in Bogota, his secretary insisted that it was "*Dr. Aureliano!*" I was calling and not simply Aureliano. After, I waited for 40 minutes and went through various security checks; I finally made it to his office. His clothes were those of a remarkable man. His grey suit matched with his brown shoes. His hands gave away the only hints of mestizaje. He had large brown hands. He held them together, and a gold bracelet with an azabache a lucky charm typically used by Afro-Latino man adorned them. He unlike other mestizos had the privilege to obtain a higher education and had nearly risked his life for the peace in his country:

"We left to Belgium for political reasons. I left first. I had no other choice. I was waiting there for them. They had everything they needed. I sent them letters of invitations from prestigious institutions, visas everything. Around that time, she [his wife, Amaranta] kept getting calls threatening her. I was in Europe in an international Human Rights Conference. I had given a very important speech. I guess that was it... Maybe it was just fear... I would never know. The fight for human rights is mine. They are my family. They have nothing to do with it. My responsibility was to keep them safe. Amaranta was travelling with our two children and a daughter of mine from another marriage. They got there [Belgium] fine. I was anxious it was a nightmare to get an asylum. I eventually found a job doing human rights law, which I loved. We bought a house in Brussels. However, the hardest part was not finding a place in the Belgian society. I felt like all my compañeros [peers in the fight for human rights] were risking their lives in Colombia. So, once I knew they weren't safe I came back to Colombia."

(Aureliano, Ex-husband of a Migrant Domestic Worker, Bogotá, Colombia, 21-09-2015)

I asked Aureliano whether or not I could use the information he was sharing with me. Aureliano was sure to mention he had already risked enough. He mentioned sharing his story with an "*anthropologist*" was the least of his worries. In a fifty-minute life-story interview, he never allowed me to stop him. I struggle to call his attention over certain points that concern his former wife, Amaranta. Aureliano's immigration, his life, and family choices reflected his uncomfortable but privileged position in the Colombian society. In his memories about the Exile

he too recalls his humble origins, but differently than the others, he recalled his father a mestizo of white and indigenous origin who in his words gave him an “*an education and a social consciousness about the armed conflicts in Colombia.*” He also remembered the women in his family who although thought of as quiet had given him the choice to be someone else:

“I have been lucky to have an education. My aunt and dad were a part of these processes. They taught me everything I know.”

(Aureliano, Ex-husband of a Migrant Domestic Worker, Bogota, Colombia, 21-09-2015)

His role as lawyer as he pointed out prevented him from assuming the role of a caretaker for his children. He, unlike the other man described in chapter 5, didn't take the responsibility of physically caring for his children instead left this task in the hands of his former wife. Aureliano thus accommodate to the masculinity of middle age mestizo or white man in a city like Bogota (Viveros-Vigoya, 2016). Aureliano is the leader of his lawyer's bureau. He nonetheless, often travels to Belgium to visit his ex-wife and children.

Aureliano's story resonates with Arcadio's story. Arcadio is also a man in the participant's solidarity network. Arcadio is the eldest son and brother of two participants. In 1994, Arcadio finished studying Medicine and ever since he serves “*his people*” in Lima. He also works hard in the private health sector in Lima. Like Aureliano, Arcadio was a man committed to providing financially and morally for his family. He pays for his children's education. He covers his mother's private health insurance in Lima and any other immediate need in the household. He is married to Maria a woman who migrated from the mountains with her mother. He was proud to have saved Maria from poverty just like his father had saved his mother. I barely saw him. He worked day and night. I met him for the first times in a nearby hospital where he worked. Days later, Arcadio and I met at the family's beach house. His wife had invited me, but to him, it wasn't clear why I was there as well. Arcadio looked at me straight in the eyes and indirectly spoke to me:

“This young girl is your friend? [Asked his sister]. I see her going around with a little notebook [laughter]. You're here to look at us, as though we were ginnea pigs. We are sort of like an experiment for you? I'm kidding...”

(Arcadio, Son of Migrant Domestic Worker, Lima, 17-02-2015)

He then laughed for a few minutes. I justified myself as I held my notebook anxiously. I explained to him my migratory story and why I was doing such a study. His sister Amelia, whom I had met earlier in Brussels firmly told him “*We are in collaboration. I'm helping her and she is writing a book.*” To my unlucky favor, Arcadio mentioned my scholarly perspectives

impressed him. He was impressed that that my migration had been productive unlike his sister's. It wasn't until two months later that Arcadio finally shared his life story with me. We traveled down to Cuzco with my husband who was visiting in Lima. As the bus travelled from Lima to Cuzco, in between stops Arcadio spoke to me. Arcadio was impressed by my husband and had finally found a reason to trust me. He felt proud to share his story as a successful mestizo with me. He thought this would impress my European husband:

“See, what's your name [to my husband]? Now listen and you write this down lady for your book assignment [me]. Dad had a vision, a business in his mind and now he lives in sanity. He is going to be a happy old man! In our family he left the most important legacy to live by example and give to our children in order to receive. I bought the house from my aunt who was the initial owner. We live in the house but my dad was paying a rent to my aunt. We are now building a room downstairs for both of my parents even though Dad is almost never home. I work hard for my children, for my parents and for my family overall. I never had any plans to leave abroad. I work hard. I have everything I need. When my sister left we thought it was for the better. She left because she knew it would be hard to find a husband here. I mean you see how she is always doing her thing. She never listens. Anyhow, this is who I'm. I'm a family man!”

(Arcadio, Brother and Son of a Migrant Domestic Worker, Lima's highway to Cuzco, Peru, 03-04 2015)

Aureliano and Arcadio's narrative also echoes with Génaro Robles narrative. Génaro was Zaida Robles' brother. Génaro was once a military man. He had given up his career to financially and logistically manage the care of his parents, once his sisters migrated. He was now a taxi driver. He was proud of the house he built for his children but felt incomplete for leaving his career. Génaro had experience what he considered was the ultimate of worst of evils. On his deathbed, his father had put him in charge of his mother's care:

“Son, I want you to take care of your mother. Please never leave her alone.”

(Génaro, brother of a former migrant domestic worker, Lima, Peru; 23-02-2015)

Génaro felt his father's call was the biggest burden. He out of 8 male brothers had to become his mother's provider. He had married a white woman from Arequipa and had three daughters. He thought his responsibility was with his wife and children. He resented his sisters migrating and leaving him alone with a duty that was not for a man. Instead, he had hired a caretaker and made his sister abroad pay for it as much as possible:

“I buy food and diapers. The least they can do is to send money to pay Paloma. Paloma is nice but she is not her daughter. Mom needs them. What a mess! I'm telling you...”

(Génaro, Brother of a former Migrant Domestic Worker, Lima, Peru; 23-02-2015)

In Aureliano', Arcadio's and Genaro's narratives one finds their values of hard work in the professional environments of their cities of origin. These narratives coincide with the historical remarks of Mestizo and Criollo men that since colonial times have had to prove their masculinity and worth by showing they could be just as good economic providers and professional as European and western men (Oliart, 1996). The informal protection they provide in their families is shown through their financial investment and their willingness to strategically solve emergency situations. Indeed, they perceive international mobilities as repertoires of strategies played out by the women in their families in times of emergency or as an act of rebellion not to comply with gender social norms. These views were best summarized by Arcadio's jokes about his sister immigration:

“Does anyone know why Amelia left on the first place? No one, can take a guess? I sure do know. No fool in this country of God would have married her! I put my hands on fire!”

(Arcadio, Son and Brother of two former Migrant Domestic Workers, Lima, Peru, 12-05- 2015)

The role of these men has been to assure their families private access to healthcare and education. Indeed, in states like Peru and Colombia the public budget for social protection was rather low in the 1990s decade. In, the 1990s Peru only dedicated 2.0% of their national budget to social protection, while Colombia did only slightly better with only 6% of their national budget dedicated to social protection (Lavigne, 2013: 12, Mina-Rosero, 2013:9). They thus perceived their gender locations as providers of official protection through their financial investment. They find themselves able to do so as they have stable positions in labor markets and are comfortable enough to do so. The men in this chapter hence Aureliano, Arcadio, and Genaro shared gender, class, racial and generational translocations. These translocations, however, were partially challenged by the immigration of the women in their families (Anthias, 2016). Indeed, as their sisters and mothers, the initial participants migrated; they too became employed individuals with a financial capital of their own. Thus, through the following section, I trace their translocations inside the migratory, working and welfare regime of European states like Belgium.

3. Women Translocated in European Working, Welfare, Gender Care and Migration Regimes: *“Unenthusiastically Professional Caregivers”*

As I went around Brussels looking for participants, I attended a forum for victims of the Colombian armed conflict. The forum ended while some of us were in tears and mourning the injustice of war. I moved forward to talk to Amaranta a woman whose story had resonated in my ears. Amaranta was in the middle 50s. She was a short woman with bright blonde hair. Her smile gave me the confidence to talk to her. I introduced myself as a sociologist doing a study about Colombian women. Weeks went by, and finally, we scheduled a meeting in her family home. Unlike the other women I had interviewed earlier, Amaranta lived in a famous commune in the suburbs of Brussels. Amaranta had a family house of her own, where she lived with her two children and her elderly mother.

As with every first interview, my stomach always played infamous tricks. Her house was that of any middle-class family in Latin American. The house reminded me of similar houses I had seen in my childhood in Caracas. The living room had wooden furniture. The walls were filled with pictures of previous generations each lighter than the others. The pictures that stood out were those of family members with more luminous skin complexion and green eyes. The entrances then lead to a kitchen where we sat to have coffee. Amaranta seemed ready for the interview and insisted we went up to her office. She proudly told me she loved to write and teach Spanish:

“This office is my little temple. This is where I become another woman. I write. I plan the lessons I will do with the kids I take care of. I read my books. I feel at new again.”

(Amaranta, Migrant Domestic Worker, Brussels, 3-08-2015)

Slowly, as she educated me into her life story, Amaranta couldn't hold her tears of joy and sadness. She held joy and satisfaction but also pain. She had managed to stand out all of these years in Belgium thanks to her ethnic white appearance and her education. She had also become just another Colombian migrant in the domestic sector:

“I'm a Spanish teacher. I graduated from the National University in Colombia. I love to teach. Here I used to teach in a program for Spanish students in Flemish schools but that stopped. Then, thanks to a friend I was referred to Spanish European commissioners who

needed help with their children. I never really stopped teaching and that's what has kept me going. I did a master's in international development but later I discovered the master's could only be used in the country of origin. I obviously because of safety reasons couldn't travel back to Colombia."

(Amaranta, Migrant Domestic Worker, Brussels, 03-08-2015)

Amaranta's remorse became stronger as we spoke about the career she could have had in Colombia if her husband had never joined the peace social movement as a lawyer. Amaranta did not tell me on our first meeting that she was a full-time migrant domestic worker. It was in our second meeting that she revealed that like other women of her nationality she also cleaned for a living. Additionally, she also worked with the voucher scheme system:

"I told you I taught Spanish, right? Well sometimes I occasionally have to clean houses. I mean... I needed to supplement my income since I'm alone here. The kids' father helps them. Now, my son also works but still. I like to feel independent and free. At first he [her husband] could not stand the thought of us cleaning he would tell me 'We are professional people in our country. We are not here to clean their mess.' He had a hard time accepting that things changed. He went crazy. He eventually left to work there [to Colombia] as a lawyer. I kept cleaning to gain my freedom. I kept cleaning. So, that I wouldn't have to ask him for anything."

(Amaranta, Migrant Domestic Worker, Brussels, 03-08-2015)

Alejandra, another participant in this chapter, came to Belgium also as a political refugee. Alejandra had also been a French and Spanish teacher in Colombia. However, unlike Amaranta she continues to recognize herself as an activist. She was conscious that the difficulties she experienced in Belgium were a consequence of her choices in Colombia. Alejandra is also employed in the voucher scheme system on a part-time basis.

"I always fought for freedom. I'm a rebel. I'm not afraid to say it. I'm not going to lie. I always thought coming here would be temporary. I only wanted safety for my children. Eventually things never got better in Colombia. We stayed. I tried looking for jobs but my diplomas were never fully recognized. I made my choice to remain an activist. I clean but because I need to eat otherwise I would have done a job that dignified more who I was...."

(Alejandra, Migrant Domestic Worker Brussels, 21-10-2014)

Unlike Amaranta and Alejandra, Amelia another participant had access to Belgium through a family invitation. Her auntie, Carmela who was married to a Belgian man, facilitated this. Amelia moved to Brussels for different reasons. In her narrative, one sensed a need to empower herself from patriarchal structures of power. She had to become independent from her

father and brother. She first entered Belgium with a tourist visa and eventually married Patrick, the man who by the perks of destiny became her ticket to at least a temporary success:

“I asked aunty Carmela if she could help me come. I told her Mamita [her grandmother] was sick. She had to come and see her. Mamita left us... In the middle of the funeral I discretely told her I needed to leave Lima. I needed to become independent. I needed to be a ‘first world woman’ like those you see in the movies, working and taking care of their families. In Lima, I would have always depended on my father. My girl cousins they were all waiting to get married and have a husband that will take care of them. I just couldn’t. I’m not like them! I had to leave and see life for myself. I didn’t want to depend on my father and even less on another man...”

(Amelia, former Migrant Domestic Worker, Brussels, 25-05-2014)

Amelia, unlike Amaranta and Alejandra, instead filed for family reunification as she married a Belgian man who in her family’s eyes became the perfect partner. As she obtained her citizenship, Amelia expected to become more than just another Peruvian woman working in the domestic sector of Europe’s capital:

“When I got there [to Belgium, Brussels] I said to myself: “O.K this is temporary, Amelia!” I worked for my aunties’ family-in-law. They were Belgian. At first they were like: ‘Just take care of the baby’ and suddenly it was ‘could you please take care of the entire house?’. So I stopped working there. My auntie didn’t like how they treated me. Then I married Patrick. I became legal. I still worked as a domestic worker but now formally. I was happy. I had all of my rights but somehow I felt stupid. I was losing all my intellectual capacities... I tried to go back to school but they treated me as though I was illiterate... The woman at the university was like: ‘Have you gone to kindergarten?’ I was like sure and she was like: ‘if you didn’t study here in Belgium it doesn’t count unless we validated it first.’ I felt awful though! I was literately turning into a stupid person. I had no memory. I mean manual jobs turn you into an idiot... My health was deteriorating as well. I ironed 20 shirts per hour...”

(Amelia, former Migrant Domestic Worker, Lima, 28-03-2015)

The main participants in this chapter despite their differences in migratory trajectories had one thing in common. They were all Belgian citizens. As Belgian citizens they knew they had rights to at least, public holidays, weekends, sick leaves, healthcare and possibly a social assistance pension in the event that they couldn’t accumulate enough years to obtain a contributive one. While in Belgium they all remained employed in the voucher scheme system but were however well aware of their rights to public social protection resources:

“I did everything myself since I came. I went to go look for daycares and French lessons. I mean my husband had various contacts and they helped. However, my willingness to learn French helped a good deal. Now, I help other women. I’m telling you! We need to help you become a citizen. Once that happens you would be free.”

(Amaranta, Migrant Domestic Worker, Brussels, 21-10-2014)

“I knew how to get around. I did my nationality when it was still three years. I got it done because one never knows. I didn’t want to depend on any man. I wanted my papers and now that gives me the freedom to be mobile.”

(Amelia, former Migrant Domestic Worker, Brussels, 02-03-2015)

They, however, also had access to vast networks of informal support in the country of origin. Their brothers, fathers and former partners would provide for them economically. They would be able to buy formal social protection in the private sectors. Additionally, they enjoyed the informal solidarity of their aging mothers whom at the time when family reunification was still possible came to Belgium to assure their work-life balance. In Belgium’s conservative welfare state with a moderate male breadwinner model having access to such supports became key to their strategies (Lewis, 1992). They worked full time in the domestic sectors while at home their mothers offered their reliable care for their children:

“Mom came to help me with Valeria and Anthony. Otherwise, I could have never done it. She worked on her free time. I mean the daycare was there but whenever they got sick... I couldn’t do it on my own! Imagine you get 1200 euros full time in the voucher system and a day care is more or less 500 euros a month... It was either I brought my mother over or I stopped working. My brother lends her to me. She used to help him and his wife.”

(Amelia, former Migrant Domestic Worker, Lima, Peru, 25-05-2014)

“Mom has been key for everything. Once she came I felt at home. We had a family. She would cook and clean. I would go out to get our daily bread. She did everything I couldn’t do. I would never be able to pay her back.”

(Amaranta, Migrant Domestic Worker, Brussels, 21-10-2014)

Zaida, the last main participant in this chapter, didn’t have such luck since her mother preferred to stay in the country of origin while caring for her other grandchildren. Zaida had first migrated to Italy where she took care of older patients who would too often fall in love with her. Zaida nonetheless tolerated the pressure and eventually became an Italian citizen. Finally, Zaida managed to step out of domestic work as she studied to become a nurse in Italy. In 2012 Zaida migrated onwards to Brussels where at first she became a voucher scheme worker but eventually got her education recognized and began working as a registered nurse. I witness

Zaida's transition from domestic labor to formal care work as nurse and the ambiguity of having to let go of such position for the sake of her aging mother:

“I have been through a lot. I have achieved so much. My two daughters are well-behaved girls. In spite of the fact, that my former husband was a good for nothing. The oldest is already going to the University here. The youngest is a great student. I might have to go though because my brothers cannot take care of mom. They stole my money and made my life impossible...”

(Zaida, former Migrant Domestic Worker, Brussels, 4-02-2015)

While witnessing the trajectories of these four women one might think they were always challenging their gender, class and ethnic translocations. However, although they all managed to regularize their status in Belgium, their narratives also gives a testimony of the downward social mobility they experienced due to the non-recognition of their university-level education. This took place in spite of the support of instructed family members, NGOs and other official institutions to regularize their status as political refugees or family members of European Union Citizens. They continue to live inside welfare and working regime stratified in much more than simply between those who had a legal status and those that did not. This finding complements the work of Morris (2003) and Kraler (2010) and their views on the civic stratification of social rights. As highlighted in chapter one, civic stratification concerns how states create migration and welfare states policies, which condition differently individuals' access to social protection, depending on their gender, class, and ethnicity. Here, however I go one step further by showing how this macro civic stratification of rights happens at the macro level of policies but also at a more micro level of relations inside the participants' families. They thus quickly access the labor market, but in spite of their credentials they became in their words as “*professional caretakers*.” Notwithstanding their unhappiness with their unchallengeable translocations as “*professional caregivers*” in Europe's capital and their knowledge of Belgium's working-welfare regulations gave them a privileged access to formal social protection resources. Alejandra the fourth participant in this chapter captured this ambiguity in her words:

“We are good for many things. We are educated. We know why we are here. Yet we continue to be the ones who clean after the others...”

(Alejandra, Migrant Domestic Worker, Brussels, 21-10-2014)

Irrespective, the participants in this chapter learned how to navigate through these translocations as they put to use repertoires of strategies that were similar to those presented in the previous chapter. Through the next sections, they will take us through such repertoires.

4. Sporadic Global Social Protection Arrangement: We Help Each Other Sometimes

4.1. Mobility: Moving Towards Empowerment

Housing, Health Care and Education

The airplane that travels from Spain to Peru is a fieldwork of relations in itself (Fog-Olwig, 2006). One cannot help but to overhear the stories told in the 12 hours trip. The talks revolve around filthy relatives who take advantage of migrants, the adventure of going back, the nerves and the anxiety of visiting family and friends after an extended waiting period. Indeed, the 12-hour trip is always an exhausting experience. Additionally, as a woman traveling alone to a Latin American capital, one is always anxious and filled with expectations. One always thinks about the possibility of being robbed by the immigration police officer or by other individuals. After, those unbearable 12 hours, one finally makes it through immigration controls. I had my initial participants' family members waiting for me there. Indeed, as I stepped into the airport waiting area, I went desperately looking for Amelia. Amelia is the daughter of an initial participant and a former migrant domestic worker herself. I walked through the entire airport twice with my three bags filled with gifts that migrants had asked me to bring to their relatives. Some, of the participants, had told me stories about the police checking bags and taking away most of your things, especially if you were a woman alone. I finally recognized Amelia in the crowded airport hall. She was standing there with the taximan. She hugged me and mentioned we would get to my rented flat in no time:

“How much are you paying for rent? You should stay there two weeks and then come live with us. The house is my father's house. He doesn't live there but we all do. My brother runs the house with his wife and kids. We have an extra room. You will be with us already and it will be good.”

(Amelia, former Migrant Domestic Worker, Lima, Peru; 13-02-2015)

The Olivardes' family lived in Miraflores a distinguished neighborhood in the city. Their house was old and was attached to two other houses.



Figure 11: Eva and Amelia Olivarde's Family House, Picture Taken by Amelia Olivarde, May 11th 2017

The entrance had wood looking like tiles, and the family table was immense. The table reflected the many members of Eva's and Amelia family network. The following figure shows such network with its members through time and space:

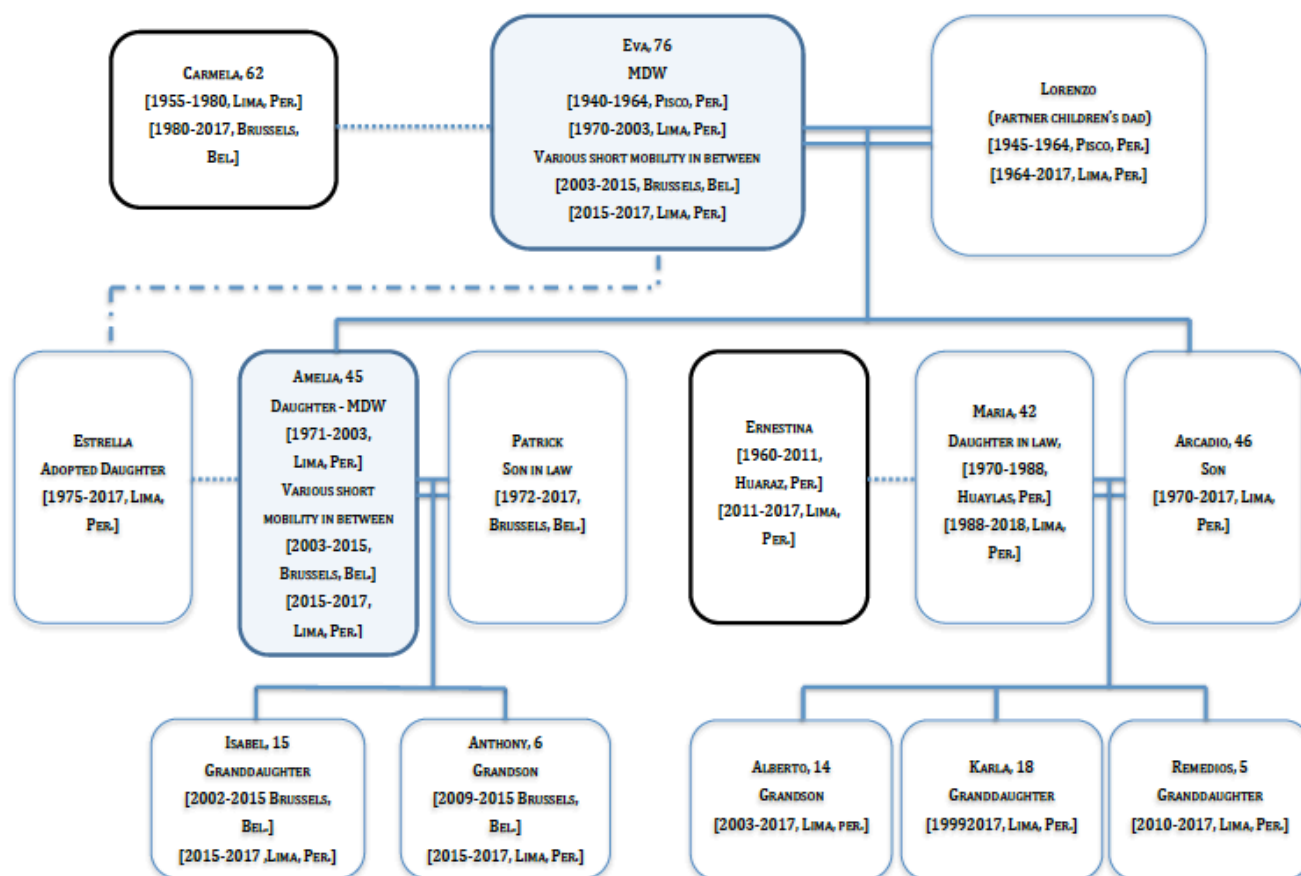


Figure 12: Eva and Amelia Olivardes' Support and Family Network³⁸

The table also was there to attest of Lorenzo's presence. Lorenzo was my main participant's former partner and the father of her children. Indeed, he bought the wood from abroad. As one entered the house, it was surprising to be received by their two domestic workers. These two girls were somehow related to the family. At first, Ernestina opened the heavy wooden doors. As one stepped in Estrellita, the second servant served fresh juice and bread. They had both arrived from the province at an early age in search for an education in Lima. Both girls were thankful to their family members for the opportunity and kept the house immaculately clean. The house was the family's patrimony and the place Lorenzo had recuperated from a sister of his:

"Lorenzo has always told Eva and all of us what to do. We told him we wanted to buy a house somewhere else and he told us 'How are you kids going to buy a house elsewhere? What's going to happen with Eva?' Lorenzo has this idea that the entire family has to be

³⁸ For the detailed legend, please see page 226.

under the same roof. He thinks we have to care and protect Eva always. Lorenzo first paid a rent to his sister. Later, we bought the house from Lorenzo's sister. It was a big deal the house had a mortgage and we didn't know. We did it though and now this is everyone's place."

(Maria, Daughter in law of a former Migrant Domestic Worker, Lima, Peru, 06-05 2015)

The house was a patrimony the family acquired as Lorenzo negotiated it with his sister. Lorenzo, unlike the men presented in the previous chapter, had managed to be a male breadwinner. Eva, his former partner and my initial participant, had never actually agreed with his choices, but she seemed happy that he had given his children an absolute stability in life:

"I never really got married. This señor [sir] followed me everywhere in Lima. I was twenty-five years old. I'm from Pisco. I came to Lima as a young girl. I remember we once went to visit my uncle in Pisco who is 103 years old. My uncle proudly told him 'You robbed my favorite niece'. Certainly, he did. He took me away! When I least expected he got me pregnant. I had those two kids. He told me I should stop working and take care of the children. I didn't really have much family to help me out back in Lima. I had already bought a house in Lima with my sister. I was ready to be independent but he took me away."

(Eva, former Migrant Domestic Worker, Brussels, 05-06-2015)

Eva always seemed unhappy. Her eyes longed with a type of sadness that seemed to be an accumulated one. However, she was always key to mention Lorenzo had given her three essential things: the education of her children, her pension and the healthcare she enjoyed in Lima:

"I have a pension that's partly because I worked a few years in Lima but mostly because Lorenzo kept paying for it. Thanks to that pension I have access to healthcare. I guess I should have saved more of the money he gave me. I should have paid more for another private pension. I would have had a better pension but one never thinks of it."

(Eva, former Migrant Domestic Worker, Brussels, 05-06 2015)

Eva's mobility from Pisco had served to secure access to former social protection resources for her and her children. In this sense, international migration only gave her a choice to enhance the possibilities to access various other forms of social protections such as healthcare and education of her children, in a different context. As she migrated to Brussels to help her daughter with the informal care of her children, Eva acquired new informal ways of feeling cared for as well as formal resources that complemented her arrangement. This transition is clearly described by Eva's daughter, Amelia:

“Mom first came for a few months in 2005 when I got married. In 2006 she came back again and stayed three more months. I had Isabel my first daughter back then. I told her it was best for her to come back when Isabel had a few more months. I started working so she could help me out. I didn’t have a daycare... It’s hard to find one in Brussels. I had my papers because I married Patrick but still... But then an emergency occurred in Lima and she left for a little while. Regardless mom left and then came back. I managed to fix all of her papers. I went to the commune. I got informed. I also had help from another lady from an NGOs my aunt knew about.”

(Amelia, daughter of a former Migrant Domestic Worker, Lima, 02-03-2015)

Amelia, Eva’s daughter who had recently come back to Lima, was always prompt to remind me that she had arranged for her mother’s immigration to be a perfect experience. She always pointed out her mother unlike other Peruvian women in Brussels would have access to every formal social protection resource except for a pension:

“I had to work and paying the daycare was too expensive. So, I arranged for mom to come. The lady told me if she did the paperwork from Peru she would have to wait three months. So, I requested the appointment after she was already here. She came with a tourist Visa. I sent her a letter to invite her for Isabel’s [Eva’s granddaughter] baptism, which was actually true... In Brussels she then had access to health care and everything. She loved the Belgian doctors. She thought they were somehow superior. She never had a pension though. They told us she should live a separate place to get her pension. We would have had to pay 500 euros in rent and in top of that be split up. I also have never been an abuser of the system.”

(Amelia, Daughter of a Migrant Domestic Worker, Lima, Peru; 02-03 2015)

The family choices to move and play out strategies to access social protection seemed to be a process full of logical steps. Amelia and Eva, however, were proud that women in their solidarity networks were there to protect and empower each other. In a parallel way this narrative was only possible as they described the help they had received from certain men in their networks of support. Eva had acquired a status in Lima thanks to her husband, Amelia her daughter had later been helped to migrate by Eva’s sister but had permanently stayed in Belgium thanks to her Belgian husband. The last strategy involved in protecting her family was Eva’s acceptance of her daughter’s decision to return to Lima to find a better treatment for her son’s Attention Deficit Disorder. The following quote expresses how she felt right before her return:

“I liked it a lot here in Brussels. I have even worked. I had an informal day care here at the house. Her friends would bring me their children from time to time. She [her daughter] also gave me houses to clean. I had my own little bit of money. Meanwhile in Lima, Maria [her

daughter-in-law] kept saving my pension for when I went there. I was free here. I could go out. I could take the bus. I attended Tai-Chi classes and had friends. I went back to school to learn French. But Anthony [her grandchild] needs me too. In two weeks I'm supposed to become Belgian. Ya [Peruvian Spanish expression to express the completion of a fact or situation]! I know Arcadio [her son] will take care of us, just like his father did."

(Eva, Migrant Domestic Worker, Brussels, 05-06-2015)

In my last visit to the Olivardes' residency in Lima things had changed quiet much. Amelia, Eva's daughter, no longer had plans to become an entrepreneur as she had once commented in my first trip to Lima. She was now investing in the care of her children while receiving cash transfers through remittances from her husband who was still living and working in Brussels. Patrick and Amelia had decided on a separate living arrangement, while the children were still of school age. They nonetheless remained a married couple from afar. Amelia had taken advantage of Patrick's remittances to invest in paying private insurances that assured both her and her children:

"We are doing well here. The children are happy and I think that's super important. Patrick sends me 1200 euros a month. He is working a lot. He knows I take good care of his children. Anthony's medicines and treatment are expensive but definitely of a better quality here. It's about 100 euros per month just on cognitive and behavioral therapy. The psychiatrist who gives medication is cheaper because she is a cousin of mine. The neurological specialist for children is also a friend of Arcadio [her brother]. I'm also paying 400 euros a month for schooling. The insurances are also expensive. I pay 400 yearly for an oncological insurance that would cover me if I had cancer. I can also have a general check up every year. If I need any other medical services I just have to ask Arcadio. I also pay another health insurance that's about 50 euros a month, for hospitalization. The kids are also safe at least while they are in school. I pay 100 euros yearly for a school health and accident insurance. Last year, Isabel [her daughter] was hit by a ball in school. I took her to the clinic and everything worked out. See, things aren't perfect here but I have got means. Dad is also giving me around 300 euros a month. I guess the sad thing is that I haven't been able to be the business woman I wanted to be."

(Amelia, Daughter of a former Migrant Domestic Worker, Lima, Peru; 01-05-2017)

Eva herself didn't say much this time around except that she was on top of all her grandchildren so they would obtain an education. Just with her pension and while living with her son she had a comfortable life. She had to give Amelia, a part of the old house she owned in a less privileged neighborhood and was herself living with Arcadio, his wife Maria and their children. As such Eva expressed her desire to stay in Lima:

“I got my Belgian nationality. They called me two days after I left. So, I have wanted to go and see at the embassy. My son doesn’t want me to go though. He tells me: ‘what for momma? We are all here now!’ No one has to go!’ So, I let it be. Here I feel O.K. I was sick but I had the best doctors who took care of me. Arcadio is always making sure that I’m doing O.K. He is a doctor. He is the man I expected him to be.”

(Eva, former Migrant Domestic Worker, Lima, Peru; 01-05-2017)

Through the last days of my trip, I also met with Lorenzo in the family’s coastal hometown Pisco. This was our first encounter and perhaps our last one. Amelia insisted that we traveled down there at nighttime to say hello to her father. Amelia explained Lorenzo had hotels and casinos all over town. She was aiming to make them more productive. She wanted to provide the language knowledge she had acquired in Europe. However, Lorenzo still thought it was the boys particularly those who didn’t go to school who should be involved. As my last trip to Lima ended, Amelia drove me to the airport, and I asked whether or not this mobility that had allowed the family to gain access to education, healthcare, housing, and pensions will continue to be in the family’s tradition. In simpler terms whether or not she or Eva would move back to Brussels in the near future. She scrubbed her eyes and a little tear appeared. She laughed nervously to hide her sadness as she usually does:

“Neither in Brussels nor in here in Lima, have I been able to be who I wanted to be. I studied to be a teacher but that’s just because mom thought it was a great idea. I didn’t think so. I’m saving a bit of money with what Patrick [her husband] sends to open up a beauty spa. I tried looking for a job here but I’m old already... I would go back to Brussels if I knew I would have my own employment there. There I was just another migrant domestic worker and my brain was shrinking. I promise you. I was turning slow. They never valued my education there or anything. Here [Lima] is the fact of being a woman that complicates things. People can’t understand why my husband isn’t here. We are O.K though you see my brother works a lot and their house is spotless. They have two nannies. I myself have Estrellita [her cousin], who has issues but she helps a lot!”

