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‘Migration, Institutions and Intimate Lives: Towards a New Agenda’

Manuela Martini and Sumita Mukherjee

Migration has become an increasingly prominent focus in the social sciences since at least the 1970s, with discussion turning early to questions of gender.¹ Historians have played a crucial role in the field as well as geographers, sociologists and anthropologists. Forty years later, it is clear that the ‘gender turn’ in migration history has lifted women to the centre stage of short- and long-distance migrations, and elicited new approaches. Gender as a category of analysis in migration has meant not merely the recovery of women who migrated, but also a deeper analysis of the gendered relations that are constructed by space and the movement between spaces, as well as of the power relations inherent in migration control. New theoretical and methodological considerations of gendered paths in migration have challenged the classical view of migration as emancipation, insisting on the importance of care and domestic roles in migration. The link between place of origin and place of arrival have been revisited through the study of gendered relations among those who leave and those who stay. A gender approach has also led to acknowledgement of the need to improve analysis of servitude and slavery all through the lens of gendered patterns, intersecting with other constructs such as race, class, religion, and sexuality.²

In combination with the ‘gender turn’, the recent transnational turn in history has opened new research agendas for the study of migration and mobility. At its heart, the history of migration and mobility has always been both interdisciplinary and cross-disciplinary, whether engaging with the literature of travel narratives, with migratory regimes and/or the geography of mobility and exchange, or with the sociology and philosophy of terms such as ‘diaspora’ and ‘migration’. Here, too, reflections on gender construction, representation and identity have informed much of the writing and debates on these topics, which have engaged across disciplines such as social, cultural, economic, religious, political, emotional, and environmental history.

As the geographer Doreen Massey pointed out in the early 1990s, the intersections between space, place and gender are deep and multifarious. From the ways in which space

and place construct gender relations to the gendered messages of particular spaces and places, gender relations vary over space as much as they do over time. These are concepts familiar to historians working today, but analysis of migration and mobility, of the institutions involved with migrants, adds another layer to our understanding of the ways in which gendered identities are influenced by location. Equally, as Massey herself pointed out, the limitation of women's mobility, including relegation to the 'domestic space', has been 'in some cultural contexts a crucial means of subordination'.³ What then of the migrant women who migrate to new 'domestic spaces'? How different for women was the experience of migrating alone or with male companions? How can historians offer additional nuanced discussion of the ways in which the movement of men and women serves to problematise constructions of public and private? Can we move beyond studies of migrant women that focus solely on family relations and domestic work?

In considering 'migration' in this special issue, we have been keen to offer various ways of analysing the processes of migration, beyond the 'arrival' and creation of social relations in new spaces. We are interested in how aspects of the process of travel itself may admit of gender analysis, with possible focuses ranging from the segregation of spaces on transport, to consideration of the journey itself as a process of change and discovery. We are interested in continuous migrations, of the movement of migrants to multiple destinations, or back and forth between locations such as 'home' and 'work' and how relations are constituted in these different spaces. We are interested in the institutions involved in regulating or managing migration, as well as in hosting and caring for migrants. We are interested in the communities who are changed by the arrival of incomers as well as those that have been left behind by migrants. We are not only interested in cultural analysis but also in economics and the environment, in regulation and biopolitics. We acknowledge moreover that migration is a process, not a unidirectional event.

A flourishing field of studies on international migration regimes and global migrant institutions has developed in relation to the transnational turn. Indeed, one of the main topics in histories of migrations has been the study of institutional frames and their evolutions. While some of these works have recently demonstrated awareness of the importance of the intimate life of migrants, it is rarer to find studies which consider how states and their institutions, legislations and policies affected everyday life and migrants' experiences at local, regional, national, transnational and global levels.⁴

In bringing together this special issue, we wanted to explore the history of migrants and a wide set of institutions through a gendered lens in several ways. The questions and

ideas guiding us included interest in the range of approaches to the history of migration that have engaged with state (or other levels of government) policies and institutions, including the social, cultural and economic ones. We were led by a desire for analysis of local and internal migration, and the public administration of migrants' private lives. We encouraged potential contributions that inquired into the intermediaries – the brokers of migration and gender: the go-betweens, the institutions, charities, NGOs, state institutions, associations, merchants and ship-owners who facilitate (or prohibit) migration. We were also interested in notions of association, familiarity and intimacy, for example, through studies that engage with themes such as marriage, families (including transnational families), long-distance motherhood and fatherhood, sex and sexuality, both in the sending and the receiving areas. This also provided a context in which to develop reflexions and analytical frames that discussed the adaptation of heritage and community practices in immigrant groups as well.

