

Gender Gaps in Migration Studies

Recent Developments and Prospects

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1 Introduction

The field of migration studies focuses on spatial movements of people from one place, temporality, and social space to another, including their multi-faceted dimensions and underlying processes. Feminist scholars from different disciplines introduced gender perspectives in this research field and contributed to the burgeoning of what is known today as “gender and migration” scholarship.¹ More than four decades later several questions can be raised: what is the present state of broader migration studies? Are there still gender gaps in this field of research? How can we further advance migration studies?

In this chapter, “gender gaps” in specific epistemologies refer to lacunas in the extent to which scholarly focuses, methodologies, and analyses are gender inclusive, gender informed, or gender oriented. In this context, gender is not only a socially constructed category² but also a standpoint focusing on power dynamics, relations, and asymmetries among social groups. It can be defined

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- 1 See Donna R Gabaccia (ed), *Seeking Ground: Multidisciplinary Studies of Immigrant Women in the United States* (Greenwood Press 1992); Arlie R. Hochschild, ‘Global Care Chains and Emotional Surplus Value’ in Will Hutton and Anthony Giddens (eds), *On the Edge: Living with Global Capitalism* (Jonathan Cape 2000) 130–146; Pierrette Hondagneu-Sotelo, *Gendered Transitions: Mexican Experiences of Immigration* (University of California Press 1994); Eleonore Kofman, ‘Gendered Migrations, Social Reproduction and the Household in Europe’ (2014) 38 (1) *Dialectical Anthropology* 79; Sarah J. Mahler and Patricia R. Pessar, ‘Gendered Geographies of Power: Analyzing Gender Across Transnational Spaces’ (2001) 7 (4) *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power* 441; Mirjana Morokvašić, ‘Birds of Passage are also Women’ (1984) 18 (4) *International Migration Review* 886; Rhacel S. Parreñas, *Servants of Globalization. Women, Migration and Domestic Work* (Stanford University Press 2001); Rachel Silvey, ‘Power, Difference and Mobility: Feminist Advances in Migration Studies’ (2004) 28 (4) *Progress in Human Geography* 490.
 - 2 It is “a constitutive element of social relationships based on the perceived differences between the sexes” (see Joan W. Scott, ‘Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis’ (1986) 91 (5) *The American Historical Review* 1067). These differences refer to “masculinity” and “femininity” – characteristics socially prescribed to individuals from birth.

as “a social relation characterized by power inequalities that hierarchically produce, organize, and evaluate masculinities and femininities through the contested but controlling practices of individuals, organizations, and societies”.³ An investigation of the existing gender gaps in migration scholarship requires an awareness of contemporary developments regarding the main object of analysis in the field – human spatial mobility.

Based on the latest data on migrations that cross national borders, the number of migrant men continues to exceed that of migrant women: 52 percent men versus 48 percent women out of 281 million migrants in 2020.⁴ This gender imbalance raises the question of whether the numerical dominance of migrant men translates into comparatively more studies on them than on migrant women. What place do numerical minorities such as lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer (LGBTQ) migrants occupy in the migration scholarship?

The present chapter is based on the findings from qualitative and quantitative reviews of the literature on migration. The qualitative review examines the gender and migration scholarship and its temporal evolution in different regions of the world – the United States of America (USA), Europe, Asia, Africa, and Latin America. The quantitative review comprises a bibliometric analysis of the migration literature between 1980 and 2019 using two search engines that are widely used in research and academia (Web of Science and Google Scholar). Further input was obtained from the websites of two leading journals in the field (*Gender, Place & Culture* and *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*). By adopting a mixed methodological approach, the present chapter aims to facilitate an in-depth understanding of the significant developments in migration studies and of the place of gender within this scholarship. It offers fresh insights as to which areas of the field should strive to become more gender sensitive.

The reviews presented here have certain limitations. First, they have a linguistic bias because they mainly examined publications written in English. Second, they focused on gender gaps, which leaves out issues related to other categories, such as ethnicity, age, and social class. Third, the quantitative review was limited to two widely used search engines, thus overlooking less popular and independent platforms at the national, regional, or international levels. However, despite these limitations, the qualitative and quantitative data analysis in the present chapter can contribute to migration scholars' reflections

3 Myra Marx Ferree, 'Filling the Glass: Gender Perspectives on Families' (2010) 72 *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 424.