(Amanda, daughter of a former Migrant Domestic Worker, Lima, Peru; 01-05-2017)

Both Eva and her daughter Amelia, stand in a network of solidarity that has built the mechanisms to access social protection formally. In the city of Brussels formal rights such as healthcare access, the right to accumulate for a pension, and unemployment benefits were obtained in public institutions and facilitated by Amelia’s work in the formal sector of domestic labor. However, her status was gained through her marriage with which she considered her “*Belgian man*.” As Amelia and her mother, Eva moved back to Lima their support is now obtained and paid in the private sector thanks to the contributions of their male breadwinners.

Amelia's pride, however, is to have inherited her mother's place as the organizer of a family life, a position she considered rather key:

“Uncle Rafael is really sick. He doesn't need us economically but physically to be there. So, you have seen me running around calling everyone to organize a visit. That kind of thing is my duty. I'm just like mom in a way. I wished I could have been more like dad, a business man but ya...”

(Amelia, Daughter of a former Migrant Domestic Worker, Lima, Peru, 01-05-2017)

Forced Mobility While Striving for Education

Alejandra always went around in Brussels with her youngest son. She was proud to introduce him to people. The Figure here below, points out to Alejandra's network of support:

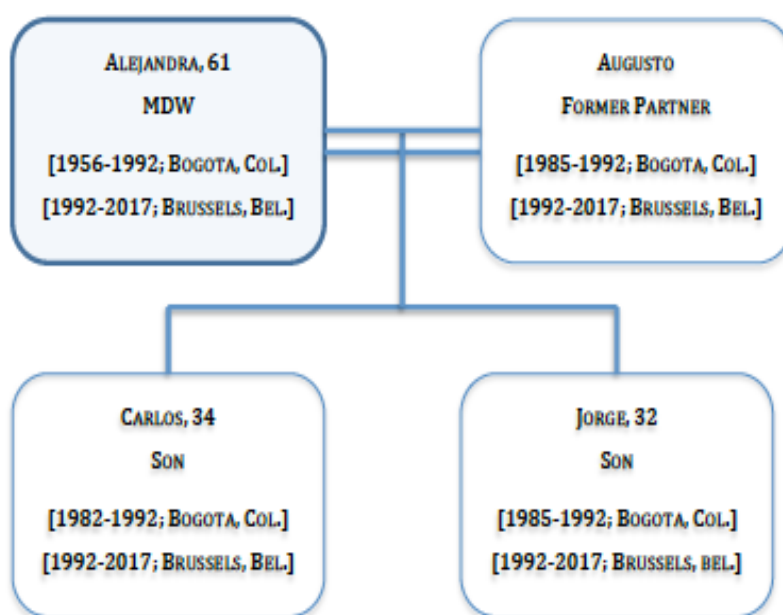


Figure 13, Alejandra Gonzalez' Support and Family Network³⁹

Alejandra always made sure to explain that he only had a technical education for, regardless of her efforts, other mechanisms of discrimination had kept him from receiving a higher education. Certainly, the women in this chapter have perhaps one aspiration in common that is to offer their children with an education whether in their countries of residence or origin.

³⁹ For the detailed legend, please see page 226.

Unfortunately, at times their wish is sometimes conditioned by the new translocations they obtained in the city of Brussels as female migrant domestic workers. Alejandra was one of those participants that insisted on giving her children the best education possible while in Brussels:

“I was a French and Spanish teacher in Colombia. My family didn’t have many resources either but they invested in our education. We had a better chance than others. I wanted the same for my children. I didn’t want them to be like the parentless children who have migrant parents abroad and never do anything. I wanted them here with me. We were lucky to come together. When I first came I was ignorant on many things. I sent them to school. My youngest child was 7. He went to school and I never got a letter for a meeting or anything. I thought this was weird and he didn’t say anything either. At the end of the year I realized he had been in a special program called ‘transition’. So he wasn’t really completing an academic grade but more like learning French.”

(Alejandra, migrant domestic worker, Brussels, 21-10-2014)

Alejandra tried everything from tutoring at home to sending him to private tutors. However, Jorge her son was never fully able to catch up. Still, through his mothers’ insistence, he was able to become an engineer:

“My child ends up going to kindergarten instead of the 2nd grade. Can you imagine? Imagine, that actually happened to me a well educated woman. I mean for other people who are less educated it must be hell! I mean worst things happen to them. From there on the teachers told him: ‘This kid is going to a technical school!’ He won’t do well at the university level.’ See, it’s this kind of discrimination that makes it impossible for us to move on. I had to go to the ministry of education and file a complaint. Now he is an engineer. I’m proud of him. However, I’m also sad. I hear these stories way too often sometimes from people who aren’t able to do much. I mean they must think our brains are undeveloped or less developed than European brains. Then they want to complain that immigration leaves a bunch of worthless people”

(Alejandra, Migrant Domestic Worker, Brussels, 21-10-2014)



Figure 14: Alejandra, profile, sent by herself on March 2016

Alejandra's youngest son did not acquire a university education, but he completed a technical degree at a community college. Various times in our informal conversations Carlos, mentioned his graphic design knowledge led him to help his mother in her fight for human rights. Alejandra's wish for both of her children to have a higher education did not ultimately come true. However, she takes pride in the fact that her mobility was able to not only keep the family safe but also granted them with security and wellbeing. Unlike, the children of the women in the previous chapter, both Carlos and Jorge, Alejandra's children were now employed in Brussels, and served Alejandra as a sign that she had indeed made the right choices.

4.2. Remittances: Being There for Each Other Sometimes

Immediate and Punctual Health Care Access

Amaranta Nogales loved to show her family photos. Below is a picture that illustrates one of the afternoons we spent looking at them.



Figure 15: Amaranta showing pictures in her family home, September 2015

Indeed, as we witness her story, she insisted that I spend hours with her looking through them. In the pictures were Amaranta's networks of support, which are exemplified in the following figure.

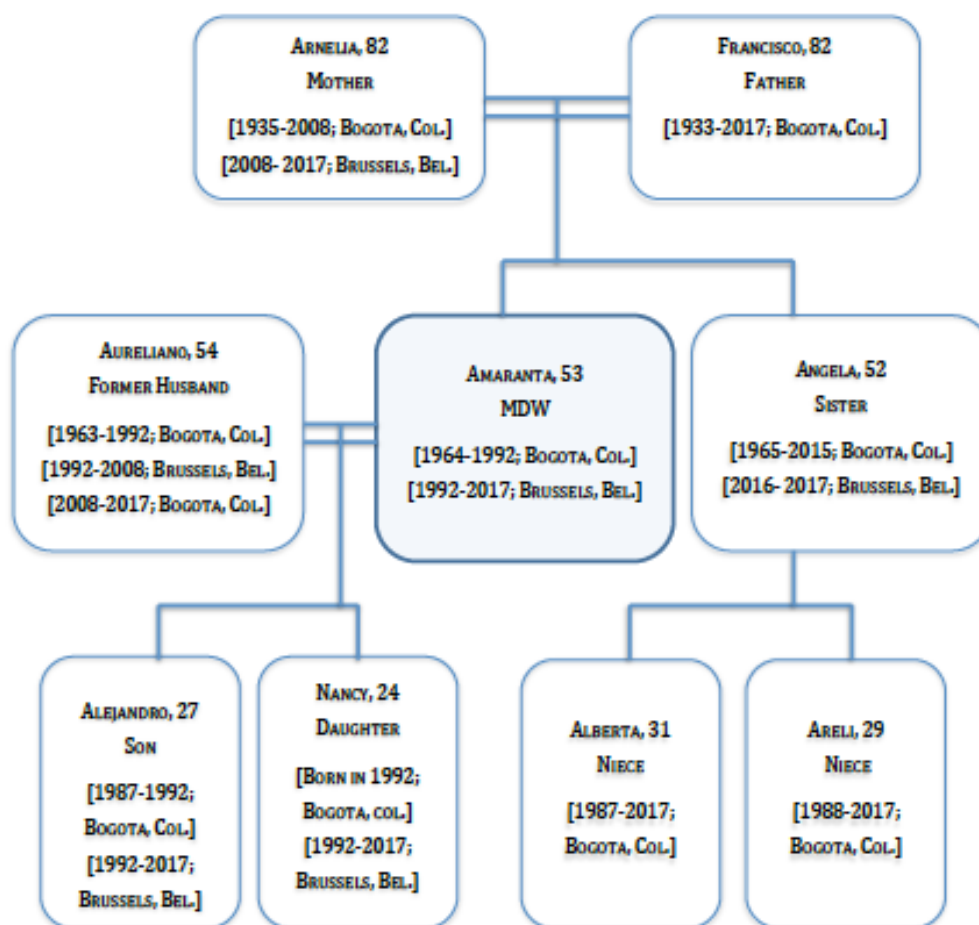


Figure 16: Amaranta Nogaes' Support and Family network⁴⁰

While looking through the pictures she always pointed out to her two nieces. They were her sister's daughters. Back in Bogota, she felt an extraordinary commitment towards them. Amaranta never sent money regularly. However, whenever an extreme emergency hit them, she would help them. In fact, remittances have always been talked about in the literature on migration and family studies as an essential income necessary for the family's survival (Bocagni, 2015, Parrenas, 2005). However, for families of participants like Amaranta remittances aren't necessarily a resource required for the family's survival. They do however assure access to healthcare in times of extreme emergency. They emerged whenever the formal access to healthcare in the country of origin wasn't enough to cope with sickness related

⁴⁰ For the detailed legend, please see page 226.

unemployment. Remittances also as we would see in the following quote are part of what Mahler et al. (2015) called the imaginative work of “*doing family*” from afar:

“It’s not that they always need us. However, sometimes things can get ugly. I mean they work in Colombia and they have decent chances but sometimes emergencies happen. For example, last year one of my nieces had a car accident. They don’t have unemployment benefits or sick leaves in Colombia. So she got the treatment she needed but then she needed support to recover. So, we sent 50 euros monthly for six months. At another point I sent a little for an auntie that died. We sent money to pay for the flower arrangements at the church. This for me is a part of being there and keeps me being a part of the family. I’m not like other people I see here that they absolutely need to send money. I have never worked so hard...”

(Amaranta, Migrant Domestic Worker, Brussels, 21-10-2014)

Remittances nonetheless, also guaranteed the solidarity of other female family members. As Amaranta’s mother became ill, her sister Angela who she had helped before stepped in to help. She was ready to support her sister by moving to Belgium and help her with the informal care of their ageing mother:

“I have always worked here [in Bogotá]. I don’t earn millions but as a secretary I earn a decent salary. Mom split up with dad because he kept going around starting trouble... So, mom went back to her hometown and became rather poor. Amaranta was conscious of that and took her to Belgium. She has always known the right kind of people there [In Belgium]. She eventually got family reunification for her [her mother, Arnelia]. Eventually she became a citizen and now she asked to bring me there. I also obtained my nationality two months ago. Eventually I would leave. I want to be there for Amaranta. I want to help her with mom...”

(Angela, Sister of a Migrant Domestic Worker, Bogotá, Colombia, 19-09-2015)

Remittances, for Amaranta’s family network, secured access to resources such as Health Care in times of emergency. They also however, also assure the informal solidarity of other female family members who felt it was their need to be reciprocal. They nonetheless, become core whenever the formal resources of protection family members have in the country of origin aren’t able to cover the needs. This is the case of Amaranta’s niece who remained unemployed for a short period and in need of treatment to cover for her therapy after the accident. In this sense, as shown by Amaranta’s sister family reunification, mobility beyond remittances is a desired strategy. Since, in their logic this would allow them to obtain professional long-term care in Europe:

“I sent her [her sister] money once to get a scan for hypothyroidism. She went through but the doctors they never told her anything... She then lost her job. She had a business with her husband and he divorced her. She used to be his secretary and really an entrepreneur. She held the business together but you know how it is... Now she will be able to come here and have the opportunity to get access to free treatment. The doctors here will also be more reliable.”

(Amaranta, Migrant Domestic Worker, Brussels, 31-08-2015)

Long Term Care of Older Generations

Saturday mornings in Lima, are always hectic. The city’s traffic is always an unbearable torture. Individuals traveling from south to north in the city, make out of the buses a box filled with overly heated human beings. Families from the slums are mostly looking for shopping centers, super markets or recreational activities for their children. On a morning as such, I took the bus to go down from Pachacamac where I had been staying with another family to go down to Chorillos, near Barranco. Chorillos was the neighborhood where I would meet Zaida Robles’ networks of support. The following figure in the following page retakes her network of support.

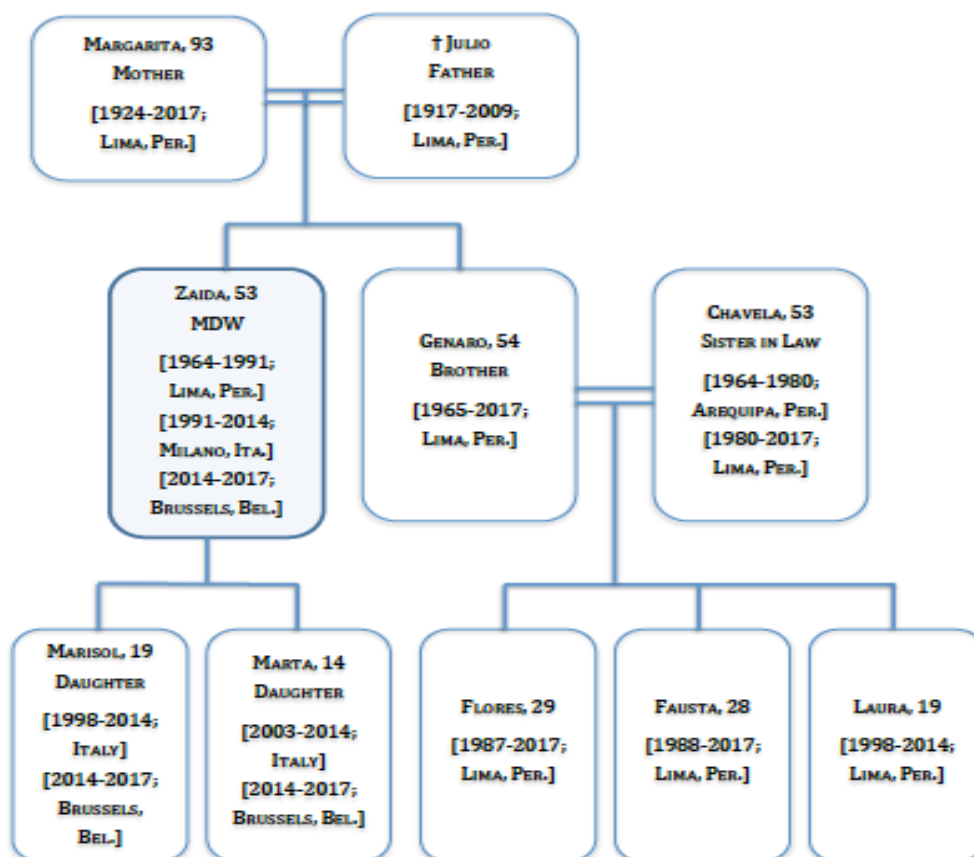


Figure 17: Zaida Robles’ Support and Family Network

I had earlier in the week met her brother Genaro. He was a former military man and now a taxi man. As I got to the Robles family's home in Chorrillo I did not know that the atmosphere would be as tense. I had a terrible headache and it was a hard task to stand by and play my role of mutated witness. The family had been affected by the severe and chronic illness of Margarita, Zaida's mother. 25 years ago, when Zaida left to Italy things were rather different. Zaida initially sent money occasionally to help her family on punctual needs. Her parents were back then covered by their pensions and her brothers back at home helped them eventually. Zaida's mother was also a supporter of her brother as she took care of his children. However, unfortunately as Zaida's father died her mother experienced a brain stroke and later was diagnosed with Alzheimer:

“When I first realized mom was going to need me there physically I got scared.... I'm one of two female daughters and that's just how it is... I was already a citizen. So I sent everything [to Lima] so she could come and be here with me. She would have already being a citizen and things would be easier. Only that back in the day mom lived with Génaro my brother. He needed help with his children. His wife was working and couldn't do it. So, he would tell mom secretly 'don't you leave mom! We won't see you again!' So, mom and him would lose the documents and she never came. Now that she is sick, really sick things are hard. I can't bring her here. I keep sending a few soles here and there for some of the treatment and to pay for nurses. I mean but that's not enough.... I need to be there...”

(Zaida, former Migrant Domestic Worker, registered nurse, Brussels, 08-02-2015)

In Zaida's world nothing mattered more than her mother. Regardless of her success in Brussels where she had become a registered nurse and managed to get her studies in Italy recognized, she felt incomplete. As I stood there in the family room the flashback of Zaida's narratives continuously hit me. I approached her support network in Lima, with nearly fear. Everyone and in particular her nieces and sister in law were judgmental of her choices:

“You see how it is here. I'm a slave. My family is torn into pieces. All she [Zaida] can do is send money sometimes and medicines. But that's not everything! Money, we don't need that! Her mother needs her to be here. I mean they are both [her sisters-in-law] in Europe taking care of other old people and their own mother is here alone.”

(Chavela, Sister in law of a former Migrant Domestic Worker, Lima, Peru; 16-04-2015)

I asked her family if they were happy that Zaida had finally gotten her diplomas recognized in Brussels and was no longer a migrant domestic worker. However, Génaro her brother seemed to be indifferent. He received the medications Zaida sent with me and insisted that it had been enough of her absence:

“I can say, I’m a happy man. I married a beautiful light skin woman from Arequipa. My three daughters are well of children. They have all studied one is a chemical engineer, the other one is a nurse and the youngest one started the university. The one that’s a nurse works in family homes in Miraflores with old people. Zaida always told me that I could go live with her in Italy but I would have died leaving my wife and children here. My dad was also really sick he called me in and said ‘I’m going to die so please disconnect all of these machines. I want you to promise me something. You will always have your mom at your place. Please don’t leave her alone. You’re the man of the family now that I’m gone’ So, ever since I have been there with her. She has an insurance dad left paid for but it’s the medicines and the diapers that are expensive. The lady that takes care of her it’s also rather expensive.”

(Genaro, Brother of a former Migrant Domestic Worker, Lima, Peru, 14-02-2015)

Genaro had his hopes in Zaida, for as he mentioned, “*money isn’t everything.*” All that he expected is that she would be back. I went back two other times to the Robles’ house. I mostly spoke to Paloma, Margarita’s caretaker. Paloma seemed to be the last part of the global care chain that linked Zaida and her mother. She did not have access to any formal social protection. Paloma insisted that her salary was the only thing that kept her there:

“They hired me because Mr. Génaro was leaving on Vacation. He did not have anyone to leave his mamá [mother in Spanish] with. I’m not a nurse. I don’t know what I’m doing. Mrs. Margarita is a hard person to care for. She no longer uses the toilets. Zaida pays me. She is her daughter in Europe. I’m only staying here because I want for my daughters to study. I also have a little baby and he needs me.”

(Paloma, Care-taker of a formal Migrant Domestic Worker’ Mother, Lima, extracts from field diary, 17-04-2015)

On my return to Brussels after my first trip to Lima, I met Zaida to talk about the situation. She was indeed already making plans to leave indefinitely:

“I’m going to compromise everything. I have already told my daughter the oldest one ‘you will stay here and take care of your sister Marisol. I’m leaving, your grandmother needs me’ I’m just waiting for her to be an adult and be at least 19. I can’t leave Genaro there alone. He doesn’t need my remittances really that’s not it. I need to be there physically.”

(Zaida, former Migrant Domestic Worker, Brussels, 06-06-2015)

I have seen Zaida a couple of times in Brussels since my first trip to Lima. She keeps trying to return but feels her smallest daughter might still need her. Zaida’s story shows how in spite of having secure access to formal social protection abroad the informal care needs of family members abroad would challenge her own livelihood chances. Indeed, neither in Italy, in

Belgium nor in Peru, the countries where she had social protection resources, she could find reliable support for her mother. Instead, other women, hence her sister in law and an informal caretaker took on the responsibility. Chavela her sister-in-law resented this absence of choices:

“I can barely work. My daughters work or go to school. Then again it’s not our place to do it. She is the girl’s grandmother but not my mother. We have no support from anyone. We take her to the hospital but they tell us just put her in a home [a place for the elderly]. But place her in a home, really? No, that will be inhumane and extremely expensive.”

(Chavela, Sister in law of a former Migrant Domestic Worker, Lima, Peru, 16-02-2015)

Regardless, of changes of the translocations that Zaida has experienced as she stepped out of domestic work to become a registered nurse, her gender translocation still conditions how she will organize her access to social protection in the future. In the event that Zaida was to leave to take care of her mother as she announced, she would significantly reduce her rights of having a Belgian pension. She will also compromise the informal care she might receive from her daughters. Thus, when sustained remittances become unacceptable, participants like Zaida are forced to retake their roles as permanent caretakers. Indeed, the dynamics discussed in this section reinforces the theoretical premise established by Boccagni, (2015: 213). Zaida’s story shows that migrants’ support to those in the country of origin continuously interferes with migrants’ livelihood chances in the receiving context.

Remittances as Emotional Care

Karla is Eva Olivarde’s⁴¹ granddaughter. Eva is one of the main participants. I met Karla in Lima during my first trip there. She was often quiet and remained absent from many of the family discussions. I saw her mostly during lunchtime. I was always invited to eat with the family. Karla’s parents were both doctors although her mother, following popular customs in the Peruvian society, had retired to take care of her children. Her retirement, as explained by Karla’s mom – named Maria – happened after Eva migrated to help Amelia, her daughter in Brussels.

“I used to be able to work and study. I was in my last year of medicine. I was working for the police at the same time. However, when Señora [Mrs. in Spanish] Eva left everything changed. I could not longer work and take care of the house. I was working 9:00 to 5:00 coming home to prepare lunch and then going back to work at night with the police.

⁴¹ For a reminder of Eva’s support and family network see page, 295, figure 12 or check Appendix B, figure12, 351.

Eventually, I got sick and so, through insurance I had paid earlier, I obtained an early pension. I'm chronically ill with awful migraines. The worst thing is not my migraines. The worst is Karla. You see the way she is. She has been like that since Eva left. She never understood. Eva raised her since she was a baby..."

(Maria, Daughter-in-law of two former Migrant Domestic Workers, Lima ,Peru 06-05-2015)

Karla and I eventually became acquaintances. She was studying English, and I became an informal tutor. We had a small conversation in English every afternoon. I used to go with her aunt Amelia to pick her up from school every afternoon. Amelia became my driver and gatekeeper for some of the fieldwork. So, at times Karla insisted that she would come with us and drop me off for my interviews with other families in the city. Eventually, in one of those car rides, Karla accepted to be interviewed for my "book" as the family had decided to call my project. She insisted in talking about her grandmother and the loss she experienced when she left to Brussels. Karla wished to teach me about the continuous sharing of non-tangible emotional care and tangible hands-on care that took place between her and Grandmother Eva (Baldassar, 2007, 2008, Levitt, 1998):

"I hate to remember the day she left. The only thing I have been able to do is take care of her from here. I speak to her everyday. Now it's a lot easier because she knows how to use technology. My cousin Isabel in Belgium helps her to understand how to use Whatsapp and Facebook. It was quiet funny I sent her voice messages and she thought I was calling her. Skype is also really important. I call her on mother's day so she can be here with us. I tell her what happens on a daily basis. I also ask her what she has done. I tell her what I had learned during the day. We speak mostly on weekends. I wake up in the middle of the night and then I talk to her. I keep telling her to come back"

(Karla, Niece and Granddaughter of two former Migrant Domestic Workers, Lima, Peru, 1-05-2015)

These practices of emotional support reinforced the formal social protection both Karla and her grandmother Eva had access to. As highlighted earlier in the circulation of care literature, they increase the health and wellbeing of geographically separated family members (Baldassar, 2008). Karla felt this support was essential for her grandmother and allowed her to maintain a sense of co-presence in each other's lives (Baldassar et al. 2007, Baldassar, 2008). Some of these practices were similar to those described by Baldassar et al. (2008: 252) as part of the kin work and emotional labor performed by transnational families to better their wellbeing. They were at first *virtual* as Karla and her grandmother installed a sense of co-presence through the use of modern technology. Secondly, they also became *proxy* as Karla and her grandmother sent each other objects that installed a sense of co-presence. Thirdly, whenever possible physical presence through Eva's visits to Lima were also common. Lastly, a sense of imagined

presence traversed all of these practices as Karla and her grandmother prayed for each other and developed a sense of missing and longing (Baldassar 2008).

I observed some of these practices during my time in Lima. During the time I was there, my husband had come to visit. Eva who knew him from Brussels asked him to bring 20 euros for her granddaughter Karla. The 20 euros didn't represent a lot of money in Lima, but for Eva, it was a way of reassuring her presence in Karla's life:

"I always send her a little something. It's not much but it just so they won't forget we exist. Although that's impossible, I call her every single day. We talk day and night. That little girl is my little girl [Karla, her granddaughter]. I raised her since she was a baby and her mother [María] went to work.

(Eva, former Migrant Domestic Worker, Brussels, 5-06-2015)

On my way back from Lima, Karla also asked me to bring a present for her grandmother. It apparently did not involve any money since Karla was still not finished with high school and her parents prohibited her working. I did not open the gift, but it wasn't heavy either. Karla explained I shouldn't be afraid of the content; it was simply a letter and pictures. Although the age of digital social media had made pictures available almost immediately, she insisted that her grandmother liked "*paper pictures she could touch.*" Karla felt these practices were ways in which she could feel her presence. Eva's constant visits to Lima also facilitated their share of emotional support. Her former partner made sure to send her money monthly so she could do so:

"In ten 10 years in Belgium, I went back every year. I had a pension in Lima so I would go and make use of that money. I had to go. Those kids needed to know me. I would in theory have money to pay for a home and long term care but I wouldn't want that. They will one day or another see me in their house forever."

(Eva, former Migrant Domestic Worker, Brussels, 06-06-2015)

Thus, the sharing of remittances and gender solidarities established between Eva, her granddaughter and other female family members was facilitated by their class translocations. Eva indeed, unlike many of the other women I interviewed had the necessary resources to facilitate mobility, remittances and all of the repertoires that assured the functionality of her global social protection arrangements. Her daughter Amelia was surely proud of this:

"Dad has always aimed to control mom in one way or another. One way of asserting his control but also giving her freedom was to give her 100 euros monthly since she left. He

gave them to Maria, mom's mother in law. Maria kept them safe. So, that whenever she wanted to come and see him and the family, she would buy herself a ticket."

(Amelia, daughter of a former Migrant Domestic Worker, Lima, Peru, 01-05-2017)

Between Collective and Social Remittances

Alejandra Gonzalez was 61 year-old when I met her. Unlike other participants, Alejandra had a rich vocabulary both in Spanish and French. As I followed her, I witnessed her spending her free time working for civil society associations in Brussels that fought for the rights of immigrants. However, her main engagement remains with the Colombian Peace Movement. Alejandra was short in height but well elevated regarding her knowledge of the world in which we live. She also did not have as many contacts with her country of origin as other participants did. Alejandra was a political refugee she fled her country in the early 1990s and had no intentions of going back:

"*Muchacha* [young girl] I'm never going back not now and not ever probably. I had somehow kept hopes that things would get better but I don't think so. I lead my efforts to change things from here. I also do a lot of my work with migrant associations and other associations that work to raise awareness on various issues in Latin America."

(Alejandra, Migrant Domestic Worker, Brussels, 21-10-2014)

This involvement in migrant associations was part of Alejandra's pride. As I followed her on Facebook I often witness her organizing help for those those abroad but particularly for those in Brussels. This engagement however unlike for the women in the previous chapter also took place to help those that were different such as refugees from the middle eastern conflicts and or Colombian and Latin American migrants who migrated onwards to Brussels:

"My view is that one can help others with money but that's not everything. Simply sending money from abroad doesn't solve problems. I used to be involved in this group that sent money for farmers affected by the armed conflict in Colombia. We got together to raise funds but also to give people a collective consciousness. They need it to realize that even if they were 'economic' migrants they had a connection to those suffering from the conflict. I believe what's political it's economic. I also informally help those who are coming from Syria or elsewhere. I make no differences. Lately, I have also been helping those Latino migrants coming from Spain after the crisis. They are sleeping in cars in a park. I lead them to the right kind of lawyers so they won't lose for example unemployment benefits they brought from Spain. I give them a house to stay when they need it. I know a group of

lawyers in Brussels that work for free and give people advice. This is where the real kind of battle is...”

(Alejandra, Migrant Domestic Worker, Brussels, 21-10-2014)

Remittances in Alejandra’s case aren’t a way of demonstrating her engagement with her family in the country of origin. Following the work of Boccagni et al. (2016), I will argue collective and social remittances are closely intertwined for women like Alejandra. Firstly, as Alejandra associates herself with other Colombians and Latin American of her ethnic origins, they transfer collective economic remittances to Colombians and other migrants in Brussels. Secondly, the same efforts are led to help unprivileged Colombians abroad to obtain education, healthcare and housing. Thirdly, such collective remittances become social as they are transferred from Brussels, to Colombia, to Latin America and beyond as ideals of social justice. Eventually, collective and social remittances become a form in which migrants like Alejandra reassure their identities, they’re belonging to communities and nations as well. This finding compliments in many ways the work Boccagni, et al. (2016: 449). However, the transferred of these social and economic remittances can cover more places than simply the country of origin and residence. This genuine combination of social and economic collective remittances (Levitt, 1998) Alejandra can transfer are ways of challenging her translocations in Brussels as a woman who regardless of her education is still employed in the domestic sector.

“Doing this type of activities keeps me alive. I don’t work so much anymore because I don’t have the force to do so. I was never fully able to get them to recognize my diplomas. I have a bachelor’s degree and a specialization in teaching French and Spanish language. So, now I get involve is my way of keeping a status of being someone.”

(Alejandra, Migrant Domestic Worker, Brussels, 21-10- 2014)

Alejandra was in various occasions able to transfer her knowledge to other Colombians in the city of Brussels:

I’m conscious that a lot of the other Colombians here don’t have an education and therefore they don’t know why they are here. I mean they don’t understand the mechanisms of oppression that make them be here but regardless once they are here I want to help them. Right, now there are thousands of people who knock on my door because someone in the community gave them my phone number. Most of them are people who are coming here from Spain. They have lost their jobs. They have lost their homes everything. They call me and tell me: ‘Alejandra, there is this guy who needs help. He is in Belgium as a Spanish citizen. He needs to know his rights here.’ I mean it’s informal but I have to help them recuperate their rights. I mean it’s unfair that they lose their rights to unemployment

benefits and so on. Sometimes they had an unemployment benefits in Spain they can recuperate them here... We need to help them and inform them.”

(Alejandra, Migrant Domestic Worker, Brussels, 21-10-2014)

Unlike for the participants in chapter 5, the collective remittances that she was able to send for those abroad would not help her. She was conscious of this:

“I know I’m not getting anything out of this. I help organize parties to help our brothers and sisters in Syria, Irak wherever they need me. I do it for my own satisfaction so that my children would be proud. I also worked 15 years in Colombia as a rural teacher and I won’t get anything out of that. I can’t go back. I mean and let’s say I went and asked for my pension there... I’m I going to go village by village everywhere I worked asking for proofs? No, I mean it’s impossible. Here I first worked informally like everyone else and only recently with the voucher system. I’m a citizen so if they still exist maybe I could get a minimum social aid pension... This is my only choice...”

(Alejandra, Migrant Domestic Worker, Brussels, 21-10-2014)

Lately, as we spoke over Facebook Alejandra has repeated that her future seems uncertain, but she will hold on to the few resources she might be able to access in Belgium. Given the peace agreements, however, Alejandra has taken a decision to leave and fight for what she might still have left in Colombia:

“Maria: Ale, I just wanted to make sure I got this right. You wouldn’t want go back in the near future, right?”

Alejandra: Please put it down like this: ‘I always thought I would never go back. I thought my exile would be eternal. Time went by, I saw things just got horrible and unbearable in Colombia. People just kept getting killed for denouncing the truth... Nonetheless, I’m decided to leave because I have almost come to an age of a pension in Belgium... I’m scared... They keep killing people even after the supposed peace agreements. Still, I’m going to leave because I already made the decision. I’m going there to analyze the situation and see if things are likely to change. However, I’m not a martyr, and I serve people better alive than dead. If I see my safety is not guaranteed, I’m coming back. I can still keep doing a lot here in Belgium with my brothers and sisters here and even for those in Colombia. I’m an inhabitant of this planet. I fight for a fair and real socialist society. I can keep fighting for social justice from here as well. ‘It doesn’t matter where one dies at, but where one fights at’ I live by these words of a famous Colombian duo in the 1980s Ana and Jaime... You keep going my child, may you harvest all you have done with us.”

(Alejandra, former Migrant Domestic Worker, Facebook, 10-05-2017)

Alejandra has lately told me that her goal is now to return to Colombia, temporarily. She has made this move now she has only a few years left to obtain permanent income for elderly people in Belgium. Alejandra plans to go back and see if it's possible to recuperate a pension for the years she worked there. She however, is also hopeful that she would be able to stay in Colombia forever.

4.3. Worker's Insurance and Diaspora Policies: Reassuring Rights

Housing and Unemployment Benefits One Step at the Time

I was often encouraged to have lunch at Amaranta's⁴² place. We would have long talks in her office and later join the family for lunch. The quiet atmosphere and her office full of books always gave me the impression of interviewing someone who had a poise and an intellectual past. Amaranta was blonde with light eyes and seemed to be conscious of her privileges at all times:

“A white mestiza. I'm white on the outside and black and native on the inside. But because I'm sure of my identity this gives me a never-ending force. I'm strong. I know this body gives me a privilege other migrants do not have. I know my education serves for something even if I'm still cleaning at times.”

(Amaranta, Migrant Domestic Worker, Brussels, 31-08-2015)

In this sense, her house in Brussels remained the one thing Amaranta was proud of and continually talked about. The house was according to her a resource she obtained partly thanks to her education and her knowledge of social protection resources in Belgium:

“In the early 1990s when we came as political refugees it was hard to find housing. However, because my husband knew some many people a couple of friends lend us a house. I was used to having my apartment in Colombia, with colorful decorations, nice rooms and so on. All of the sudden I was in an old house with no furniture, no heaters, nothing... I had a newborn baby, a 5 year-old boy and his daughter that was 12 years old. My 5 year-old would scream at night. He had nightmares. He was traumatized. Little by little a couple of Belgians who used to help me take care of my newborn gave us furniture.