In assembling this special issue, we also wanted to take stock of the range of approaches to the history of migration that have dealt with gender, and to reflect on the methodology that informs this work, especially as related to intimacy. We are exercised by continuing discussions around the definitions, terminology and lexis pertaining to migrants in historical perspective, as well as by ongoing debates about the future of transnational and global history.⁵ We are also conscious of the ways in which research on migration has benefitted from innovative ways of reading 'against the grain' in archives, and lends itself to a range of sources and approaches, whether in the form of travel writing, material history, literature, economic data or oral histories.⁶ In so doing, historians are able to illuminate cultural specificities, evidencing how gendered relations are contingent in time and place.

The development of digital practices and resources in recent years has also transformed the ways in which historians have been able to present data on migration histories. Large scale collaborative quantitative research has been presented in digital formats, such as the project 'England's Immigrants 1330-1550', with which one of the contributors to this special issue, Bart Lambert, was involved. Mapping projects such as 'Layers of London' are also providing ways to visualise the multi-layered effects of migration on spaces.⁷ Among the main outcomes of the 'TRA-3000 families survey' in France was a revision of the so-called nineteenth-century 'rural exodus'.⁸ These projects, usually dependent on major research funding, reflect a growing recognition by major academic research bodies and publishers of the vibrancy of the field. The demand to create these accessible resources are also shaped by responses historians and social scientists are

making to challenge narratives of globalisation and to draw attention to the long-standing historical circulation of people.

Migration, to us, is not just about movement across borders and continents, but also includes small-scale migration, whether characterised by rural-urban migration or the short distances between villages, towns and regions. However, it is clear that many of the preoccupations of global historians are similar to those who work on migration, namely issues of scale, locating archives, and potential for collaboration. Accordingly, the Afro-Asian Collective's 2018 manifesto reflects how not only the possibilities of digitisation, but also its pitfalls, as well as the urgency of collaborative research speaking to the concerns of historians of migration and gender.⁹ When archive digitisation projects fail to include the everyday sources and bureaucratic notes that can shed light on gendered relations and behind the scenes decisions, when only the writings of prominent writers are preserved, then challenges ensue. Equally, if language competency is an obstacle for historians whose work spans multiple language areas, favouring instead research and publishing models in anglophone markets, then the contributions of our colleagues across the world will be neglected. How can we make more accessible, for instance, the life stories of Italian migrants travelling not only towards Ellis Island but also to France, Switzerland, Germany, Australia, Argentina or Brazil? The way forward may be more collaborative research and writing to combine analysis of multiple spaces, archives, languages and perspectives. The broad historical landscape covered by this special issue, both from a spatial and temporal perspective, is precisely intended to give an idea of the variety of sources and institutional assets able to outline not only the institutional actors' views but also, as far as possible, those of migrants.

This special issue is not comprehensive of all periods, places, concepts or approaches. Nor is this editorial. Previous and future issues of *Gender & History* have already and will continue to discuss these themes. The journal has already published influential articles on the intersections of gender and migration history. In 2004, Elaine Bauer and Paul Thompson analysed the gender dynamics of Jamaican migrant families, drawing attention to the value of oral history in analysing migration and gender. This work built upon some pioneering early investigation of gender and migration of Caribbean families by Mary Chamberlain for the *History Workshop Journal* in 1997. In *Gender & History* in 2005, Julia Clancy-Smith analysed the experiences of female expatriates in the Ottoman regency of Tunisia, emphasising the need for true transnational analysis of migration beyond singular nation states and also reflected upon the 'diversity of social positioning' for women as migrants. In

2012, Nancy Green reflected on the developments in historiography around gender and migration, and how we need to ask about the impact of migration on gender and also the impact of gender upon migration.¹⁰ In its turn, we hope this special issue and editorial offer an intervention, both for the journal and the wider field, in highlighting the vibrancy of the field and the ongoing questions that scholars of migration and gender need to consider.

Throughout this special issue, then, we have been exercised by the need to put gender as a category of analysis at the forefront of research into migration histories, while also offering contextual analysis of the ways in which migration has shaped gender relations.¹¹ We have focused on the mobility of people, rather than the migration of goods or ideas. However, we are very conscious of how many objects, emotions, commemorative objects, ideologies and so on that migrants carry in their suitcases and how the changing uses of terms such as ‘migrant’, ‘refugee’, ‘exile’, are historically specific and have different connotations across time and space. Indeed, the pressing need for historians to consider histories of migration and gender are influenced by current affairs and inflammatory political rhetoric around migration, particularly in western countries. When political leaders use or invoke the trope of the ‘undeserving’ or ‘illegal’ immigrant to win votes and majoritarian support in places such as the USA, Italy, Hungary or UK, it becomes even more urgent for historians to provide context about the long history of migration around the world, about the variety of people who migrated, and the various effects of migration on the migrant, on the communities they encountered, on their intimate lives, on the institutions and states involved in these processes.