⁴² For a reminder of Amaranta's network of support see page, 303, figure, 16 or see Appendix B figure 16, 353.

They were excellent people. I considered them my family. Eventually we moved but continued to be in awful conditions.”

(Amaranta, Migrant Domestic Worker, Brussels, 31-08-2015)

In the midst of such adversities Amaranta, made up her mind to show up at a social housing agency in Brussels:

“So, I made up my mind and went to the social housing agency. They told me it was not possible to buy a house. We didn’t make enough with our salaries. However, they also told me that the social assistance office had to give us their permission. I spoke to the social assistant at the center for social aid [CPAS] I told her: ‘listen with the money you give us to rent a house we can buy something. This will actually give me the opportunity to work better and save more.’ And so they did give us a permission sheet⁴³. We first bought a small house in Saint-Gilles where a lot of other Latinos live. So eventually, I worked many years and we sold that house and bought this one.”

(Amaranta, Migrant Domestic Worker, 31-08-2015 Brussels)

Amaranta’s narrative on her house proves her class translocations were able to get her places at various times. Class in Amaranta’s translocations is understood as education and cultural capital and not in the traditional economic sense (Freznoza-Flot and Shinozaki, 2017). Her advance knowledge of French learned at the University in Colombia and, her overall education made her resourceful, persistent and well aware of her rights. These class translocations Amaranta was able to transfer from Colombia to Belgium, made her distinguish herself from other Colombians in Brussels. This is something she often referred to in her narratives:

“I’m not like those people who have come here to work and work... They are slaved to a system that doesn’t recognize them. If they are sick they need to pay even they aspirins they take. They make so much money. They never fix their undocumented status. They have money for everything. They have money to buy houses, cars and other things in Colombia. I’m not like that. My priority has always been my wellbeing and my children’s education. My priority was always to give my children an education and now one it’s done with university and my daughter is studying law like her father. Maybe this is because I’m different. I’m educated.”

⁴³ In the Brussels regions, the Center for Social Housing, allows future homeowners to buy houses even when they are in a social assistance program and aren’t employed. They do so; under the condition the CPAS (Center for Public Aids) give them a permission sheet and a part of the financial guarantee needed to establish a credit for the purchase of a house (Fonde-du-Longement, 2017).

(Amaranta, Migrant Domestic Worker, Brussels, 31-08-2015)

Even within this sense of class and ethnic differences Amaranta, still suffers from the ambivalent position of performing work that has never truly being considered as such (Anderson, 2007). As she navigates her translocations she often suffers from discrimination and her rights are challenged. Amaranta used to work for the voucher scheme system. However, her former boss would asked her to drive her kid to school, be in charge of checking his homework and doing the household chores. These are technically all duties that aren't cover by this system. Amaranta, nonetheless, felt honored by such responsibilities:

“Teaching that kid Spanish kept me at live. I mean and being in charge of his homework was great. I felt like he was doing a lot progress. I was his coach. Even, the teachers told his mother he had been doing a great progress. I had the honor to work legally and have 32 hours a week contract.”

(Amaranta, Migrant Domestic Worker, Brussels, 31-08-2015)

In August 2015 she suffered from an ear infection. I called her various times to check up on her. She explained the pain and the agony of not being able to hear well and feeling disoriented. By then Amaranta no longer felt honored by her employment with such an elegant Madame. The Madame as she called her, had decided to fire her. According to Amaranta she could not stand her being absent because of an apparent sickness:

“She [her boss] always seemed, nice, delicate, respected, educated...All of the sudden I get sick and she begins to be rude. I mean these rich people here they think we are trash. The doctor gave me a 4-day sick leave. I tried to get out of my bed and go but it was impossible. She told the agency she no longer needed me. They paid my 4 weeks of forewarning. I'm now unemployed as they say it here. I have unemployment benefits that cover me... I already found a new job though.”

(Amaranta, Migrant Domestic Worker, Brussels, 31-08-2015)

Regardless of such difficulties, Amaranta always praised the Belgian Corporatist welfare state and its ability to protect employees who contributed to a common pool of resources. Surprisingly, Amaranta had decided not to file a complaint and instead looked for work in other families. Her views were that, unfortunately, her unemployment benefits weren't enough, neither was her son's salary or her mother's old-age pension. There were too many things to be paid. Additionally, she held strong to the dream of investing in enlarging the house to make an apartment that would generate rental income. This latter investment would substitute for the pension she would never have in Belgium. So, Amaranta cleaned up the mess and kept going:

“I didn’t file a complaint because I know these people [her former employers] are powerful. They aren’t Belgians but they come here to avoid taxes and they hate the system. I’m not going to lie. I almost went to the labour court but I saved myself the trouble. Instead, I looked for another family that had offered me jobs in the past. Women like myself are always appreciated. We don’t just take care of kids. We teach them something. We are educated.”

(Amaranta, Migrant Domestic Worker, Brussels, 31-08- 2015)

In three years, I have witness Amaranta, going from jobs to jobs. The question about an investment for her future seemed to be rather key. One day, I dared to ask her about her pension and other informal forms of care she desired to obtain in her old days. I did so once we had covered every aspect of her life course.

“Well, I have thought that maybe while I’m still active I could be a volunteer. This would be plan A. I want to help educate women and children. I want to teach them how to write and read. I know mom is here now with me but she is going to die one day or another. My kids are going to finish studying and leave as well. I’m going to be left alone. So, plan B is that my sister comes and we spend our ageing days together. So, that’s why she already got her nationality and she is coming to be with me. We requested her through my mother. The thing is I’m expanding my house. Over there in the garage, you see it? I took up a loan with my son’s help and we are going to build a duplex. I’m going to rent it for later. I will perhaps have a minimum social assistance pension but still...”

(Amaranta, Migrant Domestic Worker, Brussels, 31-08 2015)

At this point in her life course, Amaranta felt proud of herself for learning how to navigate the Belgian welfare state without feeling like too much of an “*idiot*.” She often taught me that knowing one’s worker’s and social assistance rights is key. This was the case when in 2014 after a few months of meeting each other her mother Arnelia felt down the stairs. Amaranta, could not pay for the operation and replace her mother’s knees. However, the fact of having paid for her mother’s health insurance in Belgium gave them the possibility to access the operation without much cost. This event was something that her mother Arnelia described with pride while pointing out that giving her daughter the chance to have an education have proven to be helpful:

“After all they did the surgery. I sometimes felt sad since my daughter had to work a lot. However, when things like this happen I realize that she is still bright and smart. If this had happened in Colombia my former husband would have never helped me. In top of this my grandchild Alejandro helped to buy an automatic chair for me to go up and down the stairs.

I also have a little pension here and I help my daughter to pay for the house mortgage. I did the right thing after all....”

(Arnelia, Mother of a Migrant Domestic Worker, Brussels, 31-08-2015)

As I covered Amaranta’s life story, it was clear that she had learned every social contributive and assistance resource of social protection that was available to her in Belgium. Amaranta had by then decided plan B, bringing her sister over to spend her ageing days together would be happening. Angela, Amaranta’s sister, asked for her nationality on May 2014, under the basis of being the child of a Belgian national, since her mother had the nationality. In 2014, she was denied for not reaching the conditions of being 18 years or younger, when her mother obtained her nationality (ACDE, 2017). However, she appealed and was called to a court meeting, were she proved it was absolutely necessary for the care of her ageing mother. In June 2015, her nationality was approved. As I met Angela in Bogota, her eyes and body seemed tired but hopeful she will soon be in Belgium with her mother and sister.

“I’m happy that I got the nationality. They called me and the judge asked me if I was able to prove that I was in touch with them. I showed the daily conversations over the Internet and previously the letters. I’m happy that I can help Amaranta with mom who is ageing and would need long term care. I mean mom is almost 90... I want to help out and be with them. I’m 52 and someone told me once I’m 65 I would get a pension over there. So, I’m not going to be a burden for Amaranta. We will just age together and be together after so many years... It’s the law of life the young kids will do their thing and we will keep each other company.”

(Angela Sister of a Migrant Domestic Worker, Bogota, Colombia, 19-09-2015)

Amaranta’s sister is already in Belgium. As for now she continues to navigate from her various translocations as a mother, migrant domestic worker and women with aspirations. However, unlike other participants, she was sure to abandon her care duties when necessary and built a plan for her future. She planned to rely on formal resources such as the mandatory aging pension in Belgium. Since 2001 in Belgium the GRAPA pension⁴⁴, works as a cash transfer system (social assistance) for individuals of 65 years or older who don’t have enough income to survive independently (ONP, 2017). She also planned on relying on other informal resources such as her sister’s company and the building on of an investment project.

⁴⁴ This mechanism of cash transfer (social assistance) works as income subsidizer for ageing individuals of more than 65 years old who do not have the necessary means to survive on their own. Some of the conditions to obtain it have been made stricter since 2014, one of those conditionality being not residing abroad for more than 6 months. GRAPA offers individuals residing with someone 701.02 euros and for those residing alone, 1,052.00 euros.

Education, Unemployment and Return

Amelia⁴⁵ is a woman of strong character. She turned 46 this year, but she tends to look a lot younger. Her green eyes and brown skin burned by the sun gave her the look of a soldier. She calls herself a woman with “*too much testosterone*.” Indeed her biggest regret in life is not able to be “*a macho*” like her father. She grew up in Lima a city in which women like her had to be well behaved and Catholic. Amelia was according to her neither well behaved nor Catholic. Her mobility to Belgium, as she likes to explain it, was a part of a plan to become independent from her father and brothers. Amelia had already been a teacher in Lima and the owner of her daycare center. However, she had done all of this with their support, and it was time for her to become independent. As mentioned in previous sections, Amelia first left alone and eventually filed for family reunification for her mother Eva who would help her with her informal care duties. Eva and her daughter Amelia as mentioned earlier worked as migrant domestic workers in Brussels. Eva because of her advanced her age could not work legally in an agency and instead had to work informally.

“Mom couldn’t work when she got there. They told us she was too old. In reality, yes she was 65 but she was strong in mind and spirit. So, I just told her to take care of children at home occasionally and help me clean a few houses.”

(Amelia, Daughter of a Migrant Domestic Worker, Lima, Peru; 25-05- 2014)

Eva’s daughter, Amelia, however worked herself to death in various voucher-scheme agencies and eventually wanted to become a kinder garden teacher. After all, she had studied six years in Lima to become one

“I did not know a university graduate could be considered an illiterate until I moved to Belgium. When I married Patrick and had my papers I thought I would be able to work as a teacher or as something else. I mean I had learned French. The moment I stepped inside the agency for unemployment the lady started asking me ‘your university diploma is it Belgian?’ No, I told her. ‘O.K she said how about your high school diploma?’ No, I said. Then she finally asked ‘and your primary school diploma?’ No, I told her. I guess I’m illiterate. I’m worthless. She advised me to get social assistance, what would I want that for?”

(Amelia, Daughter of a Migrant Domestic Worker, Lima, Peru; 03-03- 2015)

⁴⁵ For a reminder of Amelia’s network see page 295, or see Appendix B, figure 12, page 351.

This feeling, of not being able to overcome their ethnic translocations as migrants, was perhaps the biggest struggle for the women in this chapter. Amelia like the other participants in this chapter tried not to fall into what she considered was “*The trap of those who are inside that social assistance system forever.*” She tried numerous times to enter the labor market as a kindergarten teacher. In various occasions, she was either fired unfairly or not hired for being “*too foreign like.*” In her narrative, one can sense a certain despair that eventually leads her to return to her native Lima:

“As I told you last time, I could go back and just clean, clean burgh... I mean is not the job itself but I already had difficulties. My brain was shirking and my body was aching. I tried everything. Once, I went around looking for jobs on the Internet and saw they needed an employee at the European day care center. You can even write down their names and say who they were. Write it down! [...] I want for everyone to know. I was hired. I was so proud finally 1.500 euros a month and doing what I love. Slowly, however I saw weird things happening. I denounced the mistreatment and violence against children to the big boss. The next day they called me and said: ‘You’re too professional! We don’t need people like you’ All right, what did I have left, unemployment benefits? They don’t give you that your whole life. I didn’t want to be like them other people...”

(Amelia, former migrant domestic worker and daughter of a former migrant domestic worker, Lima, 05-05-2015)

Amelia had not only tried to enter the formal labor market, but she had also decided to train herself better in Belgium. In 2014 as I met her she had already tried twice to complete a community college technical diploma without being successful.

“I had done 6 years of university in Lima. I had done 5 to become a teacher and another one to be specialized. They only recognized 2 and I had to do an extra one. I mean I didn’t mind at the beginning. I wanted to refresh my memory, get to know the Belgian educational system. I never knew it was going to be so hard. I didn’t know they were going to be so harsh with me. You get there and you’re always considered as the funny Latina with the accent. You’re always the foreigner and people think ‘Why was she directly sent to the third year?’ I passed all of my courses but then came the final evaluation. I had to write a paper. I tried hard but I couldn’t convince them. I failed twice. I had the unemployment benefits but I felt awful. I got mad. I went and signed up for a test to do a workshop in a Brussels institution for internships for the unemployed. But I didn’t make it either. So, I thought forget it, Belgium isn’t really paradise. I’m leaving...”

(Amelia former Migrant Domestic Worker, Lima, Peru; 05-05-2015)

From mid-September 2014 until 2015 Amelia and I didn't speak. I met Amelia again in Lima as I went back for fieldwork in 2015. She had in fact returned and was hoping she would finally be able to catch up professionally. She was indeed hopeful that things would work out. One fine morning as the fieldworks in Lima evolve Amelia told me she would drive me around to my other interviews in the city. She had, however, two important errands to run. Firstly, she had to send the Belgian Social Assistance Bureau in Brussels a letter explaining that she wouldn't need their support anymore. Secondly, she had to give a letter to the Peruvian ministry of foreign affairs announcing that she had return permanently and wanted to benefit from the law of return 30.0001, (aduanet, 2017). This law permits for Peruvians to repatriate their housing appliances while avoiding the taxations on the repatriations of their house appliances. In our conversation, that day Amelia expressed her desired to stay in Lima, while not wanting to go back to a city in which her education was worthless:

“I'm done. Now, it's clear that I will not go back. I spend many years showing them [Belgian civil servants] that I was going to school [community college- graduated level] and looking for a job. Towards the end however, you're just embarrassed. You're sitting there with people who have less education than you and you have to explain to them your life. I mean the only option was to go back to the voucher scheme system but my body cannot take it anymore. I'm back forever and I'm sending this letter to Patrick [Patrick her husband was at the time in Belgium preparing the family's move to Lima] to tell them that: ‘ I no longer need left overs...’ Also I need to give the Peruvian government this letter saying the family and I are coming back for good. They have special benefits regarding taxes for those of us repatriating our appliances...”

(Amelia former Migrant Domestic Worker, Lima, Peru,
05-05-2015)

In the weeks that followed, I witnessed Amelia desperately trying to look for a job in Lima. We put together CV's with her experience in Belgium as well as Lima in English, Spanish and French but nothing came out. As a 45 years old woman the labor market in a city like Lima seemed to be impossible to access. This took place as her entire family network of support criticized what according to them was a terrible move for the future of her children who were already superior because of their Belgian origin:

“I mean I'm supporting her because she is my sister [Amelia in Lima]. But how on earth does she think she would be better here [Lima]? I mean they [Belgians] are definitely more advanced over there in terms of education and so on. I think this has something to do with her husband. Let's be honest a married woman alone and here this is trouble.”

(Arcadio, Brother and Son of former Migrant Domestic Workers, Lima, Peru, 05-05-2015)

Her brother, however, wasn't the only one to doubt from Amelia's choices. In fact, every woman in the family also suspected that she hadn't made the right choice. This was the case of her sister in law who was particularly critical of Amelia's choices:

"A woman can work and all of that but her place is next to her husband. She cannot be here alone. I'm hosting her and her son in my house but I can't have this forever."

(Maria, Daughter in law of former Migrant Domestic Workers, Lima, Peru, 06-05-2015)

Amelia was by then in spite of their criticism staying in her brother's house. She was thus sustaining herself with the pensions her husband sent and her father's monthly allowances. Amelia was at the time orchestrating a move from Belgium with all of her appliances and furniture. She managed to negotiate with her mother to recuperate a part of a house the family owned in Lima. I have continued to follow Amelia over WhatsApp messages, Facebook and more recently through a visit to Lima. In every episode of her life, I have witnessed her growing stronger and reassured in her choices. Peru's familiarized welfare state seems to satisfy Amelia, while allowing her to keep her class and gender translocations. In Brussels her friends now talk about her as a courageous woman who did the right thing for her children.

"Esa [saying in Spanish, to talk about someone who has made it in life].I visited her while I was there. She is looking great. Her children are doing well and her husband is providing. Poor man, she is a strong woman!"

(Informal conversation with Cata, Amelia's best friend, facebook, 17-07- 2016)

While in Lima, she perceives herself as successful "*household manager*"

"See, I'm not proud that I'm not working. However, here the fact that I take care of my children is appreciated. I'm starting to think I don't need a job. I need to become an entrepreneur like my father. So, I'm hanging out with other housewives. I think we will create a spa or a beauty center. Otherwise, maybe also have some type of business in Brussels, but that's really like my last option."

(Amelia former Migrant Domestic Worker, Lima, Peru;
02-05-2017)

Amelia's story shows that although certain participants appreciated the formal resources in Belgium, they sometimes thought of them as barriers to their personal and professional development. Frustrated in her attempts to overcome her gender, class and ethnic translocations in Brussels, Amelia now tries everything to access Lima's professional world. Amelia had to adapt to her conflicting translocations while searching for access to the labor market through

informal means. Recently, as I visited her in Lima, her plan b was to join her father in the family business of hotels in the Pisco region.

“I have another vision. I lived abroad. I speak two languages. I know what the Europeans are looking for but these men are hard headed and they won’t let me help. My father has never really involved me in his business he does that with my brothers. But you met them just now. They are slow... I keep telling them that’s not the way to go and they won’t listen simply because I’m a woman. It’s annoying...”

(Amelia, former Migrant Domestic Worker, Lima, Peru; 02-05 2017)

Amelia seemed disturbed by her brothers and her father who wouldn’t let her step into the family business. After, all if she became an independent worker she would stop to a certain extend her dependence on her husband in Belgium

“I mean if they gave me the chance. I think about every possibility. I told you about the spa but nothing works. I want to stop being Patrick’s [her husband, who is her economic support] shadow. I want to be able to pay for things in the house. On that sense Brussels was better.”

(Amelia, former Migrant Domestic Worker, Lima, Peru; 02-02-2017)

Amelia’s struggle to overcome her gender translocation in Lima reminds her of past in Belgium and makes her feel trapped in a street without exits. While in Lima, she continuously struggles to be something other than a stay at home housewife, in Brussels she would be forced to be a domestic worker again. Additionally, she also fears going back to Brussels will turn her into a number in a long list of unemployed women

“Maria: Would you ever go back to Brussels?”

Amelia: It all depends. I won’t ever say I won’t drink out of this water! That’s what I said about Lima and here you have me. However, if I went back it would have to be to run my business or something. There is no way on earth I’m going back to be a number. I mean just another unemployed migrant woman.”

(Amelia former Migrant Domestic Worker, Lima, Peru
02-02-2017)

Amelia keeps thinking unfortunately her future depends on her husband and her father’s willingness to support her from afar. Patrick, her husband on my way back to Belgium, assumed that he would continue to support her as long as his children are with her. He, however, could not see a clear future for them and the children as the family he always wished they could be.

“Here take these gifts for her! One of the gifts is for our wedding anniversary. Here are also medicines for my mother in law. She needs them please make sure they get there safe! There are also some clothes for the kids for their sport lessons. I overall still want her to be happy. I want all of us to be happy. I’m just not sure I’m happy. She gave me the idea of telling the commune that we split up. I know is just for the administration so they give me back more taxes. I just don’t know if she actually means it.”

(Patrick, Husband and Son in law of former Migrant Domestic Workers, Brussels, 15-03-2017)

5. Preliminary Remarks

Through this chapter, we have witnessed yet another arrangement which together with the participants we have entitled “*Helping Each Other Sometimes*.” On the one hand, by using the “*Sometimes*” wording the participants aimed to emphasize the temporality of their informal repertoire (mobility and remittances), which are not indispensable for their survival. On the other hand, they also aimed to emphasize the importance of their formal repertoires (worker’s insurance) to access global social protection, which were unlike in the repertoires described in chapter 5 vital for them. These uses of formal and informal were indeed influenced by the participant’s translocations. Through the view of these repertoires, we have witnessed how these women put to use their ethnic and class translocations they obtained at first thanks to their mother’s efforts to engage in *mestizaje*. It was important to witness how they perceived themselves as white and mestizo Latin American women both in the home country and in Europe. The confidence obtained through their western physical features were accompanied by their class in the form of cultural and educational capital (Frenzoza-Flot and Shinozaki, 2017). As these two markers of difference interacted they allowed them to have weak networks with other Belgians and Latin Americans that helped access family reunification, regularization of their migratory status and or to find jobs in the formal voucher system. The participants were able to be relatively fast in obtaining a status within the Belgian migratory regime. In this sense, as argued earlier by other scholars (Mahler et al. 2015, Purkayastha, 2012, Frenzoza-Flot and Shinozaki, 2017) their ethnic and class translocations as domestic workers regarded as the “*other*” by the mainstream European population, could at times be compensated by their ethnic and class translocations imported from their countries of origin. However, the feeling of downward social mobility, that constrained their access to other sectors of the labor market and thus, their access to formal social protection in Belgium, seemed to be an inescapable one. Let us now turn to the analysis of how such translocations affect concretely every repertoire they used to construct their global social protection arrangements.

Although the translocations of the participants in this chapter seem to be rather different than those in the previous chapter, the repertoire of mobility seems to also be the rock and foundation of this global social protection arrangement. However, unlike for the women in chapter 5, participants in this chapter initiate mobility strategies to overcome patriarchal and gender structures of power that insisted on giving them a role of permanent caretakers inside their homes. In this sense, the first generation accesses such mobility by marrying or having children with lighter skin mestizos or white male who had economic capital. The mobility of the senior women in the participants' family networks allowed their families to access education, housing, health care and even pension rights for themselves.

Mobility is however, also an intergenerationally learned practice. The original participants who were already members of a younger generation initiated international mobility to join labor markets outside of their homes. For, although they have had access to the labor markets in their countries of origin, their incomes were still considered as "*a bit of help*" and their working careers often disregarded by the men in their families (Abramo, 2004). Mobility, for Amelia, Amaranta, Alejandra, and Zaida, resulted into a repertoire that allowed them to have rights to certain formal resources in the receiving nation such as access to the labor market, education and healthcare for themselves and for their children. Nevertheless, for some of them the decision to become mobile was also the only choice to keep their families safe from political conflicts. Overall, through the repertoire of mobility we witness how regardless of the class status obtained through their education, the participants' gender translocations as "*permanent caretakers*" remained untouched and affected the participants' mobility patterns.

The repertoire of Mobility was intrinsically linked to the repertoire of Worker's Insurance. Unlike the participants in the previous chapters, the women in this chapter had previous labor experiences in their countries of origin where they were once "*professional women*." They were thus well aware of their formal rights to social protection. Indeed, through their insertion in the formal sector of domestic and care work they made sure that they would not lose their right to unemployment, healthcare, family allocations and pension benefits. This access was nonetheless also facilitated by their status as parts of the Latin American intellectual and political elites. This provided them with the right contacts with NGOs and civil society associations. Nevertheless, their education and ability to learn French also allowed them to cultivate weak networks (Granovetter, 1973) of support with Belgians and other Europeans who were critical in their efforts to claim formal social protection resources. Through this repertoire we witness how ethnicity as the physical features of white or mestizo women that interacted with class as the possession of cultural capital and education, played an important role in the participants' access to these social protection resources.

One last repertoire composes this arrangement. This is the repertoire of remittances. This repertoire also has a different level of importance for participants in this chapter. On the one hand, the women in this chapter have assured their formal social protection in the receiving context. On the other hand, as we witness upon their eventual return to their countries of origin the male in their family networks that have assumed their roles, as male breadwinners would protect them. They thus, seem to be covered in terms of their formal protection. There are however informal resources that still need to be assured through informal mechanisms of reciprocity and informality. In this sense, what was earlier theorized by Mazzucato (2010) as reversed remittances would thus intervene in the forms of informal emotional and physical care that assure the participants' resources that cannot be obtained through formal social protection avenues. However, these exchanges would be influenced by the participants' women gender translocations as the organizers of such informal care. They would indeed be the ones responsible for the transfer of such resources and thus benefit in greater measure from them.

Remittances, unlike in the previous chapter are not a repertoire used to guarantee the participants' family survival in the country of origin. They intervene in their arrangements instead sporadically and within a different temporality that corresponds to periods of emergency in their families' life course. They are used for special occasions of emergencies and family events in which the participants felt they need to be a part of. They are, as previously explained by Sarah Mahler and colleagues (2015), part of the work of imagination members of transnational family networks perform to preserve their membership in such networks. Regardless, a gender mechanism of sustaining women who had been overwhelmed by patriarchal structures of power remained however at the very foundation of this repertoire. The participants in this chapter often referred to this repertoire as a "*women thing*" something that men would not ever think about engaging themselves into. However, differently than for the participants in the previous repertoires because of their positions as actual male breadwinners, the men in these participant's family networks could make use of women's solidarity either through eventual remittances or while receiving their informal care.

Overall, as we have covered the participants' repertoires of strategies in the past two chapters, we discovered how they're mutual, flexible and contextually produced translocations have affected their constructions of global social protection arrangements. Discovering the relations between these translocations as they affect the participants' access to global social protection arrangements has been key in this analysis. This hypothesis of how translocations affects their transnational efforts to reach better livelihood chances had in the past being postulated by the work of Anthias (2008, 2016) and Sarah Mahler and colleagues (2015). However, the actual ways in which such translocations operate to generate power and condition

the lives of individuals had never been developed in a multi-sited ethnography. This past point, I will argue, is perhaps this thesis' main contribution. This contribution among others will be discussed in the forthcoming conclusion. The conclusion as I see it is an effort to answer the original research question but also to temporarily finish this collaboration that began exactly 3 and half years ago with the 15 original participants.

CONCLUSIONS

“I’m doing fine. Life is O.K. I have been working in a factory making jeans and blouses. I went back to who I was. The future is dark.”

(Valeria, former migrant domestic worker, Telephone conversation, 03-01-2017)

“Life is good. Mom is taking care of by her pension. I’m good as well; Patrick is helping us stay covered. Life is uncertain though. I don’t know where or how I will be in 10 years from now...”

(Amelia, former migrant domestic worker, Lima, 01-05-2017)

The words cited in the epigraph of this conclusion are parts of the last informal conversations I had with two of this thesis’ main participants. The quotes reflect their preoccupation with the future, which is summarized in this dissertation title *“Who Cares for Those Who Cared?”* This dissertation, however, did not start with this preoccupation. Indeed, as a young woman with a migratory background, my readings on the global care chain and transnational family studies (Parrenas, 2001, Baldassar and Merla, 2014) had inspired me. I had initially been curious about migrant women’s efforts to protect their family members from afar. Nonetheless, as I began to follow the initial participants’ life stories, it became evident that their preoccupation was that of figuring out who will care for them and how they will be cared for and protected in their approaching aging days. Nevertheless, as evoked in this dissertation introduction, coincidentally these questions also seemed to be critical for the new emerging body of transnational social protection studies. Thus, taking into account both the literature and the participant’s life stories, this dissertation has aimed to cover the public, private and informal strategies middle age migrant domestic workers put together to protect themselves and the members of their support networks.

In views of answering these questions, a mutated witness methodology was crafted. This methodology was inspired by the feminist ethics of risk and assumed both the participants and the researchers, as being part of the same reality (Fernandez, 2013a,b). Thus, the construction of knowledge became a collaborative process in which the research questions, the methods, and the analysis were the results of a collaborative effort. At first, while using this methodology the participants and I depicted the repertoire of practices that formed what I later entitled as “*global social protection arrangements*.” In line with my role as a mutated witness, the participants’ role became to instruct me on the repertoire of practices that composed such agreements as well about the actors that were crucial for their functionality. My role was to learn from their strategies while looking for the intellectual tools that would best operationalize them. Early on the research process, I searched for the theoretical framing through which such global social protection arrangements could be best analyzed. Thus, as the second year, of research began I also aimed to answer the question of: What would be a framework that could cover how the participants’ strategies were affected by their locations as women, of a certain class ethnic, racial and generation background in various geographical settings?

Intersectionality and more precisely the work of Floya Anthias (2016) appeared as a compelling analytical framing that helped me as a mutated witness to answer such questions. Through this process, the participants then taught which of their locations were affecting their strategies to access social protection. In their narratives, they highlighted their roles as women in their families and in their working and welfare states, their ethnicity and race both in Belgium and in their countries of origin and their religions. This same perspective was used to understand the locations of the actors in their networks of support, which we too discovered together. In fact, we traced through time and space every actor that contributed to what I have introduced as global social protection arrangements.

Thus through the lens of this Intersectional Translocations framing this thesis uncovered two global social protection arrangements that differentiated themselves by far. In this sense, Arrangement 1, entitled “*Today for you tomorrow, for me*”, was initiated with the mobility of senior family members that had been affected by the racial and gender uneven distribution of formal social protection resources in their countries of origin. This initial mobility allowed participants to access health care and education. The mobility repertoire then allowed this dissertation’s participants to move even further to other countries in the Latin American region or Europe. This move up north and across the Atlantic Ocean allowed them to join the global domestic work sectors. From there on, the repertoire of mobility became intertwined with other repertoires such as remittances and worker’s insurance. Through the repertoires of remittances and workers insurance, the participants assured housing (in the country of origin), health care

(both in the country of origin and residence), education (for their offspring in the country of origin), and in particular cases the rights to accumulate for a pension. As we witness in such arrangement, presented in Chapter 5 the gender translocations of the initial participants within institutions but also in the informal solidarity networks as “*permanent-care takers*” became the foundational location that inspired participants to react to their realities and combine various repertoires to remediate their needs for social protection. Additionally, their racial and ethnic translocations became supplementary markers of difference that intra-acted with gender. Gender, as highlighted in the introduction and later in chapter 3, could not be understood as a location that acted on its own. Their gender translocations were indeed accompanied by racial and class locations allocated to them since their countries colonial past. As women of color, their racial and class locations first affected their access to formal social protection resources in their countries of origin and later also complicated their access to similar resources in their destination countries in Europe. The participants that used this arrangement compensated their lack of access to formal social protection resources with the sequential informal solidarity they created with other female family networks members who they had helped in the past.

Arrangement 2, “*Helping each other, sometimes*” was then presented in Chapter 6. This arrangement also began with the mobility of senior family members that used these strategies to engage themselves in a *mestizaje* that would allow their children to become urban citizens of their nations and the sons and daughters of a respected family. Differently, then in arrangement one, the participants in this dissertation as a newer generation migrated up north to obtain their emancipation from patriarchal structures of power or in search for their safety after political turmoil in their countries of origin. Through mobility, they joined formal labor markets as migrant domestic workers and obtain the rights to accumulate for a pension, unemployment and sickness benefits, housing, healthcare and family allocations. Additionally, they preserved other informal resources such as familiar care provided by other female members of their networks of support. Moreover, unlike the participants in arrangement 1, because of their class, ethnic and racial locations they had the possibility to use such informal resources in various contexts. Nonetheless, in this arrangement similarly, the participants’ gender translocations as “*caretakers*” also affected their access to formal social protection resources. However, these women were able to compensate by using their racial, ethnic and class translocations in the receiving context in Europe where their weak solidarity networks helped them to understand formal systems of protection and composed functional arrangements. Thus, in arrangement 2 participants were able to construct arrangements that were less reliable on informal solidarity and mechanisms of reciprocity.

Overall, both in arrangement 1 and 2, the intersectional and translocational framework captured how such locations affected the participants' efforts to create functional arrangements in multiple welfare states and sites of relations that spread around countries and continents. Through the ethnographic mapping of these arrangements this thesis shows that in spite of differences regarding the participant's translocations, the same mechanism of generalized reciprocity made both arrangements functional. This thesis, however, indicates that the mechanism of solidarity and reciprocity which included a "tit for tat" principle well known in anthropology (Sahlins 1965) influenced the arrangements in less or more measure according to the participants' translocations and the moment of the life course. For the participants with less privileged translocations, this principle of solidarity was frequently needed and almost sequentially used. Whereas for the participants with more privileged locations these mechanisms of solidarity and reciprocity represented alternative solutions that were mostly used during emergency and crisis moments, a finding which partially reflects some of the research previously done on transnational families (Loretta Baldassar and Merla 2014a). However, this thesis went further by explaining how actors' translocations continuously influence this fluidity of solidarity and reciprocity across physical borders.

While mapping these two global social protection arrangements, this dissertation responded to the call of migration scholars (Faist, 2015, 2016, Amelina, 2012) who have argued that the study of access to social protection needed to move from a nationalist perspective and a dichotomy between formality and informality. Indeed, according to them the study of access to social protection should now intend to cover how in a world of increased transnational mobility individuals are combining informal and formal strategies while making use of their various gender, racial, ethnic, class, generational and religious translocations to do so. In this sense, I will argue that this thesis represents a contribution to transnational migration studies as well as for the intersectional knowledge project. Thus, in this conclusion, I make an effort to punctually and briefly go back to these principal themes. I do so while I point out to the theoretical and methodological contributions of this dissertation. This last endeavor nonetheless, also permits me to mention some routes for future research.

Migrants' Access to Global Social Arrangements: Beyond the Formal and Informal Dichotomy

The questions of how solidarity and access to social protection are organized in societies are indeed not new. As highlighted in the theoretical section, social scientists have invested a long time studying how nation states give individuals access to a shared pool of contributive and non-contributive resources to protect them from the risk inquire in living in capitalist societies

(Esping-Andersen 1990, Ferrera 1996, Mesa-Lago 1991, Martinez-Franzoni 2008, Figueira 2005).

The views of researchers both in the global south and north insisted in individual's access to formal social protection in a national context. They thus remained shortsighted to explain how and if individuals who lived their lives in multiple national states accessed social protection and under which conditions. Moreover, they based their analysis on two factors that influenced individuals' access to social protection meaning gender and class. These past gaps as highlighted in Chapter 2, were addressed by the literature on social policy through studies on immigrants' access to social protection in the receiving countries. This literature, however, remained focused on the formal access to social protection and only included a receiving country perspective, thus erroneously assuming that migrants' lives and efforts to protect themselves and their families ended at the borders of their receiving states (Sainsbury 2006, Faist 2001, Morris 2003, Kraler, 2010). The advent of transnational migration gave birth to research on the circulation of various informal resources that permitted the protection of migrants and their family members (Baldassar and Merla 2014). The latter, however, remained partially focused on the informal efforts of migrants to cover their family members' needs.

Building from a systematic and geographical review of the literature presented in the theoretical section, this thesis contributed by joining these various sets of literature to produce an approach in which the lines between formality and informality of migrants' strategies intertwined themselves. Inspired by the work of Levitt et al. (2015) and the participants' life stories this thesis compiled a new heuristic tool that was able to operationalize migrants informal and formal attempts to protect themselves and the members of their family network in various geographical locations. This heuristic device was able to cover the full repertoires of practices through which migrants access social protection in the nine areas evoked by the OECD: old age, survivors, incapacity, health, family, active labor market programs, unemployment, housing, and education. As Levitt and colleagues, this research also included the intertwined informal community and family support that was often seen as a separate set of resources.

However, unlike Levitt et al. (2015) the approach in this dissertation analyzed how the gender, class, ethnic, racial, generation, religious transnational locations of the main participants affected such arrangements. Certainly, this dissertation went one step further by demonstrating that such translocations were key variables to understand the arrangements that permitted the participants to better their livelihood chances in a global context. Furthermore, the arrangements unlike Levitt et al. (2015) global resource environments were analyzed as fluid units composed of learned repertoires of practices that migrants, as shown by this dissertation,

will combine and put to use differently according to the moment in the lifecourse or the particular emergencies that might emerge. Furthermore, unlike in Levitt's et al, (2015) work, the notion of repertoire allowed for an understanding of access to public social protection resources, as learning processes rather than as resources that are acquired immediately through a migratory status. Clearly, as shown by the stories in this dissertation public social protection rights could be perceived either as a source of support or in some cases as a sign of downward social mobility that transforms migrant domestic workers into what they delimitate as "*the other migrants, those who abuse*", and certainly as a source of fear and shame. In this sense, as they gained in self-confidence and their translocations transformed they began to perceived public social protection resources as sources of support rather than as social-economic degradation. Lastly, this dissertation formulated a heuristic device that shows that migrants' efforts are not always situated in between two nation states they instead extend through a site of relations that is located in multiple nation states and continents.

In order, to reach such contributions this dissertation benefited from a feminist ethics of knowledge construction. The idea of arrangement and the intersectional and transnational post-colonial analytical framing were both parts of a collaborative effort. In this sense, this dissertation has also contributed to the theoretical intersectional knowledge project and transnational migration studies. Indeed, through this thesis, I introduced a new way to analyze how intersectional markers of difference are produced beyond the borders of a nation state and contribute or not to individuals' efforts to enhance their life chances. The latter is discussed in detail in the following sub-sections.

An Intersectional & Transnational Post-Colonial Analytical Framing

Through the course of this research, a key analytical framing became intersectionality which, I discovered both through my readings on black and post-colonial feminism as well as with my participants in the field. Intersectionality as coined by Kimberley Crenshaw (1989), has its roots in anti-racist black feminism in the U.S. As a concept that was born out of activism and later legitimized in academia, it has never had a set definition. It's a metaphor that intended to show the crisscrossed layers of discrimination experienced by African American women in the U.S. Intersectionality has nonetheless, traveled and crossed the Atlantic Ocean into the European continent and much later made it back to other post-colonial settings in Latin America. The use of intersectionality in Europe is marked by the non-recognition of categories such as race associated with tedious ideological battles. In the Latin American context, the use of categories that seem to be appropriate in the U.S context has also been questioned (Viveros-Vigoya 2016). Thus a significant contribution in this thesis relies on its ability to operationalize

an intersectional framing that captured how intersectionally embodied in various translocations operated in various contexts and affected the participants' construction of global social protection arrangements.

To accomplish, the past contribution this thesis built on Floya Anthias (2016) view of intersectionality as a framing that should be put to use beyond the borders of one particular nation, particularly when examining migrants' life-chances. However, this dissertation went one step further by actually operationalizing such an approach. In doing so, it intended to see how through their life-course individuals adopt multiple locations that affect their continuous belonging to more than one society. I operationalized this approach and analyzed with the participants their access to global social protection arrangements. Thus, unlike Anthias (2016) I defined the locations analyzed through a co-constructed process that took into account both my views inspired by scholarly knowledge but also that of the participants. Indeed, through the multi-sited fieldwork, the participants themselves identified the multiple genders, racial, class, generational, religious, transnational locations that emerged and interacted with each other. Through their narratives, I also learned about how they were guiding them to construct different social protection arrangements. These categories emerged as individuals themselves situated their life-stories and guided me as a mutated witness through their efforts.

In this sense, while building from Anthias (2016), this contribution was able to follow the call of various feminist researchers and take intersectionality outside its usual "*domestic*" or "*national-use*" (Purkayastha 2012). By doing so, it also represents a contribution to transnational studies. The arrangements that were empirically followed through this dissertation show that living in a transnational social field isn't always a privilege. This finding defines the conceptualization of the transnational social field as one with marked axes of power. Various lines of power associated with the participant's gender, ethnic, racial, class, and generational translocations often crisscrossed the repertoires of practices shown in the arrangements. Thus, this thesis shows that inside transnational social fields actors, as in the fields earlier theorized by Bourdieu (1977) are always playing alone strategies according to how they are located inside.

This dissertation thus attempted to fulfill the call of Nina Glick-Schiller (2005) to create transnational research that's able to depict how new and old axes of power are being reproduced and affect individual life chances in spaces that go beyond the borders of a single nation state. Moreover by doing so, with the help of my participants, I have intended to move transnational studies from a simple analytical framing into an actual theory of society (Glick-Schiller, 2005). This last contribution, however, could have never been possible without the co-creative methods that were crafted on the go and with the participants. These efforts represent the last contribution in this dissertation and will be further discussed in the following section.

Co-Constructive Approaches in Multi-Sited Ethnographies

Studies on the consequences of female migration for migrant domestic work have had a tendency to describe migrant domestic workers as a global underclass incapable of escaping their disadvantaged locations (Parrenas, 2006, Parella, 2003, Anderson, 2000). This dissertation as shown in the previous section instead was careful to take into account how they defined themselves, and in doing so, it invested in a co-constructed ethnography. Although, transnational family studies had in the past invested in multi-sited research the co-constructive feminist perspective was able to co-produce knowledge with the participants. Through this process, they operationalized the ways in which different translocations created opportunities or constraints and ultimately affected their livelihood chances.

Additionally, the feminist ethics of risk (Fernandes 2013) and in particularly adopting the mutated witness (Haraway 1997) posture was beneficial as well. By doing so, I intended to craft a new way of defining objectivity and ethics in multi-sited ethnographies. Through this dissertation, I intra-acted with reality (Barad 2007) and defied the idea that only those who aren't at the margins and don't resemble their participants can create objective knowledge. This effort means doing more than a mere confessional approach to positionality. Through this dissertation, objectivity was redefined continuously as the participants became associates in the attempt to make knowledge rather than simple informants (Vivas-Romero, 2017). This contribution thus represents advancement in the epistemology of knowledge doing practices that has defined objectivity as a punctual and fixed practice established by researchers who must abandon their humanity to create knowledge. Instead, this research has invited its scientific and non-scientific audiences to witness the co-productive ways in which knowledge was created it. Assuming, this view means I became a student of my methodology. I assumed the risk and consequences of co-creating knowledge together with my participants.

Lastly, this research contributes to the continuous efforts of feminist researchers in the global south to de-colonialize women of color as submissive victims of multiple oppressions (Vargas-Monroy 2011, Lugones 2008, Fernandes 2003). In order, to do so following Chela Sandoval's call I engaged in a process through which we created a "*differentiated consciousness*." Such differentiated consciousness allowed me to be aware of the mechanisms that oppressed us as the participants shared their strategies to social protection but also as I understood my own. This last step has led some of the participants and myself to initiate political action and use the knowledge created to educate others about the mechanisms of power that have historically stripped them out of the necessary resources to reach decent livelihood chances. Together we marched and danced in the International Women's Day March in 2016, meeting with Belgian politicians and putting in their agendas the issues discussed in this

dissertation. Together we organized a political action and performance to raise awareness about gender violence and the feminicides in Peru, in July 2016. Although, our collaboration has been put in hiatus for the sake of the writing process, it will surely continue after this dissertation ends. This learning experience would be a lifelong one. This last step makes out of this research what Chela Sandoval (2000) once defined as an act of love. This act of love consisted in the creation of knowledge that although it might not be able to produce immediate changes in the living conditions of the participants it has awakened their conscious and mine, and that's often where change begins.

Avenues for Future Research

These dissertations' central questions continue to be of actuality and concern for a vast scope of individuals both in the global south and north. Certainly, this dissertation has allowed us to obtain a general glance at how individuals that tend to be over-generalized as a global underclass meet their needs for global social protection. However, efforts to have a full glimpse of such questions are still needed. We indeed need to continue our quest towards an understanding of intersectional inequalities that are being continuously produced and reproduced across borders in this field. As migratory movements continue to intensify as a consequence of climate changes, wars and the globalization of capital exchanges across the world, these questions remain of actuality. Thus through this last section, I point to the limits of this research while suggesting future directions for research in this area.

One of the boundaries of this dissertation is that of addressing the questions of access to the social protection only for migrants going from peripheral regions of the world to those considered as the center. However, the issues studied in this dissertation are likely to be valid both for affluent and less affluent individuals. This is, for example, the case of international retiree migrants going from northern to southern countries both in Europe and in America. Studying, their experiences might further help us to understand how gender, class, generational, religious, racial inequalities are being reproduced in the transnational social field.

Another possible gap in this dissertation is perhaps its overreliance in ethnography as practice to understand the particularities in what might seem too general. One way, of solving this dilemma would be to use mix-method approaches that would build from indexes that show quantitatively the avenues migrants have to access social protection and to later compare this to migrants' actual strategies obtaining ethnographic data in a multi-sited ethnography. In many ways, the work of Jean-Michel Lafleur and his collaborative team at the University of Liege is already tackling this last issue at the European level. However, one way of advancing on the matter would be two include the comparison of affluent and less affluent groups' access to

social protection in two different geographical settings. A useful way of doing this might be by analyzing the case of international retiree migrants that traveled between distinctive but similar migration corridors such as Belgium-Spain and Mexico-U.S. Certainly; this worldwide comparison could get us to have a clearer picture of how inequalities in access to social protection are being reproduced or diminishing at a global level.

In views of facing the issues evoked in the last paragraphs, other methodological challenges remain visible. Through this dissertation, the multi-sited ethnography that covered the participants' global social protection arrangements continued to be a lonely effort. This fault corresponds perhaps to my over-attachment and training in the anthropological discipline and its Malinowskian complex (Marcus, 1999). As a young socio-anthropologist, like many others, I was trained to search for my data alone without any distractions from the outside world. However, in the case of analyzing how mobile individual's access to social protection, future research would benefit from engaging with teams of researchers located in multiple locations and sharing information about the dynamics being observed. This last gap has partially being addressed by Valentina Mazzucato's work on transnational families (Mazzucato 2008). However, longitudinal research covering such dynamics through mid-long periods of time and doing actual ethnography of these processes could be mostly beneficial for this area of study.

The multi-sited team efforts highlighted in the previous chapter might also have other potentially positive benefits to understanding inequalities in access to social protection at a worldwide level. Through this dissertation, I pledge for a constructive approach to include participants from the global South in the actual construction of knowledge. This view contributes to the efforts of scholars in the global south to make out of our geographical zone more than just a laboratory to be observed with an outsider's theoretical frameworks. These efforts must continue, and might benefit from teams of researchers from the global south and north working together to co-produce knowledge on the intersectional inequalities in access to social protection. In this thesis, again as a lonely researcher these efforts had a much higher cost than if such research were implemented and co-produced with various other researchers.

Concluding, the gaps presented in this section summarize themselves in the need to continue to do research that can help us to map the global inequalities that affect the life chances of both mobile and non-mobile individuals worldwide. Certainly, much more is needed to put the puzzle pieces together and figure and how and if the solidarities and inequalities we have created historically between human beings worldwide will continue to sharply change in what seems to be a rather uncertain future. This in my view are efforts that would need to be taken in joint efforts while bearing in mind and recognizing the voices of the various actors involved rather than as lonely academics in our universities and research centers. It's an effort that needs

to be done as we assume our humanity, as we carefully interact with realities of which are parts of as scientists and citizens. This will require for us to recognize the realities we study are changed by our presence, by our way of creating knowledge whether we intentionally mean it or not.

APPENDIX

Appendix A: Tables with Social Protection Approaches

Table I: European & Latin American Approaches to study Formal Social Protection

Trends	Variables used to study access to Social Protection	Authors	Geographical context
Tracing of Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism	Class and Working Status that allow for a level of de commodification	Esping-Andersen (1990)	A national context that includes valid for E.U welfare states but excludes Mediterranean welfare states.
Studies on Latin Rim or Mediterranean welfare states by European scholars.	Class and Working Status through the means of de commodification.	(Banoli, 1998, Ferrera, 1996)	A national context focuses mostly on Mediterranean welfare states.
Gender and Family Studies Critique to the Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism.	Gender division of household labor and its effect on access to the labor market and thus de commodification.	(Orloff, 1996, Sainsbury, 1999, Lister, Degavre and Merla, 2016).	A national context mostly in E.U or North America with exception of later work on transnational defamilialization.
Historical and Development Approaches to Latin American Welfare State Regime.	Class and Ethnic division in the distribution of Social Protection	(Mesa-Lago 1991, Huber and Stephens, 2005, Gough and Wood, 2004, Barrientos, 2004)	A national or regional context in Latin America.
Class and Labor Market Approaches to Latin American Welfare State Regimes	Class and Access to different sectors of the labor market.	(Figueira, 2005)	A national or regional context in Latin America.
Latin American approaches located at the Nexus Between Family, State and Market	Gender divisions of unpaid reproductive work, access to labor markets (commodification) and level of dependence on the market for survival (decommodification).	(Pribble, 2004, Martinez-Franzoni, 2007, 2008)	A national context with some level of transnational analysis particularly analyzing the role of remittances in family's de commodification.

Table 2: Formal Transnational approaches to Study Migration and Social Protection

Trends	Variables used to study social protection	Authors	Geographical Context
Migration and Welfare Regimes Studies	Migrant's entrance categories into welfare states.	Diane Sainsbury (2006, 2011)	Europe and North America
Social citizenship	Migratory and Labor Market Status.	Thomas Faist (1995)	Europe and North America
Stratified Citizenship	Migratory Status, Ethnicity, Gender and Social Class.	Morris (2003) Kofman (2002) Kraler (2010)	Europe

Table 3: Informal Transnational Approaches to Study Migration and Social Protection

Trends	Variables used to study social protection	Authors	Geographical Context
NEM (New Economics of Migration)	Family Remittances and wellbeing	(Stark and Bloom, 1985, Stark and Levhari, 1982, Katz and Stark, 1986)	United States & Mexico
The Global Care Chain	Ability to give informal physical care	(Parrenas, 2001, Yeates, 2012, Escriva and Skinner, 2005)	(Europe, Latin America, North America, Asia)
The Circulation of Transnational Care	Families' socio-economic and gender profiles. The Moral Economy of the Family and Generalized reciprocity	(Baldassar and Merla, 2014, Boccagni, 2011, Poese and Mazzucato, 2014, Boccagni, 2014, 2015, Amelina, 2016)	(Europe, Australia & Latin America)

Table 4: Informal-Formal Approaches to Study Migrants Access to Social Protection

Trends	Variables Used to Study Social Protection	Authors	Geographical Context
Global Resource Environment	Migrants' socio-economic Background	Levitt et al. 2015	U.S.A, Europe, Latin America.
Transnational Social Protection Arrangements	Migrants and their families, gender, ethnic, class, religious profiles.	(Faist et al. 2015, Basak and Barglowski, 2015)	Europe