Part I: Family dynamics and migrant labour

The links between work, social origin and migration constitute one of the classic themes in the history of migration. The first part in this special issue emphasizes the intersection between constraints associated with gender, class and race from a range of perspectives, from gendered labour market integration to the combination of domestic and extra-domestic labour in migration and its impact on gender relations. The radical renewal that the gender analysis grid has brought to feminist history re-examines the history of migration in the broadest sense, since the history of migration and the history of labour migration have evolved side-by-side.

An important collection of works edited by Pamela Sharp in the early 2000s offered an excellent range of research, and a fairly accurate idea of the co-existence at the time of three main strands: research focused on migrant women, the comparison of differentiated pathways and gendered constructions of relations between migrant men and women.¹² The path from women's history to gender history is not linear, the coexistence of approaches is quite common, a point recently recalled by Katherine Donato and her collaborators and also emphasised in the recent review by Dirk Hoerder.¹³ Nancy Green reported in this journal in 2012 on the richness of approaches in this field, which began with an activist approach concerned with seeking and finding women in migration in order to fill a huge historiographical gap about their presence.¹⁴ Once women became sharply visible, it was then possible to re-examine the place of migrants in the labour market, citizenship or integration into societies in terms of gender.

Key concepts such as assimilation, ethnicity and transnationalism can now be understood in the light of gender in the study of labour migration. We need only consider in this regard the issues of the differentiated integration of men and women into the labour market of receiving societies. In doing so, it is possible to interrogate both migration historiography and feminist studies. Access to services and institutions is eminently gendered when, for example, medical examinations prior to access to the territory control the health of migrants, conceived as economically independent individuals in good physical conditions (notably, verifications of the pregnancy status of single migrant women).¹⁵

An important step forward in recent historiography has been the inclusion of domestic work by migrant women working at the same time outside the household. This has helped to nuance the emancipatory tropes characteristic of 1970s feminist studies of international migrations. Similarly, gender sensitivity has made it possible to reread some optimistic visions of migrant entrepreneurship that ignored the unpaid work of wives or children in immigrant workshops.¹⁶ Thus, even in the field of labour migration, the theory of the separation of spheres has also been contested. Ethnicity is not only a determining factor for women confined in their homes, but also for those who work outside the domestic sphere and partly reproduce patterns of role separation when they return home after extra-domestic work. The history of migration chains has shown that men build community structures and institutions and that women can work in extra-domestic spaces while participating in the life of these institutions, in subordinate but not necessarily agency-free tasks.

However, the spread of gendered oriented analysis does not mean that the gender approach has supplanted any other approach. Studies on service work and domestic workers

in particular still often address history from the perspective of migrant women while highlighting gender dynamics in their migration careers. This goes hand in hand, namely, with the highlighting of the existence of global care chains by sociologists and historians.¹⁷ At present, we are finally observing a return – which we could consider cyclical – to intersectional feminist studies focusing on the differentiated trajectories of women in migration, not only in relation to those of men but also by comparing those of women with each other. These comparisons between women's migration histories have highlighted paradoxes. Domestic service is, once again, a rich field of study from this point of view, as Thomas Verbruggen's work in this special issue shows by comparing the journeys of Dutch and German women to Antwerp in the second half of the 19th century.

The autonomy in choosing and carrying on their migration trajectories shown by these women leads to different outcomes. For most of them, in addition, it had led to work in confined spaces. Women began independent migratory journeys, certainly, most often following gendered and specific migratory routes, but found themselves confined in domestic spaces as maids, paradoxically subjected to working conditions that, in fact, were accompanied by spatial and relational segregation. By contrast, the 'followers' coming with their husbands, brothers, cousins, including married mothers, took the road to the city to carry out extra-domestic work, not only in houses, but also in factories and in laundry, commercial or restaurant services. This ambivalent dimension of the constraints to which migrating women are subject is a common feature of the articles in this section. Alongside its undeniable dynamic dimension, once automatically associated with the emancipation of women, recent historiography has emphasized the complexity of the migration process. Transformations go hand in hand with the reproduction of gendered social and cultural mechanisms. For medieval England Bart Lambert addresses an aspect little considered in historiography on the intersection between ethnicity/ nationality and gender in mobility for economic reasons. Lambert uses as his main source alien subsidy returns to analyse gender ratios, the occupations of the women recorded, including the divisions between skilled and unskilled occupations, and marital status to show how patterns of migration and opportunities for migrants were strongly gendered.