Appendix B Participants' Support and Family Network

Figure 3: Laura Cobre' Support and Family Network

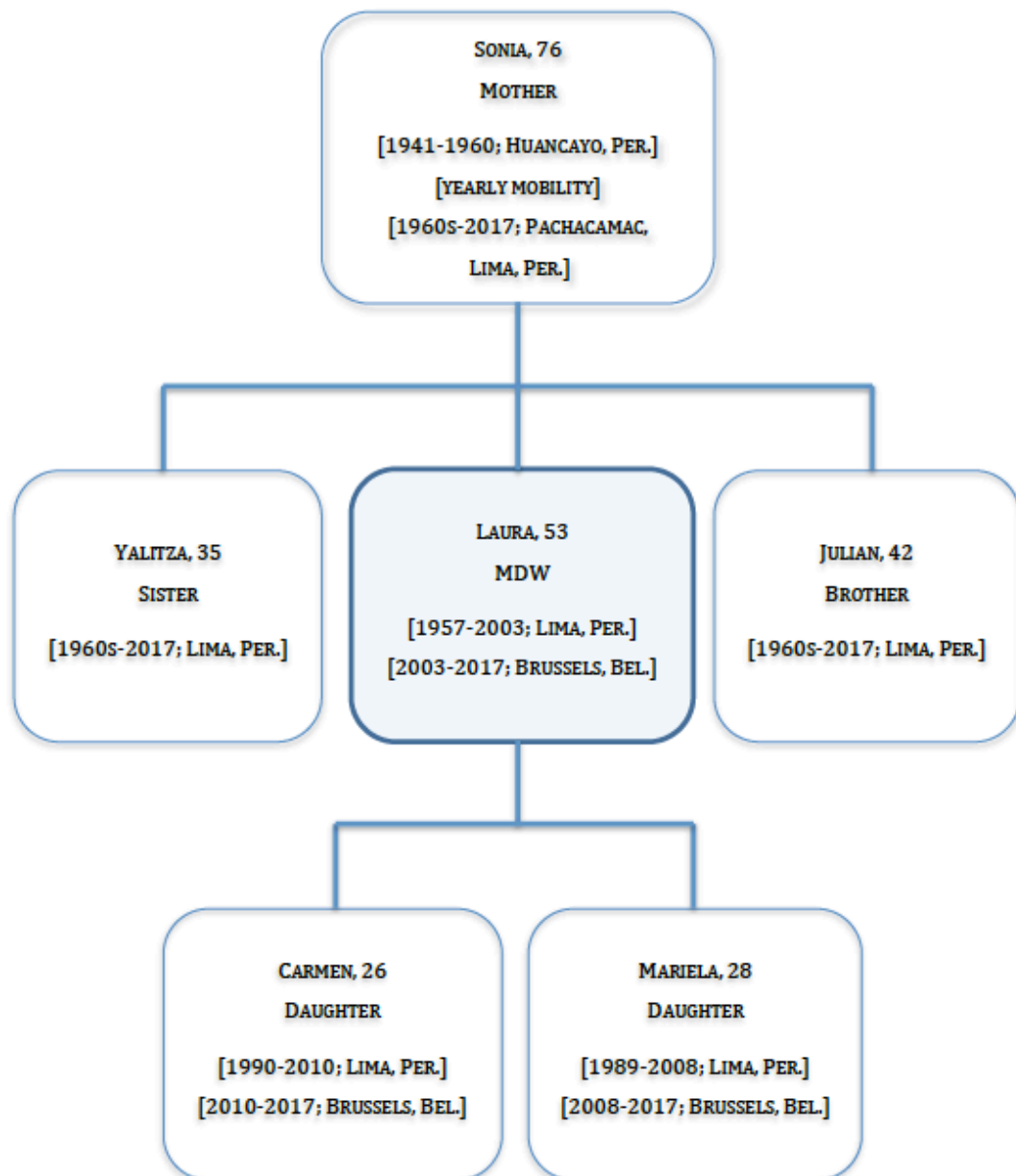


Figure 4: Lisette Hernandez' Support and Family Network

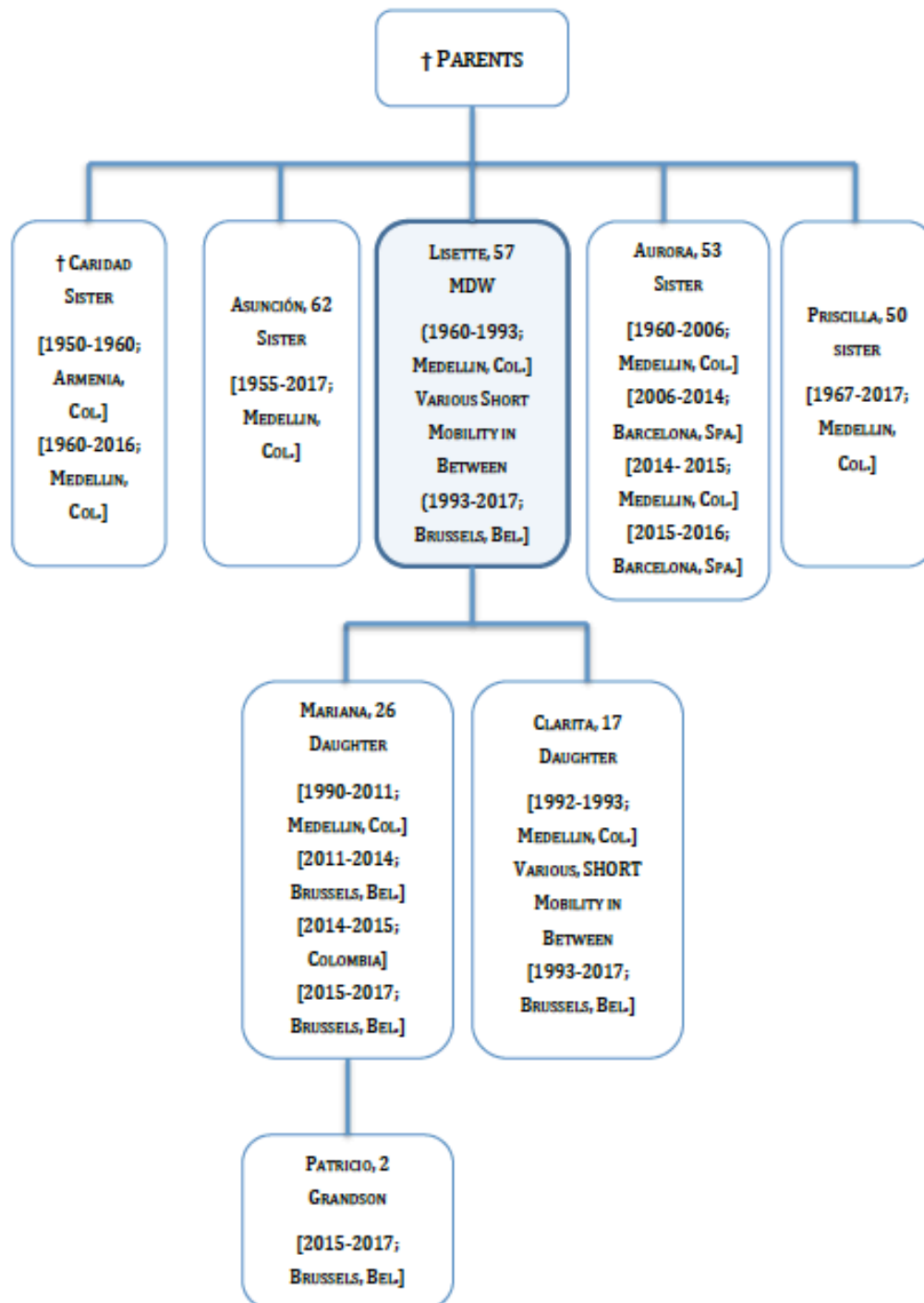


Figure 5: Valeria Rodriguez' Support and Family Network

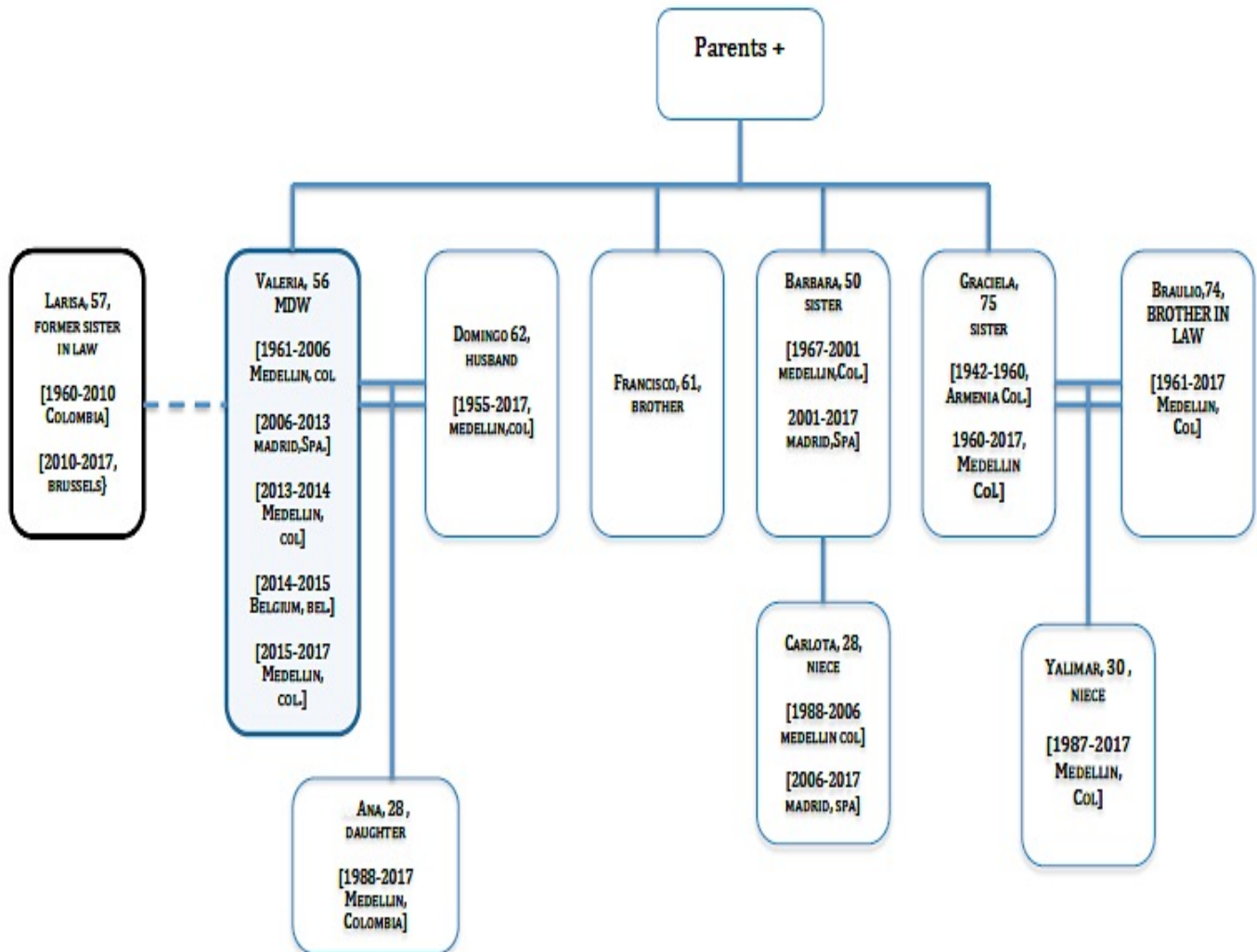


Figure 7: Norma and Salma Magallanes' Support and Family Network

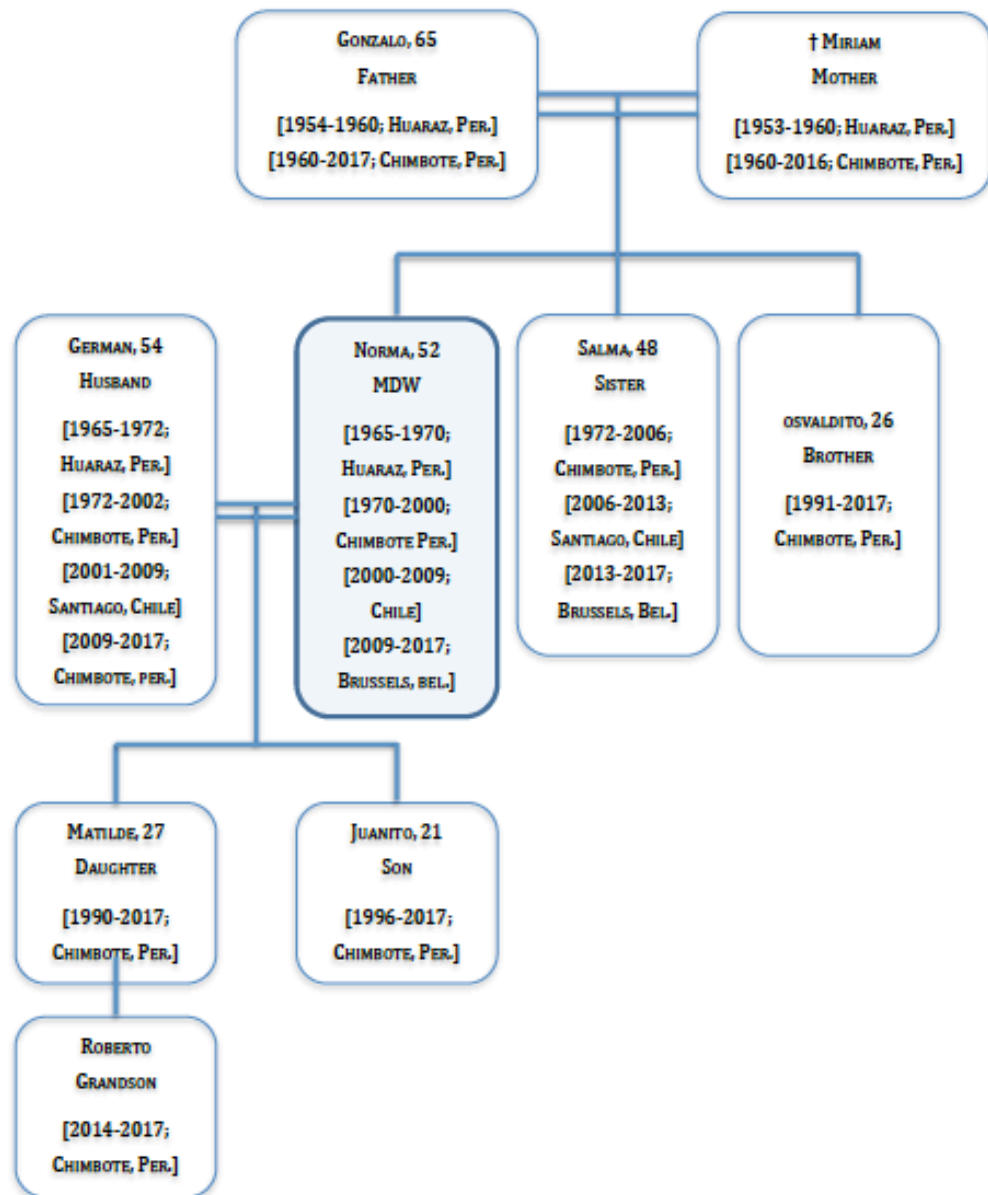


Figure 9: Ana Lilia Castaño' Support and Family Network

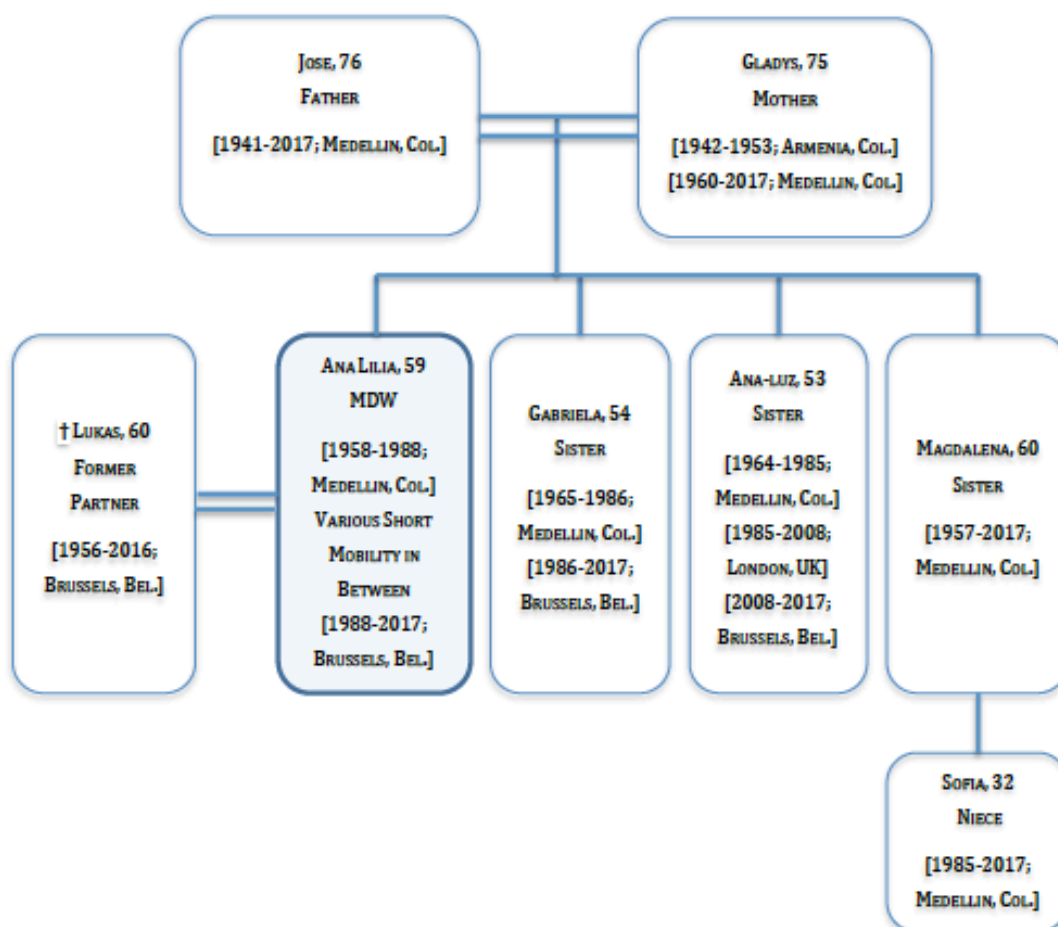


Figure 11: Catarina Zapata' Support and Family Network

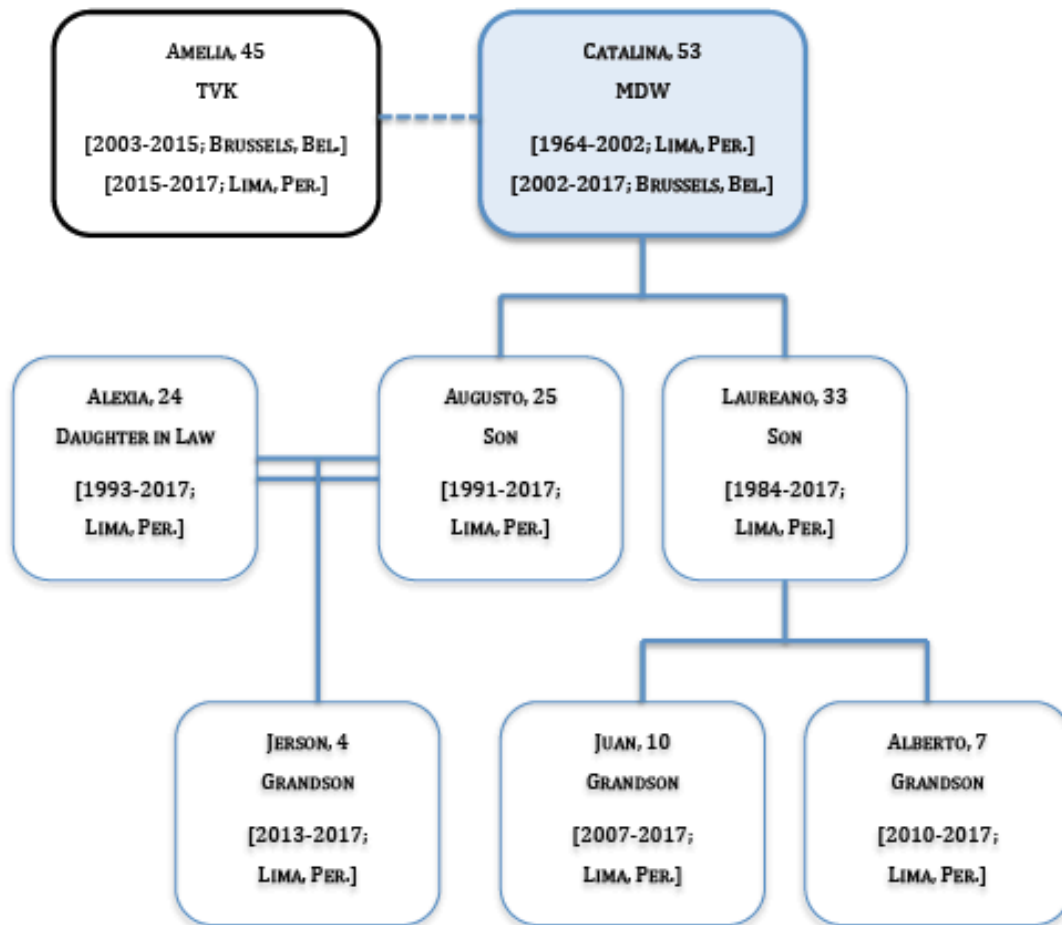


Figure 12: Eva and Amelia Olivarde' Support and Family Network

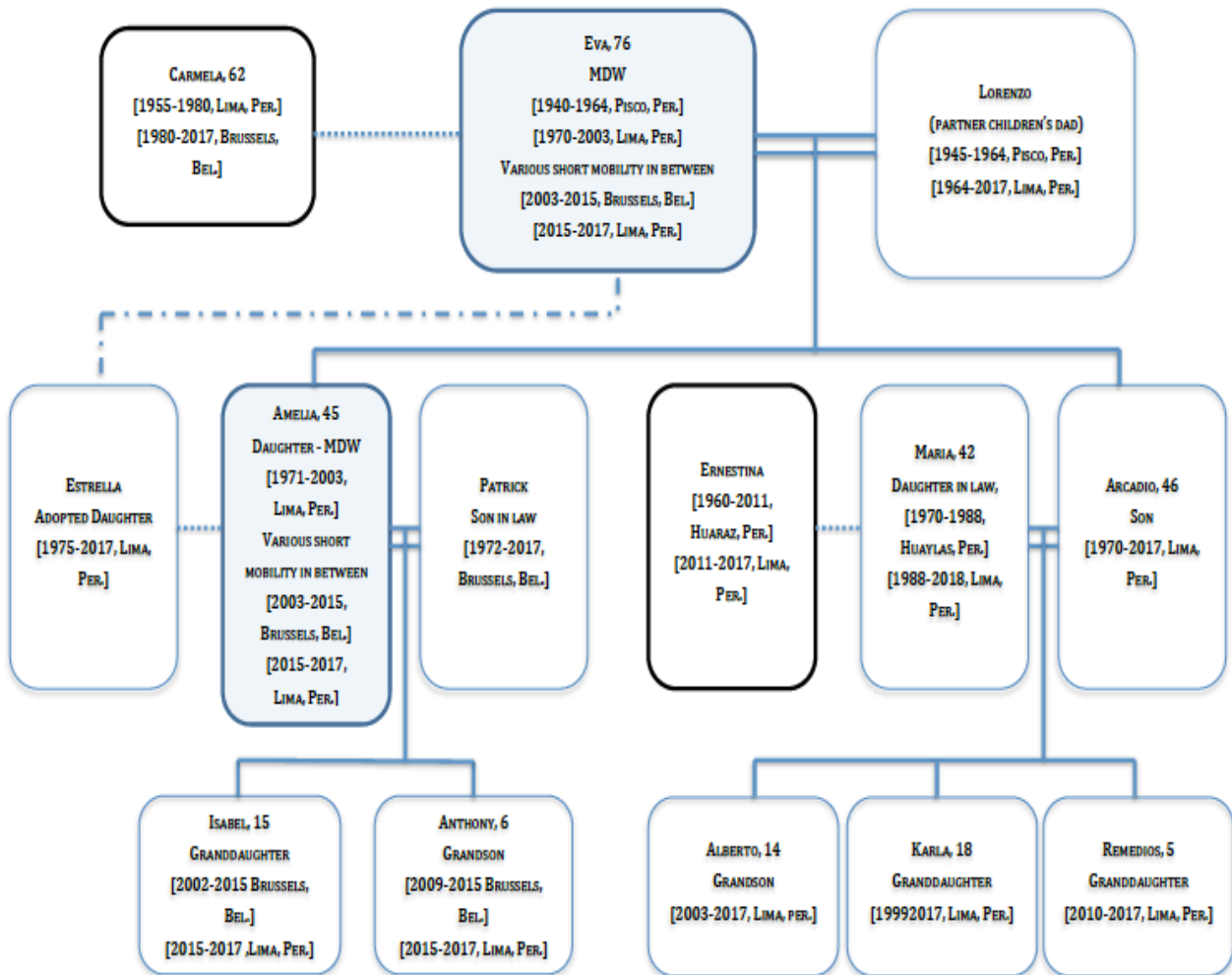


Figure 13: Alejandra Gonzalez' Support and Family Network

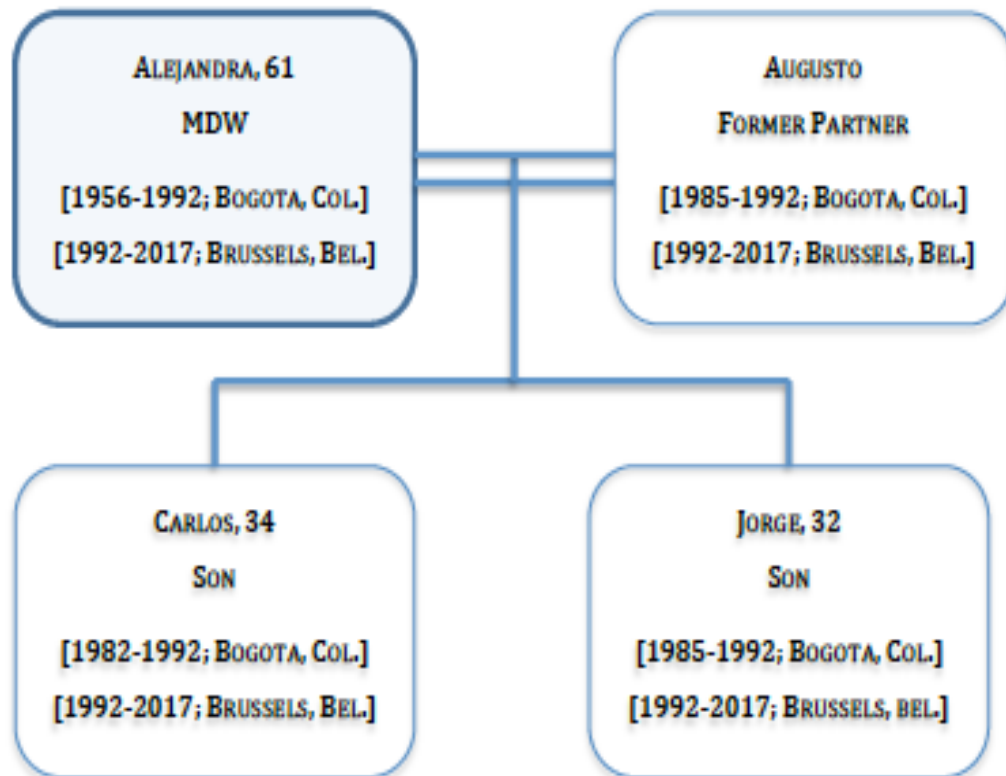


Figure 16: Amaranta Nogales' Support and Family Network

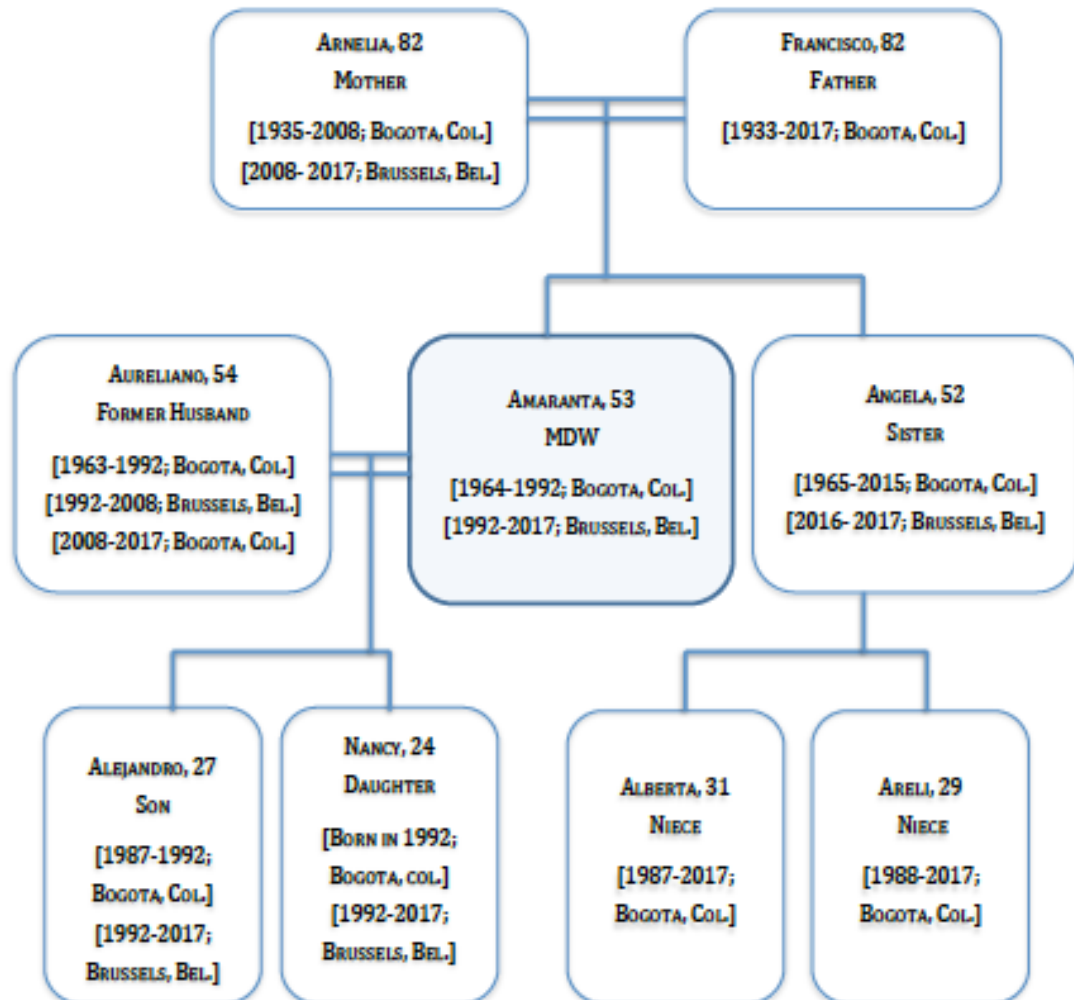
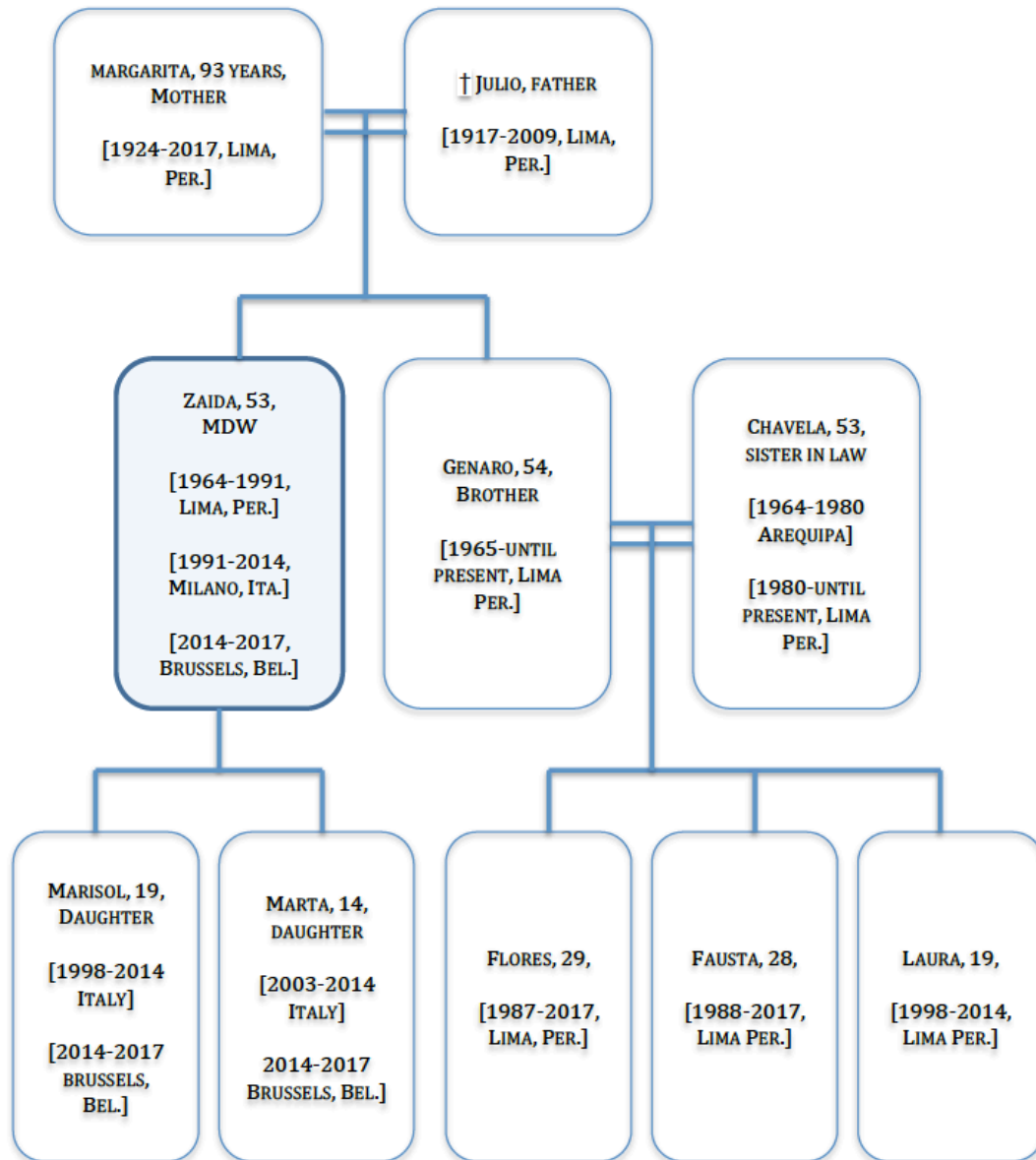


Figure 17: Zaida Robles' Support and Family Network



Appendix C: Maps of Multi-Sited Fieldwork

Figure C1: Brussels Region 19 Communes



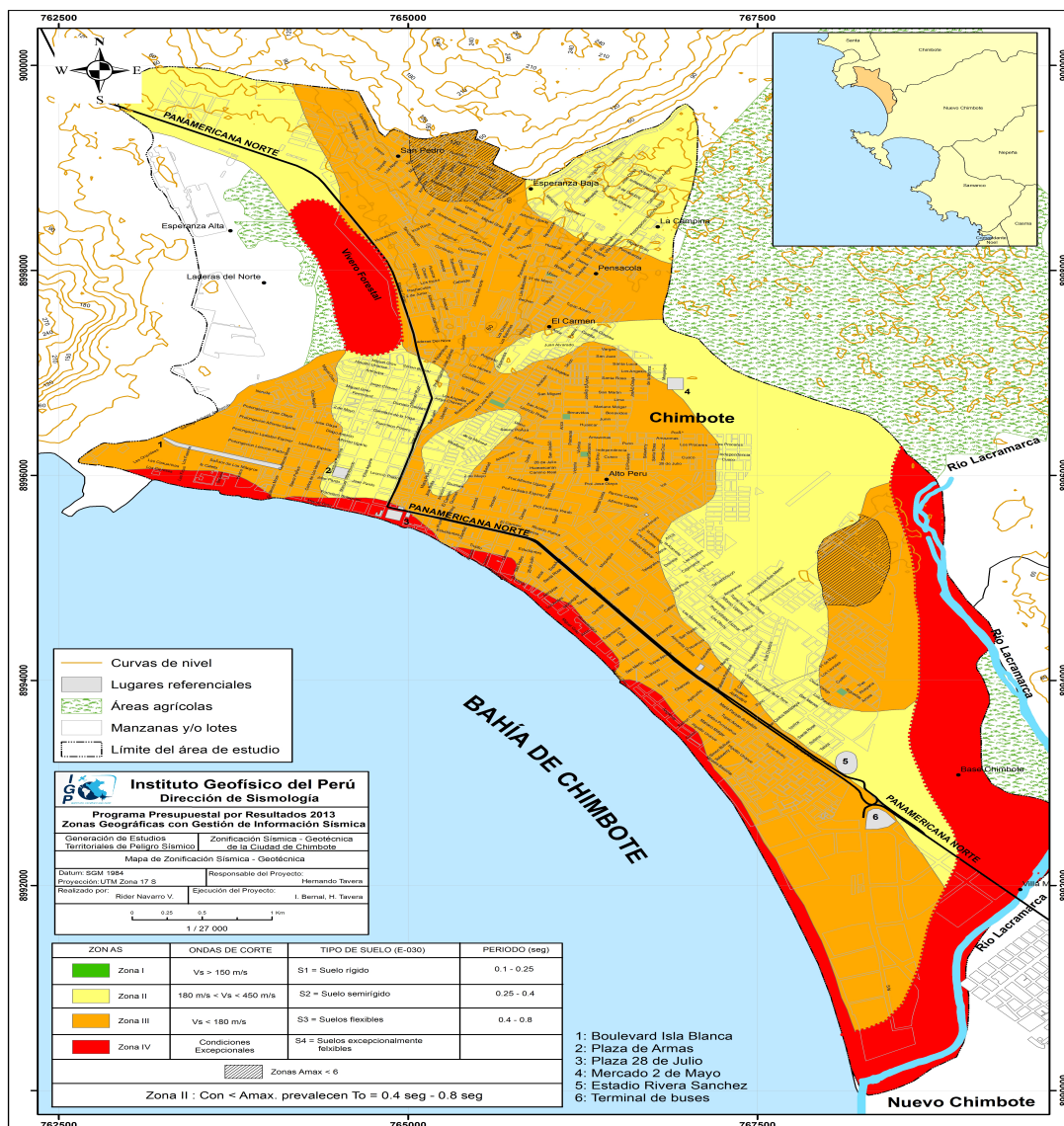
Source: “Les Communes en Chifres” Map of Brussels produced by: Institute Bruxellois de Statistique et d’Analyse

Figure C2: Metropolitan District of Lima and Callao



Source: "Lima Metropolitana" Map of Lima produced by: Ministerio de la Mujer y Poblaciones Vulnerables, Lima, Peru.

Figure C3: Chimbote



Source: “Ciudad Chimbote “ Map of Chimbote Produced by: Ministerio del Medio Ambiente, Instituto Geofísico del Perú.

Figure C4: Bogota



Source: "Bogotá Bonita y en Bici" Map of Bogota Produced by: Alcaldia de Bogota, 2015

Figure C5: Medellin



Source: "Mapa de Comunas de Medellin y sus Corregimientos" Facultad de Arquitectura Universidad Nacional de Colombia (2015)

Figure C6: Itagui



Source SajoR Creative Commons, (2007)

REFERENCES

- Abramo. L., 2004, Inserción laboral de las mujeres en américa latina: una fuerza de trabajo secundaria?, *Estudios Feministas*, 12(2), pp. 224–264.
- Abramovitz. M., 1988, *Regulating the lives of women: Social welfare policy from colonial times to the present*, Boston, South End Press.
- Ackers. J., Barry, K., and Esseveld, J., 1996, "Objectivity and Truth: Problems", in, *Doing Feminist Research* in Gottfried, Heidi (eds.), *Feminism and Social Change: Bridging Theory and Practice*, ON, Urbana, University of Illinois Press, pp.135-153.
- Acosta. A., 2008, “Libres de Transgenicos: Un sello de calidad y coherencia para el buen vivir” in, Acosta Alberto, Moreano Alejandro, Ana-María- Larrea, Galeano, Eduardo, Gudynas, Eduardo, Sylva, Erika, Francisco Hidalgo, Quezada, Gabriela, Navarro, Guillermo, Paz, Juan, Kintto, Lucas, Unda, Mario, Ospina, Pablo, Benalcazar, Patricio, Del-Salto, Patricio and Buitrón, Rubén-Darío, (eds.), *Entre el quiebre y la realidad: Constitución 2008*, Quito:, Abya-Yala, pp. 9-15.
- Acosta. A, and Martinez, A., 2009, *Plurinacionalidad: Democracia en la Diversidad*, Quito, PLACE: Ediciones Abya-Yala.
- Albrow. M., 1995, *The Global Age: State and Society beyond Modernity*, Cambridge, United Kingdom, Politics.
- Alesina. A, and Glaeser, E., 2004, *Fighting Poverty in the US and Europe: A World of Difference*. Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Alexander. M., 1997, “Erotic autonomy as a politics of decolonization: an anatomy of feminist and state practice in the Bahamas tourist industry.” in Mohanty, Chandra and Jacqui, Alexander, (eds.), *Feminist Genealogies, Colonial legacies, Democratic Futures*. New York, Routledge, pp. 63-100.

- Alvater, E. and Mahnkopf, B., 1997, "The world market unbound." in Scott, Alan (eds.), *The Limits of Globalization: Cases and Arguments*, London & New York, Routledge, pp. 306-326.
- Amelina, A, Bilecen, B. Barglowski, K. and T Faist., 2012, "Ties that protect? The significance of transnationality for the distribution of informal social protection in migrant networks." *SFB 882 Working Paper Series -DFG Research Center (SFB) From Heterogeneities to Inequalities*, (6), pp. 1-56.
- Amelina, A., 2016, "Female Migrant Care Workers as Prisoners of Multiple Obligations." in Amelina Anna (eds.) *Transnationalizing Inequalities in Europe: Socio-cultural Boundaries and regimes of intersection*, New York, Routledge, pp. 105-127.
- Anderson, P., 1998, "Simple gifts: Ethical issues in the conduct of person-based composition research" *College Composition and Communication*, 49(1), pp. 63–89.
- Anderson, B., 2000, *Doing the Dirty Work*. London, Zed Press.
- Anderson, J, Valenzuela, M, and Mora, C., 2009, "Invertir en la familia: factores preventivos y de vulnerabilidad frente al trabajo infantil doméstico en familias rurales y urbanas de Colombia, Paraguay y Perú", in María-Elena, Valenzuela and Claudia Mora (eds.) *Trabajo doméstico: un largo camino hacia el trabajo decente. Organización Internacional del Trabajo*, Chile.
- Andrenacci, L, and Repetto, F., 2006, "Universalismo, ciudadanía y Estado en la política social latinoamericana." Peru, Washington D.C, INDES-BID-Peru, pp. 1-27. Retrieved from http://www.fcpolit.unr.edu.ar/politicasocial2/files/2014/08/Repetto_Andrenacci_U2.pdf
- Annesley, C., 2007, "Libson and Social Europe: Towards a European "adult-worker model" welfare system" *Journal of European Social Policy*, 17 (3), pp. 195-205.
- Anthias, F., 2001, "The material and the symbolic in theorizing social stratification: issues of gender, ethnicity and class" *The British Journal of Sociology*, (52), pp. 367–390.
- Anthias, F., 2008, "Thinking through the lens of translocational positionality: an intersectionality frame for understanding identity and belonging" *Translocations: Migration and Social Change*, 4 (1), pp. 5–20.
- Anthias, F., 2016, Interconnecting boundaries of identity and belonging and hierarchy-making within transnational mobility studies: framing inequalities, 64 (2), pp. 172–190.

- Anzaldúa. G., 1987, *Borderlands: la frontera* (Vol. 3), San Francisco-Spinsters, Aunt Lute Press.
- Anzaldúa. G., 1989, *Borderlands La Frontera The New Mestiza*, San Francisco, Aunt Lute Books.
- Aparicio. J., and Covadonga, M., 2012, "Collective Remittances and the State: The 3x1 Program in Mexican Municipalities" *World Development*, 40 (1), pp. 206–222.
- Appadurai. A., 1990, "Disjuncture and difference in the global cultural economy", *Theory, Culture and Society*, 7 (2), pp. 295-310.
- Appadurai. A., 2004, "The Capacity to Aspire: Culture and the Terms of Recognition", in Rao, Vijayendra and Walton, Michael (eds.), *Culture and Public Action*. Stanford, Stanford University Press, 59-85.
- Arango-Gaviria. L-G., 2007, "Género, discriminación étnico-racial y trabajo en el campo popular-urbano: experiencias de mujeres y hombres negros en Bogotá", *La manzana de la discordia*, 2(4), pp. 37-47.
- Ariza. M., 2000, *Ya no soy la mujer que dejé atrás... Mujeres migrantes en República Dominicana. México*, Mexico, D.F, Instituto de Investigaciones Sociales de la Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México- Plaza y Valdés Editores.
- Arts. W, and Gelissen, J., 2002, "Three World of Welfare Capitalism or More? A State of the Art Report." *Journal of European Social Policy* 12, (2), pp. 137-158.
- Asociación-de-trabajo-redes., 2005, *Las ciudadanas más marginadas*. Lima-Peru, Cordaid.
- Avila-Santamaría. R., 2009, "Los retos en la exigibilidad de los derechos del buen vivir en el derecho ecuatoriano", in Courtis, Christian and Ávila-Santamaría, (eds.) *La protección judicial de los derechos sociales in La Protección judicial de los derechos sociales*, Quito, Ministerio de Justicia y Derechos Humanos, 543-577.
- Baldassar. L, Baldock, V, and Wilding, R, 2007, *Families Across Borders: Migration, Ageing and Transnational Caregiving*, London, Palgrave Macmillan.
- Baldassar. L., 2008, "Missing Kin and Longing to be Together: Emotions and the Construction of Co-Presence in Transnational Relationships", *Journal of International Studies*, 29, 247–266.

- Baldassar, L and Merla, L., 2014a, "Locating Transnational Care Circulation in Migration and Family Studies", in Baldassar, Loretta and Merla, Laura (eds.), *Transnational Families Migration and the Circulation of Care: Understanding Mobility and Absence in Family Life*, New York UK, Routledge,
- Baldassar, L and Merla, L., 2014b, "Introduction: Transnational family Care Giving Through the Lens of Circulation", in Loretta Baldassar and Laura Merla (eds.), *Transnational Families Migration and the Circulation of Care: Understanding Mobility and Absence in Family Life*. New York U.K: Routledge, 3-25.
- Baldassar, L., Merla, L., 2014. Locating Transnational Care Circulation in Migration and Family Studies, in: Baldassar, L., Merla, L. (Eds.), *Transnational Families Migration and the Circulation of Care: Understanding Mobility and Absence in Family Life*. Routledge, New York UK, 25-55.
- Baldassar, L., Pyke, J., & Ben-Moshe, D., 2017, "The Vietnamese in Australia: diaspora identity, intra-group tensions, transnational ties and "victim" status", *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 43 (6), pp. 937-955.
- Baldock, C.V., 2000, Migrants and their Parents: Caregiving from a Distance. *Journal of Family Issues*, 21 (2), pp. 205–224.
- Bambra, C., 2007, "Defamilialization and Welfare State Regimes a Cluster Analysis", *International Journal of Social Welfare*, 16 (4), 326–338.
- Barad, K., 2003, "Posthumanist performativity: Toward an understanding of how matter comes to matter", *Signs Journal of Women and Culture in Society* 28 (3), pp. 801–831.
- Barad, K., 2007, *Meeting the universe halfway: Quantum physics and the entanglement of matter and meaning*. United States, Duke University Press.
- Barrientos, A., and Hinojosa-Valencia, L., 2009, "A review of social protection in Latin America" centre for Social Protection IDS, Retrieved from <http://oro.open.ac.uk/27494/>, pp. 2-35.
- Barber, T., 2017, "Achieving ethnic authenticity through "return" visits to Vietnam: paradoxes of class and gender among the British-born Vietnamese", *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 43 (6), pp. 919-936.

- Barglowski, K., Bilecen, B., and Amelina, A., 2014, "Approach Transnational Social Protection: Methodological Challenges and Empirical Applications" *Population, Space and Place*, 21 (3), pp. 215–226.
- Barglowski, K. and Krzyzowski, L., 2015, "Caregiving in Polish–German transnational social space: circulating narratives and intersecting heterogeneities", *Population, Space and Place*, 21(3), pp. 257–269.
- Barnes, J., 1969, "Networks in Political Process", in Mitchel, James-Clide (eds.), *Social Networks in Urban Situations: Analyses of Personal Relationships in Central African Towns*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, pp. 51-76.
- Barrientos, A., 2004, "Latin America: Toward a Liberal-Informal Welfare Regime", in Gough, Ian and Wood, Geof, (eds.), *Insecurity and Welfare Regimes in Asia, Africa and Latin America*, U.K, Cambridge University Press, pp. 121-168.
- Barrientos, A. and Santibáñez, C., 2009, "New forms of social assistance and the evolution of social protection in Latin America", *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 41(1), pp. 1–26.
- Barrios-Klee, W., 2013, "La crisis de la universidad pública en Guatemala" in Zapata-Galindo, Marta, García-Peter, Sabina and Chan-de-Avila, Jennifer (eds.), *La Interseccionalidad en Debate: Actas del Congreso Internacional "Indicadores Interseccionales y Medidas de Inclusión Social en Instituciones de Educación Superior*, Berlin, MISEAL, Free University of Berlin, European Union, 148-156.
- Basch, L., Glick-Schiller, N. and Szanton-Blanc, C., 1994, *Nations Unbound: Transnational Projects, Post-Colonial Predicaments and De-territorialized Nation States*. Amsterdam, Gordon and Breach.
- Baubock, R., 1991, *Immigration and the Boundaries of Citizenship*. Warwick, Centre for Research in Ethnic Relations.
- Bedoya, M.R., 2015, "El papel de las políticas públicas de migración y retorno en Colombia en el marco de la crisis económica mundial: los casos del Eje Cafetero, Cali, Medellín y Bogotá", *Universidad de Antioquia, Estudios Políticos*, (46), pp. 55-77.
- Béland, D., and Lecours, A. 2017, "Federalism, policy change, and social security in Belgium: Explaining the decentralization of family allowances in the Sixth State Reform", *Journal of European Social Policy*, 0958928717700563.

- Bello. B., 2008, "Intersectionality: an approach to empower women at the Crossroads"
Unpublished paper, Università Statale Milano, Milan, Italy. Retrieved from http://www.salto-youth.net/downloads/toolbox_tool_download-file-642/Barbara_Bello.doc.
- Bello. B., 2009, "Multiple discrimination between the EU agenda and civic engagement: the long road of intersectional perspective, Roma Rights" *Journal of European Roma Rights* (2), pp. 11–20.
- Bermudez-Torres. A., 2006, "Colombian migration to Europe: Political transnationalism in the middle of conflict" *Working Papers COMPAS (Centre on Migration- Policy & Society)*, University of Oxford, 6 (39), pp. 1-28.
- Bermudez-Torres. A., 2011, "Political transnationalism and gender among Colombian migrants in London" in McIlwaine, Cathy, *Cross-Border Migration among Latin Americans European Perspectives and Beyond*, US, Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 217-234.
- Bermudez-Torres. A., 2015, "Migration, integration and crisis: comparing Colombian experiences in Madrid, London and Brussels." Presented at the Migration, integration and crisis: The experiences of Latin Americans in Europe, Liege- University of Liege. Retrieved from http://www.fass.ulg.ac.be/upload/docs/application/pdf/2015-12/20151204112804_1_131c9eca471bd850c6d117a80.pdf
- Bernstein. B., 2000, *Pedagogy, symbolic control, and identity: Theory, research, critique*. Lahmann, MD, Rowman & Littlefield.
- Beveridge. W., 2014 [1944]. *Full Employment in a Free Society: A Report, The Works of William Beveridge*. London and New York, Routledge.
- Beveridge W., 1944. *Full Employment in a Free Society*. London, George Allen & Unwin LTD.
- Bilecen. B, and Barglowski, K., 2014, "On the Assamblages of Informal and Formal Transnational Social Protection", *Population, Space and Place*, 3 (21), pp. 203-214
- Bilecen. B, Catir. G, and Orhon, A., 2015, Turkish–German transnational social space: stitching across borders, *Population, Space and Place* 3 (21), pp. 244-256.
- Bilecen. B, and Jadwiga-Sienkiewickz, J., 2015, Informal Social Protection Networks of Migrants: Typical Patterns in Different Transnational Social Spaces, *Population, Space and Place* 3 (21), pp. 227–243.

- Bhabha, J., & Shutter, S., 1994, *Women's Movement: women under immigration, nationality and refugee law*, OakHill, Stoke-on-Trent, Trentham Books.
- Bhattamishra. R, and Barret, C-B., 2010, "Community-Based Risk Management Arrangements: A Review", *World Development* 38 (7), pp. 923–932.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.worlddev.2009.12.017>
- Blanchard, O., 2006, European unemployment: the evolution of facts and ideas. *Economic policy* 21, (45), pp. 6-59.
- De Sousa-Santos, B., 2006, *Conocer desde el Sur: Para una cultura política emancipatoria*. Fondo Editorial de la Facultad de Ciencias Sociales, UNMSM, Lima, Peru.
- Bobbio. N., 1995, *The age of rights*. Cambridge, Polity Press.
- Boccagni. P., 2011, "Migrants' Social Protection as a Transnational Process: Public Policies and Emigrant initiative in the Case of Ecuador", *International Journal of Social Welfare*, 20, (3) pp. 318–325.
- Boccagni. P., 2014, Caring about migrant care workers: From private obligations to transnational social welfare? *Critical Social Policy*, 34 (2), pp. 221-240.
- Boccagni, P., 2015, "Burden, blessing or both? On the mixed role of transnational ties in migrant informal social support." *International Sociology*, 30 (3), pp. 250-268.
<https://doi.org/0268580915570508>.
- Boccagni. P., and Baldasar. L., 2015. "Emotions on the move: Mapping the emergent field of emotion and migration", *Emotion Space and Society* 16, pp. 73–80.
- Boccagni, Paolo, Lafleur, J-M, and Levitt., P 2015. Transnational Politics as Cultural Circulation: Toward a Conceptual Understanding of Migrant Political Participation on The Move, *Mobilities*, 11,3, pp. 444-463.
- Bock. G, and Thane, P., 1991, *Maternity and Gender Policies: Women and the Rise of the European Welfare States 1880s-1950s*, Routledge, London.
- Bonvalet. C, and Lelievre, E., 2013, "Significant others and the dynamics of the family network (from the proches et parents survey to the biographies et entourage survey)", *International Review of Sociology* 23, (1), pp. 8–26.

- Bonizzoni P., 2014, "Immigrant working mothers reconciling work and childcare: the experience of Latin American and Eastern European women in Milan." *Social politics: international studies in gender, state & society*, 21, (2), pp. 194-217.
- Bonoli, G., 1997, "Classifying welfare states: a two-dimension approach" *Journal of social policy*, 26, (03), pp. 351–372.
- Bonvalet. C, and Lelievre, E., 2013, "Significant others and the dynamics of the family network (from the proches et parents survey to the biographies et entourage survey)". *International Review of Sociology* 23, (1), pp. 8–26.
- Borchorst. A., 1994a, "The Scandinavian welfare state, patriarchal, gender neutral or woman friendly?" *International Journal of Contemporary Sociology* 31, (1), pp. 45-67.
- Borchost. A., 1994b, "Welfare state regimes, women's interest and the EC", in: Sainsbury, Diane, (eds.), *Gendering Welfare States*. London, Sage.
- Bourdieu. P., 1977, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Bourdieu. P., 1985, "The forms of Capital." in Richardson, Jonh. G (eds.), *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, N.Y, Greenwood, 241-258.
- Bourdieu. P., 1994, *Raison Pratiques Sur la théorie de l'action*, Paris, Éditions du Seuil.
- Bourdieu. P., 2001, *Science de la science et réflexivité*. Paris, Raisons d'agir Editions.
- Bourdieu. P., 2005, *The social structures of the economy*. Cambridge, Polity.
- Bourdieu. P, and Passeron, J.C., 1990, *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture* (2nd ed.), Newbury Pack-CA, Sage Publications.
- Bouman. F.J.A, and Otto, H, 1994, "ROSCA and ASCRA : Beyond the Financial Landscape." in Bouman, Frits-J.A and Otto, Hospes (eds.) *Financial Landscapes Reconstructed. The Fine Art of Mapping Development*. Boulder, Westview.
- Bowleg. L., 2008, When Black+ lesbian+ woman ≠ Black lesbian woman: The methodological challenges of qualitative and quantitative intersectionality research, *Sex Roles*, 59, (5), pp. 312–325.
- Bustelo. M, and Bravo, L., 2009, Gender Politics in Spain. The Challenge of Intersectionality. in Franken, Martha, Woodward, Alison, Anna Cabó, and Barbara Bagilhobe (eds.),

Teaching Intersectionality. Putting Gender at the Centre, Utrech, Athena Book Series, pp. 121-32.

- Brumat, L, and Artola, J., 2015, Circulación de personas e integración regional: Dónde está el Mercosur (No. ARI 43-2015). Real instituto elcano. Retrieved from: <http://www.realinstitutoelcano.org/wps/wcm/connect/d26f630049d8006d8e8d8e207bacc4c/ARI43-2015-Brumat-Artola-Circulacion-personas-integracion-regional-donde-esta-Mercosur.pdf?MOD=AJPERES&CACHEID=d26f630049d8006d8e8d8e207bacc4c>
- Bryceson, D and Ulla, V., 2002, *The Transnational Family New European Frontiers and Global Networks*, Oxford, Oxford International Publishers.
- Butler, J., 1993, *Bodies that matter: On the discursive limits of sex*. London, New York: Routledge.
- Butler, J., 2011, *Gender trouble: Feminism and the subversion of identity*. U.K, Routledge.
- Buttler, C., 2016, What would Brexit mean for the NHS, social care and disable people? Retrieved from: <https://www.theguardian.com/society/2016/jun/14/brexit-nhs-health-social-care-disabled-people-eu-referendum>
- Buxton J and Grugel J., 2009, "The Bolivarian Revolution as Venezuela's post-crisis alternative", in Grugel, Jean and Riggorozzi, Pia (eds.), *Governance after Neoliberalism in Latin America*, US, USA, Palgrave Macmillan, 147–173.
- Bredstorm. A., 2006, "Intersectionality: A Challenge for Feminist HIV/AIDS", *European Journal of Women's Studies*, 15, (3), pp. 229–244.
- Browne, I., and Misra, J., 2003, "The intersection of gender and race in the labor market", *Annual Review of Sociology* 29(1), pp. 487–513.
- Brubaker. W., 1989, *Immigration and the politics of citizenship in Europe and North America*. Lanham, University Press of America.
- Bruner, E., 2008, "Ethnography as Narrative", in Turner, Victor-W and Bruner, Edward-M (eds.), *The Anthropology of Experience*. Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 139-159.
- Bryceson. D., and Vuorela, U., 2002, *The Transnational Family New European Frontiers and Global Networks*. Oxford: Oxford International Publishers.

- Camargo. B., 2015, "Outsourcing Housework: Clients, Agencies and the Voucher System in Brussels. In Sabrina Marchetti & Anna Triandafyllidou (Eds.), *Employer, Agencies and Immigration: Paying for Care*. England-USA: Ashgate Publishing Company, 131-150.
- Camargo. B., 2016, *Transformer le travail domestique? Femmes Migrantes et Politiques de formalisation a Bruxelles*. Thesis in Political and Social Sciences, Free-University of Brussels, Brussels.
- Canales, A., 2008, "Envois de fonds, développement et pauvreté. Une perspective critique de l'Amérique Latine", in Yepez-Del-Castillo, Isabel and Herrera, Gioconda (eds.), *Nouvelles Migrations Latino-Américaines en Europe*, Barcelona, Obreal, pp. 196-217.
- Cantillon, B., 2010. "Disambiguating Lisbon: Growth, Employment and Social Inclusion in the Investment State", *Working Paper. Center for Social Policy*, 10 (07), pp. 1-29.
- Carlier. Y.P., 2008, "Evolutions Politiques Relatives Aux Migration entre l'Amérique Latine et l'Europe", in Y Yepez & G Herrera (Eds.), *Nouvelles Migrations Latino-Américaines en Europe*. Louvain La Neuve Barcelona: Presses Universitaires de Louvain Publicacions Edicions Universitat de Barcelona.
- Carrasco. H., and Lentz. C., 1985, *Migrantes campesinos de Licto y Flores : Mariano, Alfonso, José, Lorenzo, Manuel : historias de vida recopiladas y comentadas*, Quito, Ediciones Abya-Yala.
- Carvajal-Castro. B., 2007, *Caridad y beneficencia, el tratamiento de la pobreza en Colombia 1870-1930*, Colombia, Universidad Externado de Colombia.
- Castles. S., and Miller. M., 1993, *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World*. New York: Guildford Press.
- Cecchini. S., and Martínez, R., 2011, *Protección Social Inclusiva en América Latina: Una mirada integral un enfoque de derechos*, Chile, CEPAL.
- Ceriani. P, Courtis. C, Pacecca, M, Asa, P, and Pautassi, L., 2009, "Migración y trabajo doméstico en Argentina: Las precaridades en el marco global", in Valenzuela, Maria-Elene and Mora, Claudia, (eds.), *Trabajo doméstico un largo camino hacia el trabajo decente*, Santiago de Chile, ILO, 147-191.
- Chen. K, and Morley, D., 1996, *Stuart Hall: Critical dialogues in cultural studies*. New York, Routledge.

- Cho. S, Crenshaw. K, and MacCall, L., 2013, "Toward a field of intersectionality studies: Theory, applications, and praxis", *Signs Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 38(4), pp. 785–810.
- Chow. R., 2001, "Gender and Representation", in Bronfen, Elisabeth and Kavka, Misha (eds.), *Feminist Consequences: Theory for the New Century*, New York, Columbia University Press, 38-57.
- Christ. S., 2017, "You are supposed to treat them like your mum and dad’: narratives about transnational family lives by middle-class Filipino children" *The Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 46, (60), pp.902-918
- Coe. C., 2014, *The Scattered Family Parenting, African Migrants and Global Inequality*. Chicago-London, The University of Chicago Press.
- Cohen. R., 1997, *Global Diasporas: An Introduction*, Seattle, University of Washington Press.
- Colen. S., 1995, "Like a Mother to them: Stratified Reproduction and West Indian Childcare Workers and Employers in New York." in Ginsburg, Faye and Rapp, Rayna (eds.), *Conceiving the New World Order: The Global Politics of Reproduction*, Berkeley California: University of California Press, pp. 78-102.
- Coleman. J., 1990, *Foundations of Social Theory*, MA, Harvard University Press.
- Connell. R., 1987, *Gender and Power*, California, Stanford University Press.
- Combahee-River-Collective., 1995, "A black feminist statement" Retrieved at:
http://americanstudies.yale.edu/sites/default/files/files/Keyword%20Coalition_Readings.pdf
- Cotler. J, and Grompone, R., 2000, *El fujimorismo. Ascenso y caída de un régimen autoritario*. Lima, Instituto de Estudios Peruanos.
- Cotler. J, and Cuenca, R., 2011, *Las desigualdades en el Perú: balances y críticas*. Lima, Instituto de Estudios Peruanos.
- Crenshaw. K., 1989, Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, *Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics*, 1(8), pp. 139-167. Retrieved from
<http://chicagounbound.uchicago.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1052&context=uclf>

- Crenshaw. K., 1991, Mapping the margins: Intersectionality, identity politics, and violence against women of color. *Stanford Law Review*, 43, pp. 1241–1299.
- Crenshaw. K., 2016, *The urgency of intersectionality* | Kimberlé Crenshaw. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=akOe5-UsQ2o>
- Crouch. C., 2011, *The strange non-death of neo-liberalism*, Cambridge, Polity.
- Crozier. M, Huntington, S and Watanuki, J., 1975, *The crisis of democracy*, New York, New York University Press.
- Cohen. E, and Franco, R., 2006, *Transferencias con corresponsabilidad: una mirada latinoamericana*. Mexico D.F: FLACSO. Retrieved from https://books.google.be/books?hl=en&lr=&id=E1im7jaL8KcC&oi=fnd&pg=PA9&dq=transferencias+con+responsabilidad+una+mirada+latinoamericana&ots=3My_TiDiY4&sig=O3u9d_7OaApGvgW5T0ifGY-_Qhc#v=onepage&q=transferencias%20con%20responsabilidad%20una%20mirada%20latinoamericana&f=false
- Cornia. G-A, Jolly, R, and Stewart, F., 1998, *Adjustment with a Human Face: Ten Country Case Studies*. Clarendon Press, Wotton-under-Edge.
- Dauvergne. C., 2008, *Making People Illegal: What Globalization Means for Migration and Law*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Davalos. P., 2008, "El Sumak Kawsay (Buen Vivir) y las cesuras del desarrollo", *Boletín ICCI-Rimay año*, pp. 17–24, retrieved from: <http://www.alainet.org/es/active/23920>
- Davis. A., 1981, *Women, Race and Class*, New York: Random House.
- Davis. K., 2008, "Intersectionality in Transatlantic Perspective", in Kliger, Cornelia & G.-A. Knapp, Gudrun-Axeli, Munster, Verl and Westfall, Dampfboot, (eds.), *Überkreuzungen Fremdheit, Differenz*, Munster, Westfälisches Dampfboot, pp. 19-35.
- Deacon. B., 2007, *Global Social Policy and Governance*, London, Sage.
- De-Beauvoir. S., 2010, *The Second Sex, Londres, Vintage Books*, London, Vintage Books.
- Degavre. F, and Merla, L., 2016, "Re-thinking defamilialization in the light of global care chains and the transnational circulation of care", in Kilkey, Majella and Palenga-Mollenbeck.

Family Life in an Age of Migration and Mobility: Global Perspectives Through the Life-Course. Palgrave Macmillan, U.K, pp.287-313.

De la Cadena. M, 1992, Las mujeres son más indias, *Espejos y Travesías*, 25–46.

DEM. (2013). *Rapport Statistique et demographiques 2013: Migration et population issues de l'immigration en Belgique*. Brussels: DEM- Université Catholique de Louvain Centre pour l'egalite des chances et lutte contre le racisme.

Dreby. J., 2010, *Divided by the Borders: Mexican Migrants and their Children*. Berkeley, CA, University of California Press.

Dreby. D., 2012, *How Today's Immigration Enforcement Policies Impact Children, Families and Communities. A view from the Ground*, Documenting the Undocumented Series, Washington, D.C., Center for American Progress, pp. 64-85.

Devault. M., 1996, "Talking Back to Sociology: Distinctive Contributions of Feminist Methodology", *Annual review of Sociology*, 22, (1), pp. 29-50.

Devereux, S.R and Sabates-Wheeler, R., 2008, "Transformative Social Protection: The Currency of Social Justice", in Barrientos, Armando and Hulme, David, (eds.), *Social Protection for the Poor and Poorest*, New York, Palgrave.

Di-Leonardo, M. (1987) The Female World of Cards and Holidays: Women, Families and the Work of Kinship. *Signs*, 12, (3), pp. 440-453

Domínguez. N, Arnés, L., and Torricella, P., 2013, "Desplazamientos teóricos, trayectos institucionales", in Zapata-Galindo, Martha, García-Peter, Sabina and Jennifer. Chan-de-Ávila, (eds.), *La Interseccionalidad en Debate: Actas del Congreso Internacional: Indicadores Interseccionales y Medidas de Inclusión Social en Instituciones de Educación Superior*. European Union, Misesal, Free University of Berlin, pp. 36-45.

Dworkin. R, 2002, *Sovereign virtue: The theory and practice of equality*, London-England, Harvard University Press.

Durkheim. E, 1965 [1912]), *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, New York, The Free Press.

Durkheim. E, 2010, "From Mechanical to Organic Solidarity." in Giddens, Anthony & Sutton, Phillip-W, (eds.), *Sociology Introductory Readings 3rd Edition* (Third Edition). U.S & U.K, Polity Press, pp.25-29.

- Düvell, F., Triandafyllidou, A., and Vollmer, B., 2010, "Ethical issues in irregular migration research in Europe", *Population, Space and Place*, 16 (3), pp. 227-239.
- Ebbinghaus, B., and Hassel, A., 2000, "Striking deals: concertation in the reform of continental European welfare states", *Journal of European public policy*, 7, pp. 44–62.
- Ehrenreich, B., and Hochschild, A.R., 2002, *The Global Woman. Nannies Maids and Sex Workers in the New Economy*, New York, Metropolitan Books.
- Epstein, A., 1969, "The network and urban social organization", in Clyde-Mitchell, James (eds.), *Social Networks in Urban Situations Analysis of Personal Relationships in Central African Towns*, Manchester, pp.77-116.
- Escriva, A., 2005, *Aged Global Care Chains: A Southern European Contribution to the field*. Presented at the International Conference on Migration and Domestic Work in Global Perspective, Wassenaar.
- Escriva, A., and Skinner, E., 2008, "Domestic Work and Transnational Care Chains in Spain", in Lutz, Helma (eds.), *Migration and Domestic Work: A European Perspective on a Global Theme*. Hampshire, England, Ashgate Publishing Limited.
- Escriva, A., and Diaz-Gorfinkel, M., 2011, "Latin American Domestic Workers Abroad: Perspectives from Spain." in MacLkwaine, Cathy, (eds.), *Cross Border Migration Among Latin Americans: European Perspectives and Beyond*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 71-93 .
- Esguerra-Muelle, C., and Bello-Ramírez, J., 2014, "Interseccionalidad y políticas públicas LGTBI en Colombia: usos y desplazamientos de una noción crítica", *Revista de Estudios Sociales/Journal of Social Studies*, (49), pp. 19-32.
- Esping-Andersen, G. (1990). *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Esping-Andersen, G., 1985. *Power and distributional regimes*. Politics and Society.
- Esping-Andersen, G., 1987. "Citizenship and socialism: de-commodification and solidarity in the welfare state", in: Rein, M., Rainwater, L. (Eds.), *Stagnation and Renewal in Social Policy*. NY: M.E sharpe, Armonk.
- Esping-Andersen, G., 1997, "Hybrid or unique?: The Japanese welfare state between Europe and America", *Journal of European Social Policy*, 7, pp. 179–189.

- Esping-Andersen. G., 1999, *Social foundation of post-industrial economies*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Esping-Andersen. G., 2000, "A Welfare State for the 21st Century Ageing Societies, knowledge-based economy and the sustainability of European Welfare States", European Union Presidency, Lisbon Summit.
- Esping-Andersen. G., 2002, *Why we need a new welfare state*. Oxford University Press, USA.
- Faist. T., 1995, "Boundaries of welfare states: immigrants and social rights on the national and supranational level." in Miles, Robert and Thranhardt, Dietrich, *Migration and European integration: The dynamics of inclusion and exclusion*, London, Pinter, Publishers, pp. 177-195.
- Faist. T., 1998, "Transnational social spaces out of international migration: evolution, significance and future prospects", *European Journal of Sociology*, 39(02), pp. 213-247.
- Faist. T., 2000, *The Volume and Dynamics of International Migration and Transnational Social Spaces*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Faist. T., 2001, "Social citizenship in the European Union: nested membership", *Journal of Common Market Studies* 1, pp. 37–58.
- Faist. T., 2013, "Transnational Social Protection: An Emerging Field of Study", *COMCAD working paper series*, (113), pp. 2-30.
- Faist. T., Bilecen, B, Barglowski, K, Jadwiga-Sienkiewicz, J., 2015. "Transnational Social Protection: Migrant's Strategies and Patterns of Inequalities" *Population, Space and Place*, 21, (3), pp. 193-202.
- Faist. T., Bilecen. B., 2014, "Social Inequalities Through the Lens of Social Protection: Notes on the Transnational Social Question", *Population, Space and Place*, 21 (3), pp. 282-293
- Faist. T., 2016, Cross-Border Migration and Social Inequalities, *Annual Review of Sociology*, 42, pp. 23–46.
- Faist.T, Barglowski, K and Jadwiga-Sienkiewickz, J., 2014, "Transnational Social Protection: Migrants' Strategies and Patterns of Inequalities", *Population, Space and Place* 21, (3), pp. 193–202.

- Faist, T and Bilecen, B., 2015, "Social inequalities through the lens of social protection: notes on the transnational social question" *Population, Space and Place*, 21, (3), pp.282-293.
- Favell, A., 2011, *Eurostars and Eurocities: Free movement and mobility in an integrating Europe* (Vol. 56), Hoboken, N.J, Backwell Publishing.
- Ferguson, J., 1999, *Expectations of modernity: myths and meanings of urban life on the Zambian Copperbelt* (Vol. 57), California, University of California Press.
- Ferreira, F. H., and Robalino, D. A., 2010, Social protection in Latin America: achievements and limitations. *World Bank Policy Research Working Paper*, (5305), pp. 1-41.
- Ferrera, M., 1996, "The southern model of welfare in social Europe" *Journal of European Social Policy* 6, pp. 17–37.
- Ferrera, M, Hemerijck, A, Rhodes, M., 2000. *The future of social Europe: Recasting Work and Welfare in the New Economy*, Celta Editora, Oeiras.
- Ferrera, M., 2005, *The Boundaries of Welfare: European Integration and the New Spatial Politics of Social Protection*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Ferrera, M., 2010, "Mapping the Components of Social EU: A critical analysis of the current institutional patchwork" in: Marlier, Eric, and David, Natali (eds.), *Europe 2020 Towards A More Social E.U?* Peter Lang, Brussels, pp. 45–68.
- Fernandes, L., 2013a, *Transnational feminism in the United States: Knowledge, ethics, and power*. NYU: New York University Press.
- Fernandes, L., 2013b., "Regimes of Visibilitu and Transnational Feminists Knowledge", in, Fernandes, Leila, (eds.) *Transnational Feminism in the United State: Knowledge, Ethics, Power*, NYU: New York University Press, pp. 102-135.
- Fernández-Kelly, M. P., 1983, *For we are sold, I and my people: Women and industry in Mexico's frontier*. Suny Press.
- Figueira, F., 1998, "El nuevo modelo de prestaciones sociales en América Latina: Residualismo y ciudadanía estratificada" In Roberts, Byran (eds.), *Ciudadania y Política Social*, Costa Rica, FLACSO-Costa Rica, pp. 71-116.
- Figueira, F., 2005, *Welfare and Democracy in Latin America: The Development, Crises and Aftermath of Universal, Dual and Exclusionary Social States*. UNRISD (United Nations

Research Institute for Social Development) Project on Social Policy and Democratization, Geneva, Switzerland.

- Figueira, F., and Martínez-Franzoni., 1998, *Paradigmas globales y filtros domésticos: reforma administrativa y política social en América Latina*, *Ciencias Economicas*, 2, pp. 191–215.
- Finch. J., 1989, *Family Obligations and Social Change*, Cambridge UK, Polity Press.
- Finch. J, and Manson, J., 1993, *Negotiating Family Responsibilities*, London, Routledge.
- Finch. J., 2007, Displaying Families. *Sociology*, 41(1), pp. 65–81.
- Fog-Olwig, K., 2007, *Carribean Journey: An ethnography of migration and home in three family networks*. The United States, Duke University Press.
- Fog-Olwig. K., 2001. *Researching Global Socio-Cultural Fields: Views from an Extended Field Site* (Vol. WPTC-01-12). Presented at the Workshop on “Transnational Migration: Comparative Perspectives,” Princeton-NJ.
- Foucault. M., 1976, "Sentia Sexualis. in Foucault Michel", (eds.) *La Histoire de la Sexualite I La Volonte de Savoir*, Paris, Éditions Gallimard, pp. 69-98.
- Foucault. M., 1978, "Scientia Sexualis. in, Foucault, Michel", (eds.) *The History of Sexuality Volume I: An Introduction*, New York, Pantheon Books, pp. 51-75.
- Franco. R., 1996, "Los paradigmas de la política social en América Latina", *Revista de la Cepal*, 58, pp. 9-22.
- Franco. R., 2003, "Descentralización, participación y competencia en la gestión social", Presented at: *VII Congreso internacional CLAD sobre la reforma del estado y de la administración pública* (Vol. 28–31). Panama. Retrieved from <http://unpan1.un.org/intradoc/groups/public/documents/clad/clad0047517.pdf>
- Fraser. N., 1994, "After the family wage: Gender equity and the welfare state", *Political Theory*, 22(4), pp. 591–618.
- Fraser. N., 1997, *Critical reflections on the “ postsocialist ” condition*, New York, Routledge.
- Fraser. N., 1987. "Women, Welfare and The Politics of Need Interpretation", *Hypatia a Journal of Feminist Philosophy* 2, pp. 103–121.

- Fredman. S., 2016, *Intersectional discrimination in EU gender equality and non-discrimination law*. European Commission- Directorate for Justice and Consumers, Brussels.
- Freeman. G., 1986, "Migration and the political economy of the welfare state" *The Annals Academy of Political and Social Sciences*, (486), pp. 51–63.
- Freeman. G., 1995, "Modes of Immigration Politics in Liberal Democratic States", *International Migration Review*, 29(4), pp. 881–902.
- Freitas. A, and Godin, M., 2013, Carrieres migratoires des femmes latino-américaines dans le secteur de la domesticité a Bruxelles. *Revue Européenne Des Migrations Internationales*, 29, pp. 1–20.
- Flick. U., 2007, *Doing ethnographic and observational research*, California, Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks.
- Flora. P, and Heidenheimer, A., 1981, *The Development of the Welfare States in Europe and America*. New Brunswick, Transaction,
- Flora. P., 1986, *Growth to Limits: The Western European Welfare States Since World War II*, 4 vols. ed. De Gruyter, Berlin.
- Flora. Peter, and Alber, Jens., 1981, "Modernization, democratization and the development of welfare states in Western Europe", in: *The Development of the Welfare State in Europe and America*, Transaction Books, London, pp. 37-80.
- Fresnoza-Flot. A., 2017, "Gender-and social class-based transnationalism of migrant Filipinas in binational unions", *Journal of Ethnic and Migration studies*, 43, (6), pp. 885-901.
- Fresnoza-Flot. A., and Shinozaki, K., 2017, "Transnational perspectives on intersecting experiences: gender, social class and generation among Southeast Asian migrants and their families" *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 43, (6), pp. 1–18.
- Giddens, A., 2000, *On the edge: Living with Global Capitalism*, London, Jonathan Cape.
- Giddens. A., 2013, *The consequences of modernity*, Britain, John Wiley & Sons.
- Gille, Z., & Riain, S. Ó., 2002, Global ethnography. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 28(1), pp. 271-295.

- Gelsthorpe. L., 1992, "Response to Martyn Hammersley Paper 'on Feminist Methodology' ", *Sociology*, 26, (2), pp. 213-218.
- Gentles. S, Jack, S, Nicolas, D, and Macckibon, K., 2014, Critical Approach to Reflexivity in Grounded Theory, *The Qualitative Report*, 19(44), pp. 1–14.
- Glaser, B., and Strauss, A., 1967, *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research*. London, New Brunswick, Aldine Transaction.
- Glick-Schiller. N., 1997, "The situation of transnational studies", *Identities*, 4, (2), pp. 155–166.
- Glick-Schiller. N., 1999, Transmigrants and Nation-States: Something Old and Something New in the US Immigrant Experience. in, Hirshman, Charles, P. Kasinitz, Philip, and DeWind, Josh, (eds.), *Handbook of International Migration: The American Experience*, New York, Russell Sage Foundation, pp, 94-120 .
- Glick-Schiller. N, and Wimmer, A., 2003, "Methodological Nationalism the Social Sciences and The Study of Migration an Essay in Historical Epistemology", *International Migration Review*, 37, pp. 576–610.
- Glick-Schiller, N and Levitt, P., 2004, "Conceptualizing Simultaneity: A Transnational Social Field Perspective on Society", *International Migration Review*, 38, (3), pp. 1002-1039.
- Glick-Schiller. N., 2005, "Transnational social fields and imperialism bringing a theory of power to transnational studies", *Anthropological Theory*, 5 (4), 439-461.
- Glick-Schiller. G, Ayse Caglar, G. and Gulbrandsen, T-C., 2006, "Beyond the Ethnic Lens: locality, globality and born-again incorporation" *American Ethnologist*, 33, pp. 602-633.
- Gluckman. M, 1963, Anthropological Problems Arising from the African Industrial Revolution. in Aidan, Southal (eds.), *Social Change in modern africa, ed. aidan southal*, London: Oxford University Press, pp. 67-82.
- Godin. M., 2013, "Domestic Work in Belgium: Crossing Boundaries between Informality and Informality" in, Triandafyllidou, Anna, *Irregular migrant domestic workers in Europe: Who Cares?*, England, Ashgate Publishing Limited, pp. 17-43 .
- Goetschel. A, and Espinosa, B., 2013, La educación superior ecuatoriana en el marco de las reformas implementadas a partir del año 2000. In Zapata-Galindo, Martha, García-Peter, Sabina and Jennifer. Chan-de-Avila, (eds.), *La Interseccionalidad en Debate: Actas del*

- Congreso Internacional "Indicadores Interseccionales y Medidas de Inclusión Social en Instituciones de Educación Superior. Berlin, pp. 107-122.
- Goffman. E., 1974, *Frame analysis: An essay on the organization of experience*, Cambridge Mass, Harvard University Press.
- Gomez-Kopp. M., 2013, *New doors to development: Remittances and the housing industry in Colombia*, PhD, Thesis, New York, Columbia University.
- Gough. I., and Wood, G., 2004, Introduction. In Gough, Ian and Wood, Geoff, (eds.) *Insecurity and Welfare Regimes in Asia, Africa and Latin America*, England, Cambridge University Press, pp, 1-15.
- Goulbourne. H, Reynolds, T, Solomos, T, and Zontini, E., 2011, *Transnational Families ethnicities and social capital*. London, Routledge.
- Gouldner. A., 1960, "The norm of reciprocity: A preliminary statement", *American Sociological Review*, 25, (2), pp. 161–178.
- Gosseye, J, and Heynen, H. 2010, "Designing the Belgian welfare state 1950s to 1970s: social reform, leisure and ideological adherence", *The Journal of Architecture*, 15(5), pp. 557-585.
- Greenwood. M. J, Hunt, G. L, and McDowell, J. M., 1986, "Migration and employment change: empirical evidence on the spatial and temporal dimensions of the linkage", *Journal of Regional Science*, 26 (2), pp. 223-234.
- Guarnizo. L-E., and Smith, P., 1998, "The Locations of Transnationalism" In Guarnizo, Luis-Eduardo and Smith, Michael, Peters, (eds.), *Transnationalism from Below*, New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, pp. 3-34.
- Guarnizo. L.E., 2006., "El estado global de la migración global Colombiana", *Migración y Desarrollo*, 6, pp, 79-101.
- Gupta. A, and Ferguson, J., 1997, *Anthropological Locations: Boundaries and Grounds of a Field Science*. London, England, University of California Press.
- Gupta. A., and Ferguson, J., 2008, "Discipline and Practice: The Field as a Site, Method and Location in Anthropology" in Khagram, Sanjeev and Levitt, Peggy, (eds.), *The Transnational Studies Reader: Intersections and Innovations*, N.Y, Routledge, pp. 87-103.

- Gurak. D. T., and Caces, F., 1992, "Migration networks and the shaping of migration systems", in, *International migration systems: a global approach* in by Kritiz, Mary M., Lin., Lean-Lim, and Zlotnik, Hania. Oxford, England, Clarendon Press, pp. 150-76.
- Gustafsson, S., 1994, "Childcare and types of welfare states", in: Sainsbury, Diane, (eds.), *Gendering Welfare States*, SAGE Modern Politics Series Sponsored by the European Consortium for Political Research/ECPR. Sage, Thousand Oaks CA, 45-61.
- Gustafson. P., 2008, "Transnationalism in retirement migration: the case of North European retirees in Spain", *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 31(3), pp. 451–475.
- Gsir. S, Lafleur, J-M, and Stanek, M., 2016, "Migration Policy Reforms in the Context of Economic and Political Crises: The Case of Belgium" *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 42, (10) pp.1651-1669.
- Hall. A., 2007, "Moving away from poverty: Migrant remittances, livelihoods and development", in Nayaran, Deepa and Petesch, Patti, (eds.), *Moving out of Poverty: Cross Disciplinary Perspectives on Mobility*, Washington D.C: Palgrave Macmillan and World Bank, pp. 307-332.
- Hall. S., 1996, "Who needs identity" in Stuart, Hall and Du-Gay, Paul, (eds.), *Questions of Cultural Identity*. London, Sage, pp. 1-18.
- Hammar, T., 1985, *European immigration policy: A comparative study*, Cambridge University Press.
- Hancock, A., 2007, "When multiplication doesn't equal quick addition: Examining intersectionality as a research paradigm", *Perspectives on Politics* 5(1), pp. 63–79.
- Hannerz, U., 1969, *Soulside: Inquiries into Ghetto and Culture*, New York, Columbia University Press.
- Hannerz. U., 2002, *Flows, boundaries and hybrids: Keywords in transnational anthropology*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Haraway. D., 1988, "Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective" *Feminist Studies*, 14 (3), pp. 575–599.
- Haraway. D., 1997, "Modest Witness@ Second Millenium" in, Haraway, Donna (eds.), *Modest_Witness@_Second_Millennium. FemaleMan_Meets_OncoMouse: Feminism and Technoscience*, New-York, London: Routledge, pp. 23-49.