As in Verbruggen's Antwerp at the turn of the century, the in-depth study of women coming from regions quite distant from their destinations shows that some regions were more likely than others to send women workers and have professional gender structures that enter into dialogue with the economic opportunities that exist in the regions of arrival. Therefore researchers can observe in some cases a sort of hyper-mobility for women compared to men.

For the medieval and early modern periods it is not always easy to answer the complementary questions that could be raised about this issue: on the one hand, knowledge of the forms of coexistence and involvement in economic activities in the places of departure and, on the other, understanding of the disruptions experienced by these same societies as a result of migration.

We know that migration is a powerful vector for transforming the mechanics of gender. Husseina Dinani studies here an extremely interesting case of upheaval triggered by new opportunities on the male labour market. Men's labour migration has been studied in terms of women's empowerment in both the management of household affairs, and relations with public institutions.¹⁸ In the case of the rural economy of the Lindi region in Southern Tanganyika in the aftermath of the Second World War opportunities to find paid work for men outside their villages increased at the end of the colonial era. Male migration here impacted on gender relations within households by giving women a major role and responsibilities in domestic food production. However, frequently these duties were unmanageable in practical terms. The limited mechanisation typical of agricultural exploitation in these areas meant such a heavy responsibility was fraught or even entirely unsustainable. Thus this situation led to behaviours that Dinai characterises as 'serial monogamy', in conditions of increasing marital instability, women lived in a 'state of perennial dislocation' and the search for new partners to replace the missing husbands implied both emotional precarity and settlement mobility.

The mobility associated with such precarious contexts is often, but not exclusively, the prerogative of women and appears as a filigree in medieval sources as well as in some of the work strategies attested in Venice in modern times, where entrepreneurial statuses were very different, especially for women and in general for workers operating outside the corporate system. Intermediaries, whether friends of friends, informal go-betweens or professionals, play an important role in such dynamics, an aspect whose fundamental importance Verbruggen highlights in the context of nineteenth-century Antwerp. Study in this area can thus help with the difficulties of accounting for the causal mechanisms underlying both the diversity of intermediation patterns and the manner in which information flows. This question is crucial for a full understanding of migration processes in several respects.

Part II: Assisting Institutions, Hospitality and Surveillance

Our focus on migrants' infrastructures, intermediaries and migratory institutions means that we would like not only to explore the issue of the impact of institutions on families lives but also emphasise that the whole migration process needs to be understood as a gendered phenomenon.¹⁹ We would like to place particular emphasis on this consideration as a crucial contribution to migration studies, and one that we see as at the heart of this special issue. Whether we are dealing with placement and displacement agencies, the politics and governance of migration, or indeed the institutions of civil society that welcome migrants, all of these are gendered in their action and policies. Accordingly, the contributions to this special issue pay particular attention to the actors, whether those who assist or those who are assisted.²⁰ The explosive development of institutional frameworks from the end of the nineteenth century in Europe and the Western world to monitor and regulate incoming and outgoing migratory flows created a host of public and private actors in charge of migrant people.

The social workers studied by Franca Iacovetta are part of this group. These figures often lived themselves between two worlds, that of departure and that of arrival. They came from immigrant families and spoke several languages. Founded just after the Second World War, the International Institute of Metropolitan Toronto is one of those organisations that collaborate with public institutions in a public-private mixed sphere not uncommonly characteristic of the reception of migrants in situations of economic and psychological vulnerability. The detailed analysis of assistance practices in the 1960s reconstructed by Iacovetta in offering psychological support to immigrant couples allows us to catch the migrants' voices. Although reflected in the accounts of the interviews, it emerges in particular through scrutiny of the marked gaps between social workers' expectations, institutional aims and prescriptions along with, not least, the migrants' accounts of daily experiences.

In very different social *milieux*, integration is achieved not only through social and family networks but also through provision of lodgings, as well as through taverns and hostels. In the wake of pioneering studies on urban receiving infrastructures in the early modern era, Matteo Pompermaier and Teresa Bernardi explore the issue of gender operating at several levels. First of all, as manifestly visible in the attitude of public authorities looking to control what they see as moral and criminal risks, as well as perceptible at the level of hostel owners and their preferences and, finally, in the gendered strategies of the migrant guests themselves. This work also raises another central question by considering social institutions as places where a gendered construction of the relationship between public

authorities and migrants is embodied. It is striking to observe the extents to which the state may seek to intervene in the lives of migrants –particularly colonial states exercising their dominion over populations and, after decolonization, over its former subjects. The section following explores this issue in the eminently intimate context of couple formation.