- Haraway, D., 1997, *Modest– Witness@ Second– Millennium. FemaleMan– Meets– OncoMouse: Feminism and Technoscience*. New York-London, Routledge.
- Harvey. A., 2005, Becoming entrepreneurs: Intersections of race, class, and gender at the black beauty salon, *Gender and Society*, 19 (6), 789–808.
- Hay. C., 2004, "Common Trajectories, Variable Paces, Divergent Outcomes? Models of European Capitalism under Conditions of Complex Economic Interdependence". *Review of International Political Economy* 11, pp. 231–62.
- Heimman. E., 1929, *Sociale Theorie der Kapitalismus*. Suhrkamp rpt, Frankfurt.
- Hemerijck. A., 1997, *Social Policy: As a Productive Factor*. European Comission Ministry of Social Affairs and Employment, The Hague, Brussels.
- Hemerijck. A., 2009, "In Search of New Welfare State in Europe: An International Perspective", in: Powell. Jason, and Hendricks, John, (eds.), *The Welfare State in Post-Industrial Society*. London- New-York, Springer Science, pp. 71-98.
- Hemerijck. A., 2013a. *Changing welfare states*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Hemerijck. A., 2013b. "Three Waves of Transformative Welfare State Change", in, Hemerijck, Anton, (eds.) *Changing Welfare States*. Oxford University Press, Oxford, pp. 118-152.
- Hernes. H., 1987, *Welfare State and Woman Power*, Norwegian University Press, Oslo.
- Herrera. G., 2008, "States, Work, and Social Reproduction through the Lens of Migrant Experience: Ecuadorian Domestic Workers in Madrid", in Bakker, Isabella and Silvey, Rachel (eds.), *Beyond States and Markets: The Challenges of Social Reproduction*, New York, Routledge, pp. 93-107.
- Herrera. G., 2011, "Más allá de los cuidados. Revisitando la relación entre género, migración y desarrollo a partir de la experiencia de la migración andina", *Revista Nueva Sociedad*, 1-22 (233), pp. 22-37.
- Herrera. G., 2012, "Starting Over Again? Crisis, Gender, and Social Reproduction among Ecuadorian Migrants in Spain", *Feminist Economics*, 18 (2), pp. 125–148.
- Hill-Collins. P., 1986, "Learning from the outsider within: The sociological significance of Black feminist thought", *Social Problems* 33(6), pp. 14–32.

- Hill-Collins. P., 1993, "Black feminist thought in the matrix of domination. Social theory: The multicultural and classic readings" *Social theory: The multicultural and classic readings*, pp. 615-625.
- Hill-Collins. P., 2001, *Black feminist thought: Knowledge, consciousness, and the politics of empowerment*, New York, Routledge.
- Hill-Collins, P., 2015, "Intersectionality's definitional dilemmas", *Annual Review of Sociology*, 1, (41), pp. 1–20.
- Hine. C., 2000, *Virtual ethnography*, London, Sage.
- Hobson. B., 1994, *Solo mothers, social policy regimes and the logics of gender*, in: *Gendering Welfare States*, Thousand-Oaks, California, Sage.
- Hochschild. A., 2000, "Global Care Chains and Emotional Surplus Value", in Will Hutton, Will and Giddens, Anthony (eds.), *On the Edge. Living with Capitalism*, Random House E-books, pp. 130–146.
- Hochschild. A., 2002, "Love and Gold" in Enhreich, Barbara, Russel-Hochschild, Arlie (eds.), *Global Woman: Nannies, Maids and Sex Workers in the New Economy*, U.S: Holt PaperBacks, pp. 15-31.
- Hochschild. A., 2003, *The managed heart: Commercialization of human feeling*. California Berkeley, University of California Press.
- Hollifield. J., 1998, *Ideas, institutions, and civil society: on the limits of immigration control in France*, California, Center for German and European Studies: University of California.
- Holton. R., 2008, *Global Networks* (1st ed.), New York, Palgrave Macmillan.
- Holzmann. R., and Kozel., 2005, "The Role of Social Risk Management in Development: A World Bank View", *IDS bulletin*, 38(3), pp. 8–13.
- Hondagneu-Sotelo. P., and Avila, E., 1997, "I'm Here, but I'm There" The Meanings of Latina Transnational Motherhood." *Gender & Society*, 11, (5), pp. 548–571.
- Hondagneu-Sotelo. P., 2001, *Domestica Immigrant workers cleaning and caring in the shadows of affluence*. Berkeley, California, University of California Press.

- Hooks. B., 1990, *Yearning: Race, Gender and Cultural Politics*. Boston, South End Press.
Boston, South End Press.
- Huber. E, and Stephens, J., 2001, *Development and Crisis of the Welfare State*, Chicago University Press, Chicago.
- Huber. E, and Stephens, J., 2000, "Partisan Government, Women's Employment and the Social Democratic State." *American Sociological Review*, 65, (3), pp. 323–342.
- Hugo. G, 1981, "Village-community ties village norms and ethnic and social networks: a review of evidence from the third world". in Gordon, De-John, De, and Gardner, Robert.W (eds.), *Migration decision making: multidisciplinary approaches to micro-level studies in developed and developing countries*, N.Y, Pergamon Press, pp. 186-224.
- Hurtado. S., 2008, "Movilidades, identidades y sexualidades en mujeres afrocolombianas emigrantes a Europa; el caso de las "italianas." in Wade, Peter, Urrea-Giraldo, Fernando, Viveros-Vigoya, Mara, *Raza* (eds.), *etnicidad y sexualidades Ciudadania y multiculturalismo en América Latina*, Bogotá, Universidad Nacional de Colombia. Facultad de Ciencias Humas. Centro de Estudios Sociales (CES), Escuela de Estudios de Género, pp. 343–376.
- Iregui. A, and Otero, J., 2003, "On the dynamics of unemployment in a developing economy: Colombia, Applied Economic Letters" *Applied Economics Letters* 10, (14), pp. 895-898.
- Izquierdo-Escribano. A, Lopez-de-Lera, D, and Martínez-Bújan, R., 2003, "The Favorites of the Twenty-First-Century: Latin American Immigrants in Spain", *Studi Emigrazione*, (149), pp. 98–124.
- Jaggar. A., 1989, "Love and knowledge: Emotion in feminist epistemology", *Inquiry*, 32 (2), pp. 151–176.
- Jenson. J, and San-Marti, D., 2003, "New routes to social cohesion? Citizenship and the social investment state", *Canadian Journal of Sociology*, 28, (1), pp.77–99.
- Jørgensen. S. L., and VanDomelen, J., 1999, "Helping the poor manage risk better: The role of social funds", *Social Protection Discussion Paper Series, Social Protection Unit, Human Development Network, The World Bank*, pp. 9934: 2-23.
- Katz. E, and Stark, O., 1986, "Labor migration and risk aversion in less developed countries", *Journal of Labor Economics*, 75, (2), pp.134–149.

- Katrougalos. G., 1996, "The south European welfare model: the Greek welfare state, in search of an identity", *Journal of European Social Policy* 6, (1), pp. 39–60.
- Kelle. U., 2010, "The development of categories: Different approaches in grounded theory", in Bryant, Anthony and Charmaz, Kathy, (eds.), *The Sage handbook of grounded theory*, London, Sage Publications, pp. 191-213.
- Kenworthy. L., 1999, "Do social-welfare policies reduce poverty? A cross-national assessment", *Social Forces* 77, (3), pp. 1119–1139.
- Keynes. J., 1973, *The General Theory of Employment*, London, Macmillan for the Royal Economic Society.
- Kilkey. M., 2014, Polish Male Migrants in London: The Circulation of Fatherly Care, In Baldassar, Loretta and Merla, Laura (eds.), New York, Routledge, pp. .185-203.
- Kim-Puri, J., 2005, "Conceptualizing gender-sexuality-state-nation: An introduction" *Gender and Society*, 19, (2), pp. 137–159.
- Kofman. E., 2002, "Contemporary European Migrations: Civic Stratification and Citizenship" *Political Geography*, 8, (21), pp. 1035-1034.
- Kofman. E., and Raghuram. P., 2010., "The implication of Migration for Gender and Care Regimes in the South", in: Hujo, Katja., Piper, Nicola, (eds.), *South-South Migration: Implications for Social Policy and Development*, U.K, Springer, pp. 46–83.
- Kofman. E., and Raghuram (2012) "Rethinking Care through social reproduction: Articulating circuits of migration", *Social Politics*, 19, 142-162.
- Koobak. R., and Thapar-Bjorket, S., 2014, "Writing the Place from Which One Speaks." in Lykke, Nina (eds.), *Writing Academic Texts Differently: Intersectional Feminist Methodologies and the Playful Art of Writing*, New York, Routledge, pp. 48-61.
- Koopmans. R., and Atkinson, P., 2000 *Challenging immigration and ethnic relations' politics: Comparative European perspectives*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Korpi. W., 1983, *The Democratic Class Struggle*, Routledge, London.
- Koven. S., and Michel, S., 1990, "Womanly duties: maternalistic politics and the origins of the welfare state in France", *American Historical Review*, 95, (4), pp. 1073–108.

- Kozloff. N, 2008, *Revolution!: South America and the rise of the new left*, N.Y, Palgrave Macmillan.
- Kozinets. R. V., 1998, "On netnography: Initial reflections on consumer research investigations of cyberculture", *NA-Advances in Consumer Research Volume*, 25, pp. 366- 371.
- Kraler. A., 2010, *Civic stratification, gender and family migration policies in Europe*. Final Report. Revised and updated public version, Wien University.
- Kremer. M., 2007, *How welfare states care: Culture, gender and parenting in Europe*. Amsterdam, Amsterdam University Press.
- Kuipers. S., 2010, *The crisis imperative: Crisis rhetoric and welfare state reform in Belgium and the Netherlands in the early 1990s*. Amsterdam, Amsterdam University Press.
- Lafleur. J.-M., 2013, *Transnational Politics and the State. The External Voting Rights of Diasporas*, New York, Routledge.
- Lafleur. J.-M, and Lizin, O., 2015, "Transnational Health Insurance Schemes: A New Avenue for Congolese Immigrants in Belgium to Care for Their Relatives' Health From Abroad?" *Working Paper Series: From Economic to Social Remittances an International Overview*, 3, pp 1-24.
- Lafleur. J.M, and Stanek, M., 2016, "Restrictions in Access to Social Protection of New Southern European Migrants in Belgium", in Lafleur, Jean-Michel and Stanek, Mikolak (eds.), *South-North Migration of EU citizens in Times of Crisis*, IMISCOE Research Series, Springer International Publishing, Switzerland.
- Lafleur. J-M, and Stanek, M., 2016, *South-North Migration of EU Citizens in Times of Crisis*. IMISCOE Research Series, Springer International Publishing, Switzerland.
- Lafleur. J. M, Martiniello, M, and Rea, A., 2015, Une brève histoire migratoire de la Belgique. *Dictionnaire des migrations internationales*, pp. 24-29.
- Lafleur, J-M and Vivas-Romero, M. (under review, forthcoming) Combining Transnational and Intersectional Approach in Migration Research. The Case of Andean Families' Access to Social Protection, *Current Sociology*, (Special Issue directed by: Kofman, Eleonore, Faist, Thomas and Bilicen, Basak.

- Langan. M, and Ostner. I., 1991, "Gender and Welfare: toward a comparative framework", in: Leibfried, Stephan. (eds.), *Toward a European Welfare State*, Bristol, Schuman Advance Urban Studies, pp. 127–50.
- Langness. L., and Frank, G., 1981, *Lives: An Anthropological Approach to Biography*. Novato, California, Chandler and Sharp.
- Lardiés-Bosque. R, Guillén, J, and Montes-de-Oca, V., 2016, "Retirement migration and transnationalism in northern Mexico", *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 45, (5), pp. 816–833.
- Larrea. A., 2008, "La Plurinacionalidad: Iguales y Diversos en Busca del Sumak Kawsay", in Acosta, Alberto and Moreano, Alejandro, Larrea, Ana-María, Galeano, Eduardo, Gudynas, Sylva, Erika, Hildalgo, Francisco, Quezada, Gabriela, Navarro, Guillermo, Paz-Miño, Juan, Kintto, Lucas, Unda, Mario, Ospina, Pablo, Benalcazar, Patricio, Del-Salto, Pablo, Buitrón, Rubén-Darío, (eds.), *Entre el quiebre y la realidad: Constitución*, Quito: Abya-Yala, pp. 77-85.
- Lash. S, and Urry, J., 1994, *Economies of signs and space*, London, Sage.
- Layton-Henry. Z., 1992, *The politics of Immigration*, London, Backwells.
- Lavigne, M, 2013, *Sistemas de Protección Social En América Latina Y El Caribe: Perú*. Lima, Peru: CEPAL United Nations, Ministerio de Cooperación Económica y Desarrollo Bélgica, Giz.
- Lebon, A., 2000, *Immigration et présence étrangère en France en 1999: Premiers enseignements du recensement*, France, La documentation française.
- Lechner. N., and Calderón, F., 1998, *Más allá del Estado, más allá del mercado: la democracia*. La Paz, Plural.
- Leon. M., 2008, El buen vivir: objetivo y camino para otro modelo. Nueva Constitución. Análisis, *Revista la Tendencia*, (2008), pp. 136–151.
- Leibfried. S., 1993, "Towards a European Welfare State? On Integrating Poverty Regimes in the European Community", in, Jones, Catherine. (eds.), *New Perspectives on the Welfare State in Europe*, Routledge, London and New York, pp. 120-144.
- Leira. A., 1992a, *The politics of motherhood: Child and maternal welfare in England*, London, Croom Helm.

- Leira. A., 1992b, *Welfare States and Working Mothers: The Scandinavian Experience*, New York, Cambridge-University-Press.
- Lévi-Strauss. C, 1969, *The Elementary Structures of Kinship*, London, Tavistock.
- Levitt. P., 2001, *Transnational Villagers*, Berkeley California, University of California Press.
- Levitt. P., and Lamba-Nieves, D., 2011, *Social remittances revisited*, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 37 (1), pp. 1-22.
- Levitt. P, Llyod, C, Mueller, A, and Viterna, J., 2015, "Global Social Protection: Setting the Agenda", (RSCAS-2015-78), pp. 1-29.
- Lewis. J., 1992, "Gender and the development of welfare regimes", *Journal of European Social Policy* 2 (3), pp, 159–173.
- Lewis. J., and Astrom, G., 1992, "Equality, difference, and state welfare: labor market and family policies in Sweden", *Feminist Studies*, 18, pp. 59–86.
- Little. K., 1973, *African Women in Towns*, London, Cambridge University Press.
- Lister. R., 1994a, *Dilemmas in engendering citizenship*, Presented at the Crossing Borders Conference, Stockholm.
- Lister. R., 1994b, "She has Other Duties. Women, Citizenship and Social Security", in: Baldwin, Sally, Falkingham, Jane (eds.), *Social Security and Social Change: New Challenges*, Harvester Wheatsheaf, Hemel Hempstead, pp. 31-44.
- Lister. R., 2003, *Citizenship Feminist Perspective*, New York University Press, New York.
- Lockwood. D., 1996, "Civic Stratification and Class Formation", *British Journal of Sociology* 3, (47), pp. 531–550.
- Lorde, A., 1984, *Sister Outsider: Essays and Speeches*, Freedom, CA, Crossing Press.
- Lugones. M., 2005, "Multiculturalismo radical y feminismos de mujeres de color, Revista Internacional de Filosofía" *Política* (25), pp. 61–76.
- Lugones. M., 2008, Colonialidad y género, *Tabula Rasa*, 25, pp. 73-101.

- Lund. F, and Srinivas. S., 2000, *Learning from Experience: A Gendered Approach to Social Protection for Workers in the Informal Economy*, Geneva, International Labour Organisation.
- Lutz. H., 2008, *Migration and Domestic Work: A European Perspective*, New York, Routledge.
- Lutz, H., 2008, "Introduction: Migrant Domestic Workers in Europe", in Lutz, Helma (eds.), *Migration and Domestic Work: A European Perspective on a Global Theme*. England, Ashgate Publishing Limited, pp. 1-13.
- Lutz. H., Herrera-Vivar, M, and Supik, L., 2011a, *Framing Intersectionality: Debates on a Multi-Faceted Concept in Gender Studies*. England, Ashgate.
- Lutz. H, Vivar-Herrera, M.T & Supik, L. (2011b). Framing intersectionality: an introduction. in Lutz, Helma, Vivar-Herrera, María-Teresa and Supik, Linda (eds.), *Framing intersectionality: Debates on a multi-faceted concept in gender Studies*. Farnham: Ashgate, pp. 1-22.
- Lykke. N., 2011c, Intersectional Analysis: Black Box or Useful Critical Feminist Thinking Technology? in Lutz, Helma, Herrera-Vivar, Maria-Teresa and Supik, Linda (eds.), *Framing Intersectionality: Debates on Multi-Faceted Concept in Gender Studies*.
- Lykke. N, 2010, *Feminist studies: A guide to intersectional theory, methodology and writing*, New York, Routledge.
- Maarten. G, Neyens. I, Valsamis, D, and IDEA consult., 2012, Evaluation du régime des titres-services pour les services et emplois de proximité 2011.
- MacCall. L., 2001, *Complex inequality: Gender, class, and race in the new economy*, Chicago, Psychology Press.
- MacCall. L, 2005, "The complexity of intersectionality" *Signs: Journal of women in culture and society*, 30(3), pp. 1771–1800.
- Maclanahan. S, Casper, L, and Sorenson, A., 1995, "Women's role and women's poverty", in: Mason, Karem, Jensen, An-Magritt., (eds.), *Gender and Family Change in Industrialized Countries*. Oxford University Press, Oxford, pp. 258–78.
- Mahler. S, Chaudhuri, M, and Patil, V., 2015, "Scaling intersectionality: Advancing feminist analysis of transnational families", *Sex Roles* 73, (3–4) pp. 100–112.

- Mahmood. S., 2000, "Feminism Democracy and Empire: Islam and the War on Terror", in Brown, Wendy, Wiegman, Robym. Salamon, Gayle, Wallat-Scott, Joan (eds.), *Women's Studies on the Edge*, NC, Durham, pp. 81-114.
- Marchesi. G., 2004, *La evolución de la política económica y social en Argentina, Chile y Perú: una visión comparativa*, Austin, University of Texas.
- Marcus. G., 1995, "Etnography in/of the World System : The Emergence of multi-sited ethnography." *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 24, (1), pp. 95-117.
- Marcus. G., 1999, "What is at stake—and is not—in the idea and practice of multi-sited ethnography" *Canberra anthropology*, 22(2), pp. 6-14.
- Marcus, G., 1998, *Ethnography through thick and thin*, Princenton , Princenton University Press.
- Marcus, G., 2011, "Multi-sited ethnography: Five or six things I know about it now", Presented at the Multi-sited ethnography: Problems and possibilities in the translocation of research methods, University of Sussex: Unpublished, pp. 16-32.
- Marglin. S, and Schor, J., 1990, *The Golden Age of Capitalism: Reinterpreting, the Postwar Experience*, Clarendon, Oxford.
- Marshall. T.H, 1950, *Citizenship and Social Class: And Other Essays*, England- Cambridge, University Press Print.
- Marshall. T.H., 1963, *Sociology at the crossroads: and other essays*, London, Heinemann.
- Martiniello. M., 2000, "Citizenship in the European Union." in, Aleinikoff, Alexander, and Klusmeyer, Douglas (eds.), *From Migrants to Citizens Membership in a Changing World*, Washington D.C: Carnegie, Endowment for International Race, pp. 342-380.
- Martiniello. M, Mazzochetti, J, and Ream. A., 2013, "Les nouveaux enjeux des migrations en Belgique" *Revue Européenne Des Migrations Internationales*, 29, pp. 7–14.
- Martínez-Franzoni. J., 2007, *Regímenes del bienestar en América Latina*, Madrid, Fundación Carolina CeALCI.
- Martinez-Franzoni. J, 2008, "Welfare regimes in Latin America: Capturing constellations of markets, families, and policies" *Latin American Politics and Society*, 50, pp. 67–100.

- Marx. I., 2007, *A New Social Question? On Minimum Income Protection in the Postindustrial Era*, Amsterdam, Amsterdam University Press.
- Massey. D., 1990, "Social structure, household strategies, and the cumulative causation of migration", *Population Index*, 56 (1), pp. 3–26.
- Massey. D, Arango, J, Hugo, G, Kouaouci, A, Pellegrino, A, and Taylor, J., 1993, "Theories of International Migration: A Review and Appraisal", *Population and Development Review*, 19, (3) pp. 431–466.
- Massey. D., and España-Garcia, F., 1987, "The social process of international migration" *Science*, 237, (14), pp. 733–738.
- Matsuda. M, Lawrence, C.-I, Delgado, R, and Crenshaw, K., 1993, *Words that Wound: Critical Race Theory, Assaultive Speech and the First Amendment*, Boulder, Columbia, Westview.
- Mauss. M., 2006, "Techniques of the Body", in Schlanger, Nathan (eds.), *Techniques, Technology, and Civilisation* New York, Durkheim Press-Berghahn Books, pp. 77, 97.
- Mazzucato. V, Kabki, M, and Smith, L., 2006, "Transnational Migration and the Economy of Funerals : Changing Practices in Ghana" *Development and Change*, 37(2), pp. 1047–1072.
- Mazzucato. V., 2008, "Simultaneity and Networks in Transnational Migration: Lessons learned from simultaneous match methodology", In Dewind, Josh and Jennifer Holdway, Jennifer and Josh (eds.), *Migration and Development within and across borders*. Geneva, Switzerland, International Organization, pp. 69-101 .
- Mazzucato. V., 2011, "Reverse Remittances in the Migration–development Nexus: Two-way Flows Between Ghana and the Netherlands" *Population, Space and Place*, 17, (5), pp. 454–68.
- Mazzucato. V., 2013, *Emerging Findings of the Transnational Child Raising Arrangements*. Presented at the TCRAf-Eu Conference.
- Mead. L., 1986, *Beyond Entitlement: The Social Obligation of Citizenship*, Free Press, New York.
- Menz. G., 2006, "Useful Gastarbeiter, burdensome asylum seekers, and the second wave of welfare retrenchment: Exploring the nexus between migration and the welfare state" in

- Parsons, Craig and Smeeding, Timothy, (eds.), "Immigration and the Transformation of Europe", Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 393-418.
- Merla, L., 2014, "A Macro Perspective on Transnational Families and Care Circulation", in Merla, Laura and Baldassar, Loretta, (eds.), *Transnational Families Migration and the Circulation of Care: Understanding Mobility and Absence in Family Life*. New York: Routledge, pp. 115-133.
- Merla, L., and Kilkey, M., 2013, "Situating transnational families' care-giving arrangements: the role of institutional contexts", *Global Networks*, 14, (2), pp. 210–229.
- Mesa-Lago, C., 1978, *Social Security in Latin America: Pressure Groups, Stratification and Inequality*, Pittsburgh PA, University of Pittsburgh Press.
- Mesa-Lago, C., 1991, *Social Security and Prospects for Equity in Latin America*, Washington D.C, The World Bank.
- Mesa-Lago, C., 1993, *Social security and pension reform in Latin America: importance and evaluation of privatization approaches*, Pittsburgh PA: University of Pittsburgh.
- Mesa-Lago, C., 1996, "Pension system reforms in Latin America: the position of the international organizations", *CEPAL Review*, 2765, (60), 73–98.
- Mesa-Lago, C., 2008, "History of Social Security in Latin America", Presented at the International Meeting on the History of Insurance Companies in the World, Madrid: Fundación Mapfre. Retrieved from http://www.mesa-lago.com/uploads/2/7/3/1/27312653/history_of_social_security_mesa_lago.pdf
- Michielsen, J R, Willems, Nouwen, W, Jalhay, S and Didden, J., 2013, "Promoting integration for migrant domestic workers in Belgium", *International Migration Papers*, 116, pp 1-69.
- Midgley, J., 2012, "Social protection and social policy: key issues and debates", *Journal of Policy Practice*, 11, pp. 8–24.
- Mignolo, W., 2000, "Diferencia colonial razón posoccidental", in Castro-Gómez, Santiago (eds.), *La re-estructuración de las ciencias sociales en América Latina*, Bogotá: Colección Pensar, pp. 3-28.

- Mina-Rosero, L, 2013, *Sistemas de Protección Social En América Latina Y El Caribe: Colombia*. Santiago de Chile: CEPAL United Nations, Ministerio de Cooperación Económica y Desarrollo Alemania, Giz.
- Mintz, S., 1974, *Worker in the cane: a Puerto Rican life history* (Vol. 2), New Heaven CT, Yale University Press.
- Mohanty, C, 1995, *Feminist Encounters: Locating, The Politics of Experience*, in Nicholson, Linda, and Seidman, Steven, (eds.), *Social Postmodernism: Beyond Identity Politics*, Cambridge University, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, pp. 68-86.
- Mohanty, C., 2003, *Feminism without Borders Decolonizing Theory, Practicing Solidarity*. Durham and London, Duke University Press.
- Molyneux, M., 1985, "Mobilization without emancipation? Women's Interest, The State, and The Revolution in Nicaragua", *Feminist Studies*, 11, (2) pp. 227–54.
- Moraga, C, and Anzaldúa, G., 1983, *This bridge called my back: Writings by radical women of color*, California, Kitchen Table Women of Color Press.
- Morel, N., 2007, "From Subsidiarity to "Free Choices" Child-and Elder-care Policy Reforms in France, Belgium, Germany and The Netherlands" *Social Policy & Administration*, 41, pp. 618–637
- Morris, L., 2003, "Managing Contradiction: Civic Stratification and Migrants' Rights", *International Migration Review*, 37, (1), pp. 74–100.
- Morrison, T., 1970, *The Bluest Eyes*, New York, Vintage Books.
- Morrison, T., 1987, *Beloved*, New York, Knopf.
- Morrison, T., 1992, *Playing in the Dark: Whiteness and the Literary Imagination*, Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press.
- Moser, C, Norton, A, Conway, T, Ferguson, C, and Vizard, P., 2001, *To claim our rights: livelihood security, human rights and sustainable development*, London, Overseas Development Institute.
- Mosse, G., 1988, *Nationalism and sexuality: Middle-class morality and sexual norms in modern Europe*, Madison, University of Wisconsin Press.

- Moreno-Figueroa, M., 2008, "Negociando la pertenencia. Familia y mestizaje en México" in Wade, Peter, Urrea, Fernando, and Mara Viveros-Vigoya, (eds.), *Raza, etnicidad y sexualidades. Ciudadanía y multiculturalismo en América Latina*. Universidad Nacional de Colombia. Facultad de Ciencias Humas. Centro de Estudios Sociales (CES), Escuela de Estudios de Género, pp. 403-429.
- Mummert. G., 2012, "Pensando las familias transnacionales desde los relatos de vida: análisis longitudinal de la convivencia intergeneracional", in Ariza, Marina and Velasco, Lau (eds.), *Métodos cualitativos y su aplicación empírica. Por los caminos de la investigación en migración internacional*. Mexico D.F: IIS-UNAM/COLEF, pp. 152-184.
- Murray. C., 1984, *Losing ground: American social policy, 1950-1980*, Basic Books, New York.
- Murthy, D., 2008, "Digital ethnography: An examination of the use of new technologies for social research." *Sociology*, 42, (5), pp. 837-855.
- Mruck. M, and Mey. G, 2007, "Grounded theory and reflexivity" In Bryant, Anthony and Charmaz, Kathy (eds.), *The Sage Handbook of Grounded Theory*, London, Sage, pp. 514-538: Sage.
- Myrdal. G., 1957, *Rich lands and poor: The Road to World Prosperity*, US, Harper.
- Nakano-Glenn. E., 2002, *Unequal Freedom: How Race and Gender Shaped American Citizenship and Labor*, Cambridge Mass, London England, Harvard University Press.
- Nannestad. P., 2004, "Immigration as a challenge to the Danish welfare state?", *European Journal of Political Economy*, 20 (3), pp. 755–767.
- Narayan, A., and Purkayastha, B., 2011, "Talking “gender superiority” in virtual spaces: web-based discourses of Hindu student groups in the US and UK", *South Asian Diaspora*, 31(1), pp. 53–69.
- Newkirk, T., 1996, Seduction and betrayal in qualitative research. in Mortesen, Peter and Kirsh, Gesa, (eds.), *Ethics and Representation in Qualitative Research Studies*, Urbana: NCTE, pp. 3-16.
- Norton. A, Conway, T, and Foster, M., 2001, *Social Protection Concepts and Approaches: Implications for Policy and Practice in International Development*, Centre for Aid and Public Expenditure-Overseas Development Institute.

- Norton, A, Conway, T, and Foster, M., 2002. Social Protection: Defining the Field of Action and Policy. *Development Policy Review*, 20, (5), pp. 541-567.
- O'Connor, J., 1993, "Gender, Class and Citizenship in the Comparative Analysis of Welfare State Regimes: Theoretical and Methodological Issues", *The British Journal of Sociology*, 44, pp. 501–18.
- Oliart, P. (1995). Poniendo a cada quien en su lugar: estereotipos raciales y sexuales en la Lima del siglo XIX. In F. Panfichi & F. Portocarrero (Eds.), *En Mundos Interiores: Lima 1850-1950* (pp. 261–289). Lima, Peru: Universidad del Pacífico.
- Orloff. A., 1996, "Gender in the Welfare State", *Annual Review of Sociology*, 22 (1), pp. 51–78.
- Orloff. A., 1993, "Gender and the social rights of citizenship: the comparative analysis of gender relations and welfare states" *American Sociological Review*, 58, (3), pp. 303–28.
- Ocampo. J., 2001, Retomar la agenda del desarrollo, *Repositorio Cepal*, 2135, (74), pp.1-35.
- Ochs. E, and Capps, L., 1996, "Narrating the self." *Annual review of anthropology* 25 (1), pp. 19–43.
- Oso. L, and Garson, J., 2005, *Migrant Women and the Labour Market: Diversity and Challenges*, Presented at the Migrant Women and the Labour Market: Diversity and Challenges, in OCED and European Comission Seminar, Brussels.
- Ong, A., 2010, *Spirits of resistance and capitalist discipline: Factory women in Malaysia*. New York, Suny Press.
- Padilla. B., 2008. État Des Recherches Sur Les Breseliens et Bresiliennes au Portugal, in Yopez-Del-Castillo, I and Herrera, Gioconda, *Nouvelles migrations latino-américaines en Europe*, Bilans et défis, UCL Presses, Louvain La Neuve, Universitaires de Louvain, pp.61-83 .
- Palier. B, 2010. *A long goodbye to Bismarck: The Politics of Welfare Reform in Continental Europe*, Amsterdam, Amsterdam University Press. Retrieved from <http://www.oopen.org/search?identifier=350731>
- Parella. S., 2003, *Mujer Inmigrante y Trabajadora: La Triple Discriminación*, Barcelona, Anthropos-Editorial.

- Parreñas. R., 2001a, *Servants of Globalization. Women, Migration and Domestic Work*. California, Standford University Press.
- Parrenas. R., 2001b, Mothering from a Distance: Emotions, Gender and Intergenerational Relations in Filipino Trasnational Families, *Feminist Studies*, 27, (2), pp. 361-390.
- Parrenas. R., 2003, "The Care Crisis in the Philippines: Children and Transnational Families in the New Global Economy" in Ehrenreich, Barbara and Hochschild, Arlie, (eds.), *Global Women Nannies, Maids and Sex Workers in the New Economy*, London, Granta Books, pp. 39-55.
- Parrenas. R., 2005, "Long distance intimacy: class, gender and intergenerational relations between mothers and children in Filipino transnational families", *Global Networks*, 5, pp. 317–336.
- Parrenas. R., 2006, "Migrant Filipina Domestic Workers and the Division of Reproductive Labor", in Zimmerman, Mary, Litt, Jacquelyn S and Bose, Christiane E, (eds.), *Global Dimensions of Gender and Carework*, California, Standford University Press, pp. 48-65.
- Patil. V., 2013, "From patriarchy to intersectionality: A transnational feminist assessment of how far we've really come", *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 38, (4), pp. 847-867.
- Peluffo, A. (2004). "Bajo las alas del ángel de caridad: indigenismo y beneficencia en el Perú republicano", *Revista Ibero-Americana*, 70 (206), pp. 103–115.
- Peattie. L, and Rein, M., 1983, *Women's Claim: A Study in Political Economy*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Peggy. L., 2001, *Transnational Villagers*. Berkeley California: University of California Press.
- Pérez. I, and Stallaert, C., 2015, "The Professionalization of paid domestic work and its limits: Experiences of Latin American Migrants in Brussels", *European Journal of Women's Studies*, 23, (2), pp. 155-168.
- Pessar. P, and Mahler, S., 2003, "Transnational Migration Bringing Gender" *International Migration Review*, 37, (3), pp. 812-846.
- Pierson. P., 1994, *Dismantling the Welfare State? Reagan, Thatcher and the Politics of Retrenchment*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

- Pierson. P., 1996, "The New Politics of the Welfare State" *World Politics*, 48, pp. 143–179.
- Pierson. P., 2001, *The new politics of the welfare state*, Oxford, Oxford University Press on demand.
- Piore. M. . (1979). Qualitative research techniques in economics, 24(4), 560–569.
- Philpot., B-S., 1968, "Remittance Obligations, Social Networks and Choice among Montserratian Migrants in Britain" *Man*, 3(3), pp. 465–76.
- Poeze. M, and Mazzucato, V., 2013, "Ghanaian children in transnational families: Understanding the experiences of left-behind children through local parenting norms", In Baldasar Loretta and Merla, Laura, (eds.), *Transnational families, migration and the circulation of care. Understanding mobility and absence in family life*, London and New York: Routledge, pp. 149–169.
- Polanyi. K., 1944, *The Great Transformation*, Rinehart, New York.
- Portes. A., 1995, *The Economic sociology of immigration: Essays on networks, ethnicity, and entrepreneurship*, Russell Sage Foundation.
- Portes, A. 1995, *The Economic sociology of immigration: Essays on networks, ethnicity, and entrepreneurship*, New York, Russell Sage Foundation.
- Portes. A, 1998, "Globalisation from Below: The Rise of Transnational Communities" *ESRC Transnational Communities Programme Working Papers*, 1, pp. 253-270.
- Portes. A, Edwards, L, and Landolt, P., 1999, " Introduction: pitfalls and promise of an emergent research field", *Ethnic and Racial Studies*. 22(2), pp. 217-37.
- Portes. A, and Guarnizo, L.E., 1999, "The Study of Transnationalism: Pitfalls and Promise of an Emergence Research Field" *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 22, pp. 217–37.
- Portocarrero. A., 2013, "Retos de la inclusión social en las instituciones de educación superior: Vinculos, entre interseccionalidad y justicia epistemica", in Zapata-Galindo, Marta, Barrios-Kle, Wendy, Garcia-Peter, Sabina, Chan-de-Ávila, Jennifer, *La Interseccionalidad en Debate: Actas del Congreso Internacional: "Indicadores Interseccionales y Medidas de Inclusión Social en Institucioens de Educación Superior*, Barcelona, pp. 66-77.