Part III: Marriage, mobilities, and sex

The third section focuses on life cycles, the institution of marriage as well as domestic life. As Richard Jobs and David Pomfret have argued, the early twentieth century was characterised by an explosion in the global movement of people, much of which involved young people. They argue that youth stands as an important historical category, one distinct from children and adults, but studies of transnational youth have invariably focused on boys and men.²¹ The issues of age as an analytical tool and consideration of change over life cycles have attracted the attention of historians of all periods. Although this special issue does not discuss child migrants specifically, it is an issue that has been of considerable interest to this subfield. A recent special virtual issue of *Historical Workshop Journal* edited by Julia Laite highlighted various aspects in this regard, in particular Kathleen Weiler's discussion of the education of child migrants to California between 1920 and 1940, along with Ruth Balint's analysis of the struggles and separations faced by families with disabled children under displaced persons resettlement schemes in postwar Europe.²²

It is not solely analysis of young people and children that can offer valuable findings in terms of the gendered character of migration, but also the elderly. In the course of the 2018 Bristol symposium associated with this special issue, we were struck by the recurring focus on either young or working age migrants and wondered why seemingly so few historians considered the possibilities for analysis of migration by the elderly. In the UK, for example, the year 2018 saw older British people of Caribbean descent notoriously impacted by the Windrush scandal, a prominent manifestation of a government-instituted 'hostile climate' that forcibly detained, deported, or made homeless a generation of Caribbean migrants who arrived in Britain on or after the SS Windrush in 1948 under the auspices of the British Nationality Act, but whose residency documentation was never formalised.²³ This contemporary case raises issues that historians might wish to consider when thinking about age, life cycles, gender and migration.

In a gendered perspective on migration histories, a key area of study is the way in which institutional control of (usually heterosexual) marriages are cemented through migration, a juncture where issues of race, nationality, labour and sex come to the fore. When much of migration was gendered male, heterosexual relationships were understood through new ethnic, racial or national lines. There are clearly innovative ways in which historians of gender and migration can offer analysis of the disruptive forms and control that ideas of marriage and domesticity had on the conception of the family among migrant communities.

One example here is the recent prize-winning article by Samia Khatun that appeared in an earlier issue of this journal. Khatun draws out the stories of five women married to South Asian Muslim men in Australia and emphasises how reading ‘marriage records as an archive of women’s motion’.²⁴ The issues of bride price and negotiation that Khatun discuss, have relevance beyond the South Asian context as Yukari Takai shows in this special issue. Takai’s case study of Japanese emigrants to Hawaii 1885-1913 shows how definitions of marriage and divorce are varied and complicated further through migratory practices. Takai adopts a family-centred approach, focusing on how the ideal Japanese family type, as in the role of woman as ‘good wife, wise mother’, was either resisted or internalised across classes. Takai argues that marriage formation and dissolution such as *karifūfu*, wife sale and divorce among Hawaiian Japanese, provide indications of the agency that Japanese women enjoyed. They were able to resist the hold the state had over their lives by ‘exploiting or defying the very links between marriage and migration that nation-states sanctioned and privileged’.

Also in this issue, Allison Wells builds on Mina Roces’s 2015 article for this same journal on Filipina/o migration to the United States to offer a multi-layered account of transpacific migration both from the US to the Philippines and vice versa. Wells’ study is rooted in two separate pieces of legislation that facilitated the movement in question: the 1935 Repatriation Act and the 1945 War Brides Act. In so doing, Wells has been able to account for many different types of migrants, from single Filipino men ‘self-deporting’ to the Philippines, to mixed race families and couples.²⁵ Wells connects the post war archetypes of the Filipina with earlier colonial period stereotypes and machinations, offering insight into the ways the historic ties between the US and the Philippines have shaped post-war and contemporary realities.

Part IV: Colonisation Race, and Language

Our last section focuses on the effects of colonialism and the intersections of race with gender and migration, and also on postcolonial approaches to this field that include discussion of appropriate analytical terminology. As already discussed, the location of migrant historical subjects in different social and political spaces places central emphasis on spatial understandings and sense of place. It is in these different geographical spaces that the complex intersections of racial, gendered, class and other social identities come to the fore in various ways, and are particularly inflected by empire and its legacies. For instance, Jennifer Anne Boittin's study of the intersections between black colonial migrants and French women in interwar Paris, highlights the importance of locality for understanding transnational imperial history.²⁶ We see this too in Elise Franklin's article in the present issue, her study also dealing with the legacies of the French empire for colonial migrants to France, her discussion reflecting and responding to current debates about the interaction of immigration, welfare and empire. Franklin traces the changing attitudes of the French authorities towards the Algerian migrant families – shifting from emphasis on their social 'modernisation' to seeing them as an immigration 'problem'. Franklin analyses French diplomatic archives, which contain Franco-Algerian ministerial-level debates, alongside a study of various social work organisations, notably the SSFNA, an intermediary between the French authorities and the Algerian populations, illuminating how the relationship between social workers and Algerian families shaped the family resettlement policies hammered out by French and Algerian diplomats in the early 1960s.

Just as modern European imperial projects were built on the migration and mobility of colonisers, settlers, and indigenous peoples, so questions around migration and gender are familiar to many imperial historians. Influenced by the work of Ann Laura Stoler, many historians have been particularly interested in analysing 'intimacy' as central to studies of migration, race and empire.²⁷ Imperial historians have offered analysis of the ways in which empire was a '*self-consciously* spatializing project', whether with regard to the metropole or sites of encounter in the colonies, but there has been a danger that these spaces have been seen as merely static geographies and spaces of mutual isolation. A further danger is that it is the colonisers and settlers who are seen as mobile, while indigenous populations, particularly women, are seen as stationary objects upon which colonisation, violence and discipline are imposed.²⁸ A 2009 collection of essays edited by Antoinette Burton and Tony Ballantyne clearly challenged these presumptions, and it is noticeable that the majority of these interventions have been related to the histories of modern settler societies of Australia, Canada and New Zealand. Burton and Ballantyne also wished to move beyond the category

of ‘migration’ to try and capture the historical consequences of ‘mobility’, thereby offering a more dynamic understanding of the historical relationship between space and body. In emphasising the ‘translocal’ they have also tried to move beyond focus on the single nation-state while highlighting the heterogeneity of globalisation.²⁹

As Eureka Heinrich and Julian Simpson have recently argued, particularly in relation to the development of migration histories in settler colonies, historiography has tended to focus on nation-building narratives:

Rather than a drastic challenge to previous national narratives, social historians in these countries pointed to the silences and confections within them – the violent conflict and dispossession of Indigenous peoples which made possible colonial expansions, the racial and ethnic diversity and changing composition of the migrant intake in supposedly ‘white’ settler societies, the forced migration of convicts, slaves and indentured labourers alongside free emigrants which made the imperial enterprise profitable, and the policies enacted by colonial governments to police their newly-drawn borders.³⁰

It is essential to remember that migration was often forced and the issues of slavery, servitude, indenture and human trafficking are fundamental topics to any overview of migration and gender. New work in this area includes Ceyda Karamursel’s ongoing research on slavery and gendered analysis of emancipation struggles in the late Ottoman Empire and early Turkish Republic.³¹ Although this special issue does not include any articles on enslaved peoples, the issue of domestic servitude is considered by Francesca Biancani. Clearly domestic servitude and slavery cannot be compared, but Biancani attends carefully to the intersections of gender and class in her discussion of women migrating from the Primorska region in modern Slovenia to work in the domestic sector in Egypt between 1860 and 1960. In synthesising archival research, oral history, and literary analysis, Biancani analyses the issues surrounding migrant care labour as women leave their own families to look after someone else’s, an issue that continues to elicit contemporary concern particularly today in the migration of women from South East Asia, such as the Philippines, to western countries.

Historians of empire, race, migration and gender are often in dialogue with literary studies, particularly postcolonial studies and analysis of genres such as travel literature and ‘exile’ literature. Travel literature from the nineteenth century onwards in particular has been a key source for looking at how mobile people grappled with issues of modernity. Using the

example of Indians and the discourses around travel in the nineteenth century, Inderpal Grewal has argued that the comparisons Indian men and women made between the binaries of 'East' and 'West', reveal the ways in which colonial modernity was a gendered discourse.³² Through the process of being observers, but also being observed at the same time, Indian travel writers were reconceptualising their sense of 'self' and 'Indianness' through their presentation of the 'Indian gaze'.³³

The issue of the gaze and representation are important then not only for individual travellers nor only during modern imperial times, but also in considering the large-scale displacement of people and the creation of diasporic communities. As Breda Gray argues, diaspora is hybrid and contingent, and there are huge possibilities in diaspora studies for challenging normative patriarchal assumptions about family, kinship and community.³⁴ Terms such as diaspora, hybridity or traveller, are terms that need to be historicised themselves and contextualised. Yves Rees agrees that the scattered engagements with women's modern mobility appear problematically under-theorised, and presents a useful set of considerations that might frame and bind future perspectives and approaches. Thus, Rees offers a new typology or term for women who travel ('the sojourner'), specifically career-minded female wanders and the entrepreneurial globetrotters who sought opportunities to work and study for personal growth between 1870 and 1940. This is a less well-developed area of research in the scholarship on women's participation in tourism and embodiment, the female domestication of empire, and family-marriage migration patterns. Rees reflects upon the distinct type of female mobility these women embodied and argues that without a common name to lend meaning and coherence, such spatial practices risk remaining hidden in plain sight.