- Pribble, J., 2004, *Women and Welfare: The Politics of Coping with New Social Risks in Chile and Uruguay*. Presented at the Meeting of Latin American Studies Association.
Retrieved from: <http://lasa-4.univ.pitt.edu/LARR/prot/fulltext/vol41no2/Pribble.pdf>
- Pribble, J., 2006, "Women and welfare: The politics of coping with new social risks in Chile and Uruguay" *Latin American Research Review*, 41, (2), pp. 84–111.
- Prins, B., 2006, "Narrative Accounts of Origins A Blind Spot in the Intersectional Approach?" *European Journal of Women's Studies*, 13(3), pp. 277–290.
- Purkayastha, B., 2010, "Interrogating Intersectionality: Contemporary globalisation and racialised gendering in the lives of highly educated South Asian Americans and their children" *Journal of Intercultural Studies* 31, pp. 29–47.
- Purkayastha, B., 2012, "Intersectionality in a transnational world" *Gender and Society*, 56 (1), pp. 55–66.
- Plaza, D., 2000, "In pursuit of Mobility: Second Generation British Caribbean Returning to Jamaica and Barbados" *Journal of Easter Carribean Studies*, 27 (4), pp. 135–160.
- Quijano, A., Castro-Gómez, S., Guardiola-Rivera, O, and Millán de Benavides, C., 1999, Colonialidad del Poder, Cultura y Conocimiento en América Latina. in Castro-Gomez, Santiago, Guardián-de-Rivera, Oscar, Millán-de-Benavides, Carmen, Pensar (en) los intersicios. Teoría y práctica de la crítica postcolonial. Bogotá: Centro Editorial Javeriano, pp. 75-99.
- Quijano, A., 2000, "Coloniality of power and Eurocentrism in Latin America", *International Sociology*, 15, (2), pp. 215–232.
- Quijano, A. (2003). "Notas sobre raza y democracia en los países andinos", *Revista Venezolana de Economía y Ciencias Sociales*, 9, (1), pp. 53-59.
- Rawl. J., 1973. *A Theory of Justice*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Ramos-Zayas. A., 2003, *National performances: The politics of class, race, and space in Puerto Rican*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press.
- Ramos, P, and Lara, R., 2014, *Peruvian Migration Policies: Policy and Institutional Frameworks (Researching Third Country Nationals' Integration as a Three-way Process - Immigrants, Countries of Emigration and Countries of Immigration as Actors of Integration)*, Italy, Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies.

- Ramos. C. 2016, *From Madrid to London: The Onward Migration of Ecuadorian and Colombian Immigrants from Spain to the UK*. Presented at: Third ISA Forum of Sociology (July 10-14, 2016).
- Ramirez. R., 2011, *Development of Good Living: The Social Transformation Agenda in Ecuador*. U.K, University of Cambridge.
- Rea. A, and Bietlot, M., 2007, "Les changements du Code de la nationalité en Belgique. De la peur de l'étranger à son inclusion sous condition. In Rea, Andrea, *Immigration et intégration en Belgique Francophone, Etat des savoirs*, Louvain-la-Neuve: Academia–Bruylant, pp. 590.
- Rea. A., 2007, "L'étude des politiques d'immigration et d'intégration des immigrés dans les sciences sociales en Belgique francophone." in Rea, Andrea (eds.), *Immigration et intégration en Belgique francophone*, Louvain-la-Neuve: Academia–Bruylant, pp. 126.
- Rea. A., 2015, "Migrant Women in the Labor Market. In *New Dynamics in Female Migration and Integration*" in Timmerman, Christiane, Martiniello, Marco, Rea, Andrea and Wets, Johan (eds.), *New Dynamics in Female Migration and Integration* London, Routledge, pp. 48–67.
- Rich. A., 1986, "Notes Onward a Politics of Location." in Rich, Adrienne (eds.) *Blood, Bread and Poetry: Selected Prose 1979-1985*, London, New York, pp. 211-231.
- Riggirozzi. P., 2010, "Social Policy in Post-Neoliberal Latin America: The cases of Argentina, Venezuela and Bolivia" *Development*, 53, pp. 70–76.
- Rivera. C., 2013, "La lenguas de la ciencia y la academia", in Zapata-Galindo, Martha, García-Peter, Sábina and Chan-de-Ávila, Jennifer, (eds.), *La Interseccionalidad en Debate: Actas del Congreso Internacional: "Indicadores Interseccionales y Medidas de Inclusión Social en Instituciones de Educación Superior."* Berlin: MISEAL, Free University of Berlin, European Union, pp. 207-223.
- Rodgers. J., 2009, "Cambios en el servicio doméstico en América Latina", In Valenzuela, María-Elena and Mora, Claudia, (eds.), *Trabajo doméstico un largo camino hacia el trabajo decente*, Santiago de Chile, Organización Internacional del Trabajo, pp. 71-115.
- Roth. W., 2012, *Race Migrations: Latinos and the Cultural Transformation of Race*. Stanford California, Stanford University Press. Retrieved from (<http://public.eblib.com/choice/publicfullrecord.aspx?p=888559>).

- Rother. S., 2017, Indonesian migrant domestic workers in transnational political spaces: agency, gender roles and social class formation. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 43 (6), pp. 1-18.
- Rose. G., 1997, "Situating Knowledges: Positionality, Reflexivities and Other Tactics", *Process in Human Geography*, 21(3), 305–20.
- Rudra. N., 2007, "Welfare states in developing countries: unique or universal?", *Journal of Politics*, 69 (2), pp. 378–396.
- Ruggie. J., 1988, "Gender, work and social progress: some consequences of interest aggregation in Sweden", in: Jenson, Jane, Hagen, Elisabeth, Ready, Ceallaigh, (eds.), *Feminization of the Labour Force*, Oxford University Press, New York, pp. 177-188 .
- Ruggie. J., 1994, Trade, Protectionism and the Future of Welfare Capitalism. *Journal of International Affairs*, 48, pp. 1–11.
- Sabates-Wheeler. R, Feldman, R., 2011, *Social Protection and Migration: Claiming Social Rights Beyond Borders*, London Palgrave Macmillan.
- Sabates-Wheeler. R, and Kabeer, N., 2005, *Gender equality and the extension of social protection*, Switzerland, International Labor Organisation.
- Safuta. A., 2016, "Migrant domestic services and the revival of Marxist feminisms: Asking the other “other question” as a new research method", *DiGeSt. Journal of Diversity and Gender Studies* 3 (1), pp. 1-34.
- Sainsbury. D., 1993, "Dual welfare and sex segregation of access to social benefits: income maintenance policies in the UK and the US, The Netherlands and Sweden", *Journal of social policy*, 22, pp. 69–98.
- Sainsbury. D., 1994a, *Gendering Welfare States*, Thousand Oaks CA, SAGE Modern Politics Series Sponsored by the European Consortium for Political Research/ECPR, Sage.
- Sainsbury. D., 1994b, "Introduction", in Sainsbury, Diane, *Gender Equality and Welfare States*, Sage, Thousand Oaks CA, pp. 1-7.
- Sainsbury. D., 1994c, "Women’s and men’s social rights: gendering dimensions of welfare states", in Sainsbury, Diane, *Gendering Welfare States*, Thousand Oaks, Sage, pp. 150.

- Sainsbury, D., 1996, *Gender Equality and Welfare States*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Sainsbury, D., 2012, *Welfare State and Immigrant Rights The Politics of Exclusion and Inclusion*. Oxford: Oxford.
- Sahlins. M., 1965, "On the sociology of primitive exchange in the relevance of models for social anthropology", in Banton, Michael (eds.), *The Relevance of Models for Social Anthropology*, New York: Praeger, pp. 139-140.
- Sahlins. M, 1974, *Stone age economics* (Vols. 1–130), New Jersey, Transaction Publishers.
- Salancik. G, and Burt, R., 1995, "Wanted: A good network theory of organization", *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 40, pp. 345-349.
- Sandoval, C., 2000, *Methodology of the oppressed*, Minneapolis, London, University of Minnesota Press.
- Saraceno, C., 1997, *Family Change, Family Policies and the Restructuring Welfare State, Family, Market and Community: Equity and Efficiency in Social Policy*, 21, Paris, OECD Social Policy Series.
- Saraceno. C, and Keck, W., 2010, "Can we identify intergenerational policy regimes in Europe?", *European Societies*, 12, pp. 675–696.
- Sarti. R., 2008, The Globalization of Domestic Service An Historical Perspective, in Lutz, Helma (eds.), *Migration and Domestic Work: A European Perspective on a Global Theme*, New York, Routledge, pp. 77- 98.
- Sassen. S., 1998, *Globalization and its discontents*, New York: The New Press.
- Sassen. S., 2000, "Spatialities and temporalities of the global: elements for a theorization", *Public Culture*, 12, (1), pp. 215.
- Sassen. S., 2001, *The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo*. Princeton, Princeton University Press.
- Sawaski. J., 1991, *Disciplining Foucault: Feminist, power and the body*. New York: Routledge, New York, Routledge.

- Siaroff, A., 1994, Work, Welfare and Gender Equality: A New Typology, in: Sainsbury, Diane, (eds.), *Gendering Welfare States*. Sage, London, pp.82.
- Singh, S., and Cabraal, A., 2010, "Indian Student Migrants in Australia: Issues of Community Sustainability", *People and Place*, 18, (1), pp. 19–30.
- Segato, L., 2010, "Los cauces profundos de la raza latinoamericana: una relectura del mestizaje", *Crítica y Emancipación*, 2, (3), pp. 11–44. Retrieved from: <http://www.biblioteca.clacso.edu.ar/ojs/index.php/critica/article/view/166>
- Sen, A., 2005, "Human rights and capabilities" *Journal of Human Development*, 6, (2), pp.151-166.
- Serra-Mignot, E, and Mazzucato, V., 2016, "Mobile Populations in Immobile Welfare Systems: A Typology of Institutions Providing Social Welfare and Protection Within a Mobility Framework" *The European Journal of Development*, DOI: 10.1057/s41287-016-0061-4, 1–19.
- Scharpf, F., and Schmidt, V., 2000, *Welfare and Work in the open economy*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Schiek, D., and Lawson, A., 2011, *EU Non-Discrimination Law and Intersectionality: investigating the tri-angle of racial, gender and disability discrimination*, Ashgate, Aldershot.
- Schmid, G., 2008, *Full employment in Europe: Managing labour market transitions and risks*, Edward Elgar Publishing, Cheltenham.
- Shaver, S., 1993, "Body rights, social rights and the liberal welfare state" *Critical Social Policy* 13, pp. 66–93.
- Shinozaki, K., 2012, "Transnational dynamics in researching migrants: self-reflexivity and boundary-drawing in fieldwork." *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 35 (10), pp. 1810–1827.
- Scott, J., 1986, "Gender: a useful category of historical analysis" *Annual Historical Review*, 91, (5), pp. 1053–75.
- Sniadeka-Kotarska, M., 2013, "Se puede hablar de un feminismo indígena", in Zapata-Galindo, Martha, García-Peter, Sábina and Chan-de-Ávila, Jennifer, (eds.), *La Interseccionalidad en Debate: Actas del Congreso Internacional: "Indicadores Interseccionales y Medidas*

- de Inclusión Social en Instituciones de Educación Superior.*” Berlin: MISEAL, Free University of Berlin, European Union, pp. 157-169.
- Sondergaard, D., 2005, "Academic Desire Trajectories: Retooling the Concepts of Subject", *European Journal of Women's Studies*, 12, (3), pp. 297–314.
- Soysal, Y. N., 1994, *Limits of citizenship: Migrants and postnational membership in Europe*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press.
- Stark, O., 1991, *The migration of labor*, Oxford, Basil Blackwell.
- Stark, O., and Bloom, D., 1985, "The new economics of labor migration", *The American Economic Review*, 75(2), pp. 173–178.
- Stark, O., and Levhari, D., 1982, "On migration and risk in LDCs. Economic development and cultural change", *31*(1), 191–196.
- Stark, O., Taylor, J., and Yitzhaki, S., 1986, "Remittances and inequality", *96*, (383), pp. 722–740.
- Stefoni, C., 2009, "Migración, género y servicio doméstico, Mujeres Peruanas en Chile", in Velasco, María-Elena, Mora, Claudia, (eds.), *Trabajo doméstico: Un largo camino hacia el trabajo decente*, Santiago de Chile, Organización Internacional del Trabajo, pp. 191-332.
- Stiglitz, J., 2003, "El rumbo de las reformas. Hacia una nueva agenda para América" *Revista de la Cepal*, (2204) (8), pp. 7–40.
- Stolcke, V., 1992, *Racismo y sexualidad en la Cuba colonial*, Alianza Editorial, Madrid.
- Swerts, T., 2017, *Switching ethnic gears: Identity, innovation and intersectional imaginations in Movement X. Presented at the Intersectional Imaginations and the Spaces of Power*, KU Leuven, Belgium. Retrieved from <https://ees.kuleuven.be/intersectional-imaginations/program.pdf>
- Swidler, A., 1986, "Culture in Action: Symbols and Strategies", *American Sociological Review*, 51, (2), pp. 273–86.
- Swidler, A., 2001, *Talk of love: How Culture Matters*. Chicago, University of Chicago Press.
- Taylor, E., 1999, "The new economics of labour migration and the role of remittances in the migration process" *International Migration*, 37(1), pp. 63–88.

- Taylor-Gooby. P., 1991, "Welfare State Regimes and Welfare Citizenship", *Journal of European Social Policy*, 1 (2) pp. 93–105.
- Taylor-Gooby. P., 2002, *New risks, new welfare: the transformation of the European welfare state*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Taylor-Gooby. P., 2004, *New risks, new welfare: the transformation of the European welfare state*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Titmuss. R., 1974. "Commitment to Welfare" in: Abel-Smith, B, Titmuss, K. (eds.), *Social Policy: An Introduction*, Pantheon, New York, pp. 196-200.
- Titmuss. R., 1958. *Essays on the welfare state*, London, Allen and Unwin.
- Trifiletti. R., 1999, "Southern European welfare regimes and the worsening position of women", *Journal of European social policy*, (9), pp. 49–64
- Thieme. S., 2003, "Savings and Credit Associations and Remittances: The case of Far West Nepalese Labour Migrants in Delhi India", (39). Retrieved from http://www.ilo.org/employment/Whatwedo/Publications/WCMS_117968/lang--en/index.htm
- Tronto. J., 2011, "A feminist democratic ethics of care and global care workers. Citizenship and Responsibility", in: Mahon, R., Robinson, F. (eds.), *Feminist Ethics and Social Policy. Towards a New Global Social Political Economy of Care*. UBC Press, Vancouver, p. 162.
- Toye. J., and Toye, R., 2006, "Raúl Prebisch y los límites de la industrialización." in Dosma, E *Raúl Prebisch El Poder, Los principios y la ética del desarrollo. Ensayos en homenaje a David Pollock por la celebración de los 100 años del nacimiento de Raúl Prebisch*. Argentina: BID-INTAL, pp. 23.
- Poeze. M, and Mazzucato, V., 2013, "Ghanaian children in transnational families: Understanding the experiences of left-behind children through local parenting norms" in Baldasar, Laura and Merla, Laura (eds.), *Transnational families, migration and the circulation of care. Understanding mobility and absence in family life*, London and New York: Routledge pp. (pp. 149–169).
- Taylor. E., 1999, "The new economics of labour migration and the role of remittances in the migration process", *International Migration*, 37(1), 63–88.

- Thieme. S., 2003, "Savings and Credit Associations and Remittances: The case of Far West Nepalese Labour Migrants in Delhi, India, (39). Retrieved from http://www.ilo.org/employment/Whatwedo/Publications/WCMS_117968/lang--en/index.htm
- Traficantes-de-Sueños., 2004, *Otras Inapropiables*, Madrid, Creative Commons.
- Trifiletti. R., 1999, "Southern European welfare regimes and the worsening position of women," *Journal of European social policy*, 9(1), pp. 49-64.
- Urry. J., 2000, *Sociology Beyond Societies: Mobilities for the Twenty-First Century*, London, Routledge.
- Urry. J., 2003, "Social Networks, Travel and Talk, "*British Journal of Sociology*, 54, pp. 155–175.
- Uthoff. A, and Externo, C., 2009, *La Trayectoria de la reforma previsional en Chile y el incremento de la solidaridad*, Presented at the Seminario sobre seguridad social y protección integral para adultos mayores: desafíos y estrategias en América Latina y el Caribe y experiencias internacionales, Lima: OIT, CEPAL, Ministerio de Cooperación Económica y Desarrollo.
- Valenzuela. M., and Mora. C., 2009, *Trabajo doméstico: un largo camino hacia el trabajo decente*, Santiago de Chile, Organización Internacional del Trabajo.
- Vandenbroucke. F., 2001, *Social justice and individual ethics in an open society*, Springer, Berlin.
- Vandenbroucke. F., 2012, The Active Welfare State Revisited. *Working paper No. 12 / 09*, Antwerp, Herman Deleeck Centre for Social Policy, University of Antwerpen
- Van-Gerven. M., 2008, *Reforming social security rights in Europe; A study of path-dependent but not predetermined change*, Social Insurance Institution, Finland, Helsinki.
- Van-Ginneken. W., 1999, *Social security for the excluded majority: Case studies of developing countries*, International Labour Organization, Switzerland.
- Vaughan-Whitehead. Daniel., 2014, "Is Europe losing its soul? The European social model in times of crisis." International Labour Organization, Switzerland.

- Vargas-Monroy, L., 2011, "Knowledge from the borderlands: Revisiting the paradigmatic mestiza of Gloria Anzaldúa ", *Feminism and Psychology*, 22, (2), pp. 261-270.
- Verloo, M, Meier, p, Lauwers, S, and Martens, S., 2012, "Putting intersectionality into practice in different configurations of equality architecture: Belgium and the Netherlands", *ocial Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society*, 19(4), 513–538.
- Vertovec, S., 2007, "Super-Diversity and its implications" *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 30 (6), pp. 1024–1054.
- Villa, P., 2011, Embodiment is always more: Intersectionality and Stratification. In H. Lutz, Herrera-Vivar, María-Teresa and Supik, Linda (eds.), *Framing Intersectionality: Debates on a Multi-Faceted Concept in Gender Studies*. USA: Ashgate Publishing Company, pp. 171-187.
- Vivas-Romero, M. (2015a). *Beyond the 2008 crisis? Recent Chances in Ageing Migrant Domestic Workers' Access to transnational social protection*. Presented at the Migration, Integration and crisis: The Experiences of Latin Americans in Europe, Liege-Belgium.
- Vivas Romero, M. (2015b). *The Impact of Employment Relationships on Domestic Worker's Achievement of Transnational Family-Work Balance*. Presented at the conference Employment relationships in migrant domestic work: A Transnational Perspective, Brussels, Free University of Brussels.
- Vivas-Romero, M. (2016). *More Than Just "Friends"? the Role of Transnational Voluntary Kin Relationships on Ageing Domestic Workers' Access to Social Protection*. Presented at the Third ISA Forum of Sociology. Retrieved from <https://isaconf.confex.com/isaconf/forum2016/webprogram/Paper82103.html>
- Vivas-Romero, M., & Sanchez-Martinez, A. (2017). "Tracing Migrant-Mothers' 'Return' Narratives in the Mexico-U.S and Peru-Belgium Migratory-Circuits", (71), pp. 166-190.
- Vivas-Romero, M. (forthcoming, 2017). Entre mutation et métissage Co-construction d'une ethnographie émancipatrice et féministe. *Émulation Revue des Jeunes Chercheuses et Chercheurs en Sciences Sociales*, 22, pp. 35-51.
- Viveros-Vigoya, M., 2008, *La Sexualización de la Raza y la Racialización de la Sexualidad en el Contexto Latinoamericano Actual*. Presented at the Encuentro Latinoamericano y del

Caribe la Sexualidad frente a la sociedad.

<http://www.bivipas.unal.edu.co/handle/10720/663>

- Von-Hayek. F., 2001, *The Road Serfdom*, London and New York, Routledge.
- Wade. P., 1997, *Gente negra. Nación Mestiza. Dinámicas de la identidades raciales en Colombia. Bogotá*, ICANH, Editorial Universidad de Antioquia, Ediciones Uniandes, Siglo del Hombre.
- Walby. S., 2007, Complexity theory, systems theory, and multiple intersecting social inequalities, *Philosophy of the Social Sciences*, 37 (4), 449–470.
- Waldinger. R., 2003, Networks and Niches: The continuing significance of ethnic connections. in Glenn, C, Tariq, L and Teles, S, (eds.), *Race, Ethnicity, Social Mobility in the US and UK*, pp. 342–362.
- Wauletet. P., 2012, *Nationalité Belge: Synthèse Des Modifications Du CNB- Réforme de 2012*, Liege, University of Liege.
- Wasserman. S, and Faust, K., 1994, *Social network analysis: Methods and applications (Vol. 8)*. Cambridge university press. (Vols. 1–8), Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Weber. L., 1998, A Conceptual Framework for understanding race, class, gender, and sexuality, *Psychology of Women Quaterly*, 22, pp. 13–32.
- Welch. S., 1990, *feminist ethic of risk*, Minneapolis, Fortress Press.
- Widmer. E, Aeby, G, and Sapin, M., 2013, Collecting family network data, *International Review of Sociology*, 23(1), pp. 27–46.
- Wilensky. H., 1975, *The Welfare State and Equality: Structural and Ideological Roots of Public Expenditures*, Berkeley, London, Los Angeles, University of California Press.
- Wingfield. A., and Alston, R., 2012, "The understudied case of Black professional men: Advocating an intersectional approach", *Sociology Compass*, 6(9), 728–739.
- Winker. G., and Degele, N., 2011, "Intersectionality as multi-level analysis: Dealing with social inequality", *European Journal of Women's Studies*, 18(1), 51–66.
- Williamson. J., 1994. *The political economy of policy reform*. Washington D.C: Institute for International Economics.

- Williamson. J., 2002, *Speeches, Testimony, Papers Did the Washington Consensus Fail*.
Institute for International Economics.
- Williams. F., 2011, The Transnational Political Economy of Care, in: Mahon, R, Robinson, F
(Eds.), *The Global Political Economy of Care: Integrating Ethical and Social Politics*,
UBC Press, Vancouver.
- Williams. F., 2012, "Converging Variations in Migrant Care Work in Europe", *Journal of
European Social Policy*, 22, 363–91.
- Wilensky. H., 1975, *The Welfare State and Equality*. University of California Press, Berkeley
- Wenemmo, I., 1994, *Sharing the cost of children: studies on the development of family support
in the OECD countries (No. 25)*, Dissertation Series. OECD Publishing-Swedish
Institute for Social Research, Stockholm.
- Wolf. M., 1972, *Women and the family in rural Taiwan*. Chicago: Stanford University Press.
- Wolff. F, and Zohlnhöfer, R., 2009. "Investing in human capital? The determinants of private
education expenditure in 26 OECD countries." *Journal of European Social Policy*, 19,
pp. 230–244.
- Williamson. J., 1994, *The political economy of policy reform*, Washington D.C: Institute for
International Economics.
- Yeates. N., 2009, *Globalizing care economies and migrant workers : explorations in global care
chains*. Hampshire: New York, N.Y, Houndmills, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan.
- Yeates. N., 2012, "Global Care Chains: A State of the art Review and Future Directions in Care
transnationalization Research" *Global Networks*, 12, pp. 135–154.
- Young. I., 1990, *Justice and the Politics of Difference. United States: Princeton University
Press*. New Jersey: Princeton.
- Yuval-Davis. N., 1997, *Gender and Nation*, CA, Sage, Thousand Oaks.
- Yural-Davis. N., 2006, "Intersectionality and Feminist Politics", *European Journal of Women's
Studies*, (13), pp. 193–210.
- Yuval-Davis. N., 2011, *The Politics of Belonging: Intersectional Contestations*, London, Sage.

- Zapata-Galindo, M, Sabina-Garcia, P, and Chan-de-Avila, J., 2013, *La Interseccionalidad en Debate: Actas del Congreso Internacional "Indicadores Interseccionales y Medidas de Inclusión social en Instituciones de Educación Superior*. Berlin: Coordinación MISEAL Instituto de Estudios Latinoamericanos.
- Zimmerman, M.K, Litt, S.J, and Bose, E.C. 2006, *Global Dimensions of Gender and Carework*, California, Standford University Press.
- Zuniga, V and Vivas-Romero, M., 2014, *Divided families, fractured schooling, in Mexico: educational consequences of children exposition to international migration*, (Cahiers-FabricaMIG Number: 6). Mexico City: Centro de Estudios Mexicanos y CentroAmericanos.
- Zúñiga, V, Hamann, E, and Sánchez-García, J., 2008, *Alumnos transnacionales: Las escuelas mexicanas frente a la globalización*, Mexico D.F: Secretaria de Educación Pública.
- Zúñiga, V. (2016). "De cómo hablamos de los indígenas los mexicanos (no indégenas) en el México actual", *Región y Sociedad*, IX (15), pp. 133-164.
- Zontini, E., 2010, "Enabling and Constraining Aspects of Social Capital in Migrant Families: Ethnicity", *Gender and Generation. Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 33, pp. 816–831.

Official Documents & International Treaties

- ADUANET, 2017, "Ley de Reinserción Económica y Social Para el Migrante Retornado - Ley N° 30001" http://www.aduanet.gov.pe/aduanas/informag/ley_300012.htm
- Alcaldia Mayor de Bogotá, 2017, Mapa de Bogotá Sin Bicicletas.
<https://contenidos.civico.com/wpcontent/uploads/2017/01/fcb5d514e4380564b96d.jpg>
- Cornell University Law School, 2017, Official document containing, Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996
https://www.law.cornell.edu/wex/illegal_immigration_reform_and_immigration_responsibility_act
- CPAS-Belgium, 2007, L'aide medicale urgente. http://www.ocmw-info-cpas.be/fiche_FV_fr/laide_medicale_urgente

- CIA, W.-F. , 2016^a, South America: Colombia. Retrieved from:
<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/co.html>
- CIA, W.-F, 2016b, South America: Peru. Retrieved from
<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/resources/the-world-factbook/geos/pe.html>
- CIRE., 2013, Evaluation de la regularization par le travail. Bruxelles: CIRE (Coordination et initiatives pour réfugiés et étrangers)/ Federation Wallonie Bruxelles.
<https://www.cire.be/publications/etudes/evaluation-de-la-regularisation-par-le-travail>
- COLOMBIA-DEPARTAMENTO-NACIONAL-DE-PLANEACIÓN. Documento Conpes 3603. (24 de agosto de 2009). Política Integral Migratoria (2009).
- SajoR-Creative Commons (2007). Mapa de la División Política del Municipio de Itagui. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Mapa_de_Itagui-Colombia.png
- ECLAC, 2016, About ECLAC (Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean).
- ECLAC. (2000). *Equidad Desarrollo y Ciudadanía* (No. (LC/G.2071/Rev.1-P.E)). Chile: CEPAL.
- ECLAC. (2006). *La protección social de cara al futuro: acceso, financiamiento y solidaridad* (No. LC/G.2294(SES.31/3). Chile: CEPAL.
- European-Migration-Network, 2013, 'Annual Report on Asylum and Migration Policy in Belgium 2012.' Brussels.
- Facultad de Arquitectura, Universidad Nacional de Colombia, (2015), Mapa de Comunas de Medellin y sus Corregimientos.
<http://arquitectura.medellin.unal.edu.co/escuelas/habitat/galeria/displayimage.php?pid=6048>
- Direction-statistique-et -information-economique-Belgique DGSIE., 2010,. Population par sexe, nationalite et classe d'ages: Population Feminine. Bruxelles: Direction statistique et information economique Belgique.
- DEMO, Belgian-Federal-Government, 2015, Population Par Nationalité et Par Sexe 2015-2016. SPF Economie, P.M.E Classe Moyennes et Energie.
http://statbel.fgov.be/fr/modules/publications/statistiques/population/downloads/population_totale_etrangere_et_belge.jsp

- Economics-Help., 2011, Primary Product. Retrieved from
<http://www.economicshelp.org/blog/2599/agriculture/primary-products-2/>
- European Communities, 1997, Treaty of Amsterdam Amending the The Treaty on European Union, The Treaties Establishing The European Communities and Certain Related Acts.
<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/topics/treaty/pdf/amst-en.pdf>
- European-Comission, 2007, Tackling Multiple Discriminations. Practices, Policies and Laws. European Comission Directorate-General for Employment, Social Affairs, and Equal Opportunities Unit G.4. Office for Official Publications of the European Community.
- European-Union, 2012. Provision Having General Application. Retrieved from: http://eur-lex.europa.eu/resource.html?uri=cellar:2bf140bf-a3f8-4ab2-b506-fd71826e6da6.0023.02/DOC_2&format=PDF
- European Union, 1968. Regulation (EEC) No 1612/68 of the Council of 15 October 1968 on freedom of movement for workers within the Community. Retrieved from:
<http://eurlex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=CELEX:31968R1612:en:HTML>
- European Union, 1971. Regulation (EEC) No 1408/71 of the Council of 14 June 1971 on the application of social security schemes to employed persons and their families moving within the Community. Retrieved from: <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=CELEX:31971R1408:en:HTML>
- European Union, 2014. Directive 2014/24/EU of the Parliament and of the Council of 26 February 2014 on public procurement and repealing Directive 2004/18/EC Text with EEA relevance. Retrieved from: <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=celex:32014L0024>
- European White Paper for Growth, Employment and Challenges of the 21st century. Retrieved from: <http://publications.europa.eu/en/publication-detail/-/publication/4e6ecfb6-471e-4108-9c7d-90cb1c3096af/language-en>
- EURwork, 2002 New Legislation Regulates Migration.
<http://www.eurofound.europa.eu/observatories/eurwork/articles/new-legislation-regulates-immigration>
- Fonds du Longement Brussels, 2017, “Le Pret: Garantie Locative”
<http://www.fondsdulogement.be/fr/prets-garantie-locative/conditions>

IBSA, 2015, “19 Communes Bruxellois en Chiffre.”http://ibsa.brussels/nouvelles/09-07-2015-le-bru19-2015-les-19-communes-bruxelloises-en-chiffres/image/image_view_fullscreen

IDB Inter-American-Development-Bank., 2013, Remittances to Latin America and the Caribbean in 2013: Still Below Pre-Crisis Levels.

ILO., 2008, Establecimiento de normas de seguridad en una sociedad global: Análisis de la situación y de la práctica actuales y de las opciones futuras para el establecimiento de normas de seguridad sociales globales en la organización internacional del trabajo, (Campaña Mundial Sobre Seguridad Social y Cobertura para Todos No. 2). Geneva, Switzerland: ILO.

KCE (Central-Fédéral d’Expertise des Soins de Santé)., 2015, Synthese: Quels Soins de Santé Pour Les Personne En Séjour Irrégulier? Brussels.

Legi-France, 1992, LOI n° 93-1027 du 24 août 1993 relative à la maîtrise de l’immigration et aux conditions d’entrée, d’accueil et de séjour des étrangers en France (1). Retrieved from :
<https://www.legifrance.gouv.fr/affichTexte.do?cidTexte=JORFTEXT000000530357&categorieLien=id>

Medi-Migrant, 1996, L’aide médicale urgente.
<http://www.medimmigrant.be/dmh%20tekst%20voor%20website%20fr.pdf>

Ministerio de las Mujeres y Poblaciones Vulnerables (Perú), 2014, “Lima Metropolitana”
https://www.mimp.gob.pe/adultomayor/regiones/Lima_Metro2.html

Ministerio del Ambiente (Perú), Instituto Geofísico del Perú, (2017), “Ciudad Chimbote”
<http://portal.igp.gob.pe/ppr2013-ciudad-chimbote>

Moniteur Belge, 2012, Official document containing the changes in the belgian Nationality Code (Loi modifiant le code de la nationalité belge)
<https://emnbelgium.be/sites/default/files/attachments/12.12.04-codenationalitebelge.pdf>

OECD, 1994. The OECD Job Study: evidence and explanation/Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, Paris.

OECD, 1999. A Caring World The New Social Policy Agenda. Paris.

Pension, Salaries (SFP), (2017) “La GRAPA”

<http://www.onprvp.fgov.be/FR/profes/benefits/igo/pages/default.aspx>

SOPEMI, 2001, Trends in International Migration. Paris: OECD.

Superintendencia-de-Pensiones., 2002, Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores Promulga el

Convenio de Seguridad Social con Gobierno de la Republica del Perú.retrieved

from:http://www.safp.cl/safpstats/stats/sist_previsional/convenios_extranj/convenio_peru.html

UN-INSTRAW., 2006, Gender, Migration, Remittances and Development.

United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner (1990) International

Convention on the Protection of the Rights of all Migrant Workers, and Members of their Families (Adopted by the General Assembly Resolution: 45/158).

<http://www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/CMW.aspx>

U.N, 1948, General Declaration of Human Rights and in the International Convention on

Economic and Cultural Rights. Retrieved from:

<http://www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/CESCR.aspx>

UN, 1990, International Convention on the Protection of Rights of All Migrant Workers and

Their Family Members. Retrieved from:

<http://www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/CMW.aspx>

World-Bank, 2001, *Social Protection Sector Strategy from Safety Net to Springboard*.

Washington D.C: The World Bank.