Final remarks

Throughout this introduction and the contributions that follow, we have emphasised that the whole process of migration from inception to travel, to arrival and beyond is a gendered one. In putting out the initial call for papers we were overwhelmed by the number of abstracts and became aware of the vibrancy of current research that considers these issues across time periods and geographical expanses. We have tried to put the articles that follow into context by highlighting the rich historiography they build upon and the key issues that interested us and guided us in selecting the papers to include in this special issue. We have divided this

issue into four parts, but the articles speak to each other across the sections as they nearly all raise questions about work, institutions, family and issues of terminology. The contributions that follow all offer significant interventions in our field and provide an outline of some of the key ways in which researchers can continue to approach the fields of migration and gender in productive ways, setting the agenda for this field in the years to come.

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¹ The pioneering and polemical article written by Mirjana Morokvasic in 1984, in deconstructing Michael Piore analysis, gave a first glance of both men's and women's experience in migration Mirjana Morokvasic, 'Birds of passage are also women...', *International Migration Review*, 18 Spec. Issue *Women in Migration* (1984), pp. 886-907, on Michael Piore, *Birds of Passage: Migrant Labor and Industrial Societies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979).

² For an overview of some of these developments, see for example, Katharine M. Donato, Donna Gabaccia, Jennifer Holdaway, Martin Manalansan IV, Patricia R. Pessar, 'A Glass Half Full? Gender in Migration Studies', *International Migration Review* 40 (2006), pp. 3-26; Suzanne M. Sinke, 'Gender and Migration: Historical Perspectives', *International Migration Review* 40 (2006), pp. 82-103.

³ Doreen Massey, *Space, Place and Gender* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1994), pp.177-79.

⁴ For example, Donna Gabaccia and Franca Iacovetta (eds), *Women, Gender, and Transnational Lives. Italians Workers of the World* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002)

⁵ Institutions are intended here as private or public organisations, collective actors or social norms characterised by a minimal formal shape which allows them to be identified as such by social actors. For some inspiring reflexions about the polysemy of this concept in contemporary social sciences and in economic history see Sheila Ogilvie, 'Whatever is, is right? Economic Institutions in Pre-Industrial Europe', *The Economic History Review* 60 (2007), pp. 649-84 and Jacques Revel, 'L'Institution et le social', in Lepetit Bernard (ed.), *Les Formes de l'expérience, une autre histoire sociale* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1995), pp. 63-84. For the definition of migratory institutions see Jon Goss and Bruce Lindquist, 'Conceptualizing International Labor Migration: A Structuration Perspective,' *The International Migration Review* 29 (1995), pp. 317-51, for migration infrastructure see Biao Xiang and Johan Lindquist, 'Migration Infrastructure', *International Migration Review* 48 (2014), pp. 122-48, on the concept of transnational migration and its limits see Roger Waldinger (ed.), *A Century of Transnationalism: Immigrants and Their Homeland Connections*, Studies of World Migrations (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, , 2016); on gendered transnationalism see Donato et al., 'A Glass Half Full', p. 6; on migratory regimes see Christoph Rass, 'Temporary Labour Migration and State-Run Recruitment of Foreign Workers in Europe, 1919–1975: A New Migration Regime?', *International Review of Social History* 57 (2012), pp. 191-224.

⁶ Some useful hints in this perspective in Jane Humphries and Carmen Sarasúa, 'Off the Record: Reconstructing Women's Labor Force Participation in the European Past', *Feminist Economics* 18 (2012), pp. 39-67.

⁷ <https://www.englishimmigrants.com/>
<https://www.layersoflondon.org/map>

⁸ <https://tra.site.ined.fr/> Paul-André Rosental, *Les Sentiers invisibles: espaces, familles et migrations dans la France du XIX^e siècle* (Paris: Éditions de l'EHESS, 1999); Noël Bonneuil and Paul-André Rosental, 'Changing Social Mobility in Nineteenth-century France', *Historical Methods* 32 (1999), pp. 53-73; Jérôme Bourdieu, Gilles Postel-Vinay, Paul-André Rosental, and Akiko Suwa-Eisenmann, 'Migrations et transmissions inter-générationnelles dans la France du XIX^e et du début du XX^e siècle', *Annales : Histoire, Sciences Sociales*, 55 (2000), pp. 749-790. Between 1980 and 1993 a huge database was collected at the Laboratoire de démographie historique of the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales in Paris, a resource still used by social and economic historians interested in migration issues.

⁹ Afro-Asian Networks Research Collective, 'Manifesto: Networks of Decolonization in Asia and Africa', *Radical History Review* 2018 (2018), pp. 176-82.

¹⁰ Elaine Bauer and Paul Thompson, '“She's always the person with a very global vision”: The Gender Dynamics of Migration, Narrative Interpretation and the Case of Jamaican Transnational Families', *Gender & History* 16 (2004), pp. 334–375; Mary Chamberlain, 'Gender and the Narratives of Migration', *History Workshop Journal* 43 (1997), pp. 87-110; Julia Clancy-Smith, 'Women, Gender and Migration along a Mediterranean Frontier: Pre-Colonial Tunisia, c.1815–1870', *Gender & History* 17 (April 2005), pp. 62–92; Nancy L. Green, 'Changing Paradigms in Migration Studies, From Men to Women to Gender', *Gender & History* 24 (2012), pp. 782–798.

¹¹ See also Helma Lutz, 'Gender in the Migratory Process', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 36 (2010), pp. 1647-663.

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- ¹² Pamela Sharp (ed.), *Women, Gender, and Labour Migration: Historical and Global Perspectives* (London: Routledge, 2001).
- ¹³ See Donato et al., 'A Glass Half Full' as well as Dirk Hoerder, 'Transcultural Approaches to Gendered Labor Migration: From the Nineteenth-Century Proletarian to Twenty-First-Century Caregiver Migrations', in Dirk Hoerder and Amarjit Kaur (eds), *Proletarian and Gendered Mass Migrations: A Global Perspective on Continuities and Discontinuities from the 19th to the 21st Centuries* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 19-64.
- ¹⁴ Green, 'Changing Paradigms in Migration Studies'.
- ¹⁵ Evan Smith and Marinella Marmo, 'Uncovering the 'Virginity Testing' Controversy in the National Archives: The Intersectionality of Discrimination in British Immigration History', *Gender & History*, 23 (2011), pp. 147-65.
- ¹⁶ Donato et al., 'A Glass Half Full'.
- ¹⁷ Arlie Russell Hochschild, 'Global Care Chains and Emotional Surplus Value', in William Hutton and Anthony Giddens (eds), *On the Edge: Living with Global Capitalism* (London: Jonathon Cape, 2000), pp. 133-46; Rhacel Salazar Parreñas, *Children of Global Migration: Transnational Families and Gendered Woes* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005); Rhacel Salazar Parreñas, 'Gender Inequalities in the New Global Economy', in Antoinette Fauve-Chamous (ed.), *Domestic Service and the Formation of European Identity: Understanding the Globalization of Domestic Work, 16-21st Centuries* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2005), pp. 369-79.
- ¹⁸ Linda Reeder, *Widows in White: Migration and the Transformation of Rural Women, Sicily, 1880-1928* (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 2002) and the classical anthropological research by Caroline B. Brettell, *Men Who Migrate, Women Who Wait: Population and History in a Portuguese Parish* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987 [repr. 2014]).
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- ²² Julia Laite, 'Virtual Special Issue: Migration and Mobility', *History Workshop*, 8 October 2018, <http://www.historyworkshop.org.uk/vsi-migration-and-mobility/>; Kathleen Weiler, 'Schooling Migrant Children: California, 1930-1940', *History Workshop Journal* 37 (1994), pp. 117-42; Ruth Balint, 'Children Left Behind: Family, Refugees and Immigration in Postwar Europe', *History Workshop Journal* 82 (2016) pp. 151-72.
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²⁶ Jennifer Anne Boittin, *Colonial Metropolis: The Urban Grounds of Anti-Imperialism and Feminism in Interwar Paris* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2010), pp. xx, xxii.

²⁷ Ann Laura Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002); Elisa Camiscioli, *Reproducing the French Race: Immigration, Intimacy and Embodiment in the Early Twentieth Century* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2009)

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²⁹ Burton and Ballantyne, 'Epilogue: The Intimate, The Translocal, and the Imperial in an Age of Mobility', in Burton and Ballantyne, *Moving Subjects*, pp. 336-38.

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