4 International Organization for Migration's (IOM) Global Migration Portal, *Key Global Migration Figures, 2017 – 2021* (IOM 2021) <<https://migrationdataportal.org/sites/default/files/2021-02/key-global-migration-figures.pdf>> accessed on 29 November 2021.

on how transnational migration studies can be further developed, notably the gender and migration scholarship. Before presenting the quantitative review, the chapter examines the evolution of gender and migration studies in various social contexts. It concludes by identifying the gender gaps and issues still to be addressed in migration studies.

2 Gender and Migration Research: Evolution in Different Social Contexts

The development of the gender and migration scholarship is not entirely uniform across socio-geographic contexts, as “(c)oncepts of women’s/gender and feminist ideas” that “travel across national, linguistic, cultural, and economic boundaries [...] are changed in the process”.⁵ The specific characteristics of each context as regards migration phenomena also vary, as does the situation of gender and migration research.

Prior to the birth of the gender and migration scholarship, the broader field of migration studies displayed several shortcomings related to gender. First, there was a male bias that viewed migration purely as a men’s enterprise.⁶ Second, most scholars adopted a “reductionist” perspective, that is, they considered women as mere followers and dependents of men.⁷ Third, they approached migration in a gender-neutral way, and this gender blindness meant that they did not pay attention to the power dynamics and gender processes involved in migration. Fourth, as a result of these shortcomings, women migrants were mostly invisible in the study of migratory phenomena. And fifth, there was also a heterosexual bias linked to the heteronormative tendency in migration studies to analyse migration strictly as a heterosexual affair neglecting the idea that LGBTQ individuals are also capable of migrating. Now that gender perspectives have permeated migration studies, we can expect radical changes in the way scholars in the field conduct their investigations.

In the USA, Hondagneu-Sotelo describes the evolution of gender and migration research as having three stages.⁸ The first stage is “women and migration”

5 Sondra Hale, ‘Transnational Gender Studies and the Migrating Concept of Gender in the Middle East and North Africa’ (2009) 21 (2) *Cultural Dynamics* 149.

6 Asuncion Fresnoza-Flot and Kyoko Shinozaki, ‘Transnational Perspectives on Intersecting Experiences: Gender, Social Class and Generation among Southeast Asian Migrants and their Families’ (2017) 43 (6) *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 867.

7 See Morokvašić (n 1).

8 Pierrette Hondagneu-Sotelo, ‘Gender and Immigration: A Retrospective and Introduction’ in Pierrette Hondagneu-Sotelo (ed), *Gender and U.S. Immigration: Contemporary Trends* (University of California Press 2003) 3–19.

(1970s to early 1980s) during which scholars wrote about women migrants. The second stage – “gender and migration” (late 1980s to early 1990s) – started when scholars turned their attention to gender processes in the realm of the family and households. The third and final stage, “gender as a constitutive element of immigration” began in the mid-1990s, when scholars started analysing larger social structures and institutions beyond the family, using a gender lens. The rise of queer migration studies is an important development in the USA. At present, as Hondagneu-Sotelo remarks,⁹ sexuality is one of the main streams in gender and migration research,¹⁰ thanks to the early initiatives of USA-based migration scholars.¹¹

The evolution of gender and migration research in the USA, as described above, resembles the development of the same research field in Europe. In this region, the first stage of development of gender and migration research started in the late 1970s and ended in the 1980s. It is known as a “compensatory phase”, that is, “focusing on women, showing them where they were not visible”.¹² The visibilisation of women’s active role as initiators and actors of migration characterised the 1980s.¹³ The second stage occurred from the 1990s to the 2000s, during which the globalisation,¹⁴ intersectionality,¹⁵ and

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- 9 Pierrette Hondagneu-Sotelo, ‘Gender and Migration Scholarship: An Overview from a 21st Century Perspective’ (2011) 6 (1) *Migraciones Internacionales* 219.
- 10 See the recent work on the subject: Shweta Majumdar Adur, ‘In Pursuit of Love: ‘Safe Passages’, Migration and Queer South Asians in the US’ (2018) 66 (2) *Current Sociology* 320; and Héctor Carrillo, *Pathways of Desire: The Sexual Migration of Mexican Gay Men* (University of Chicago Press 2017).
- 11 For example: Lionel Cantú Jr., *Border Crossings: Mexican Men and the Sexuality of Migration*. PhD dissertation (University of California 1999); Héctor Carrillo, ‘Sexual Migration, Cross-Cultural Sexual Encounters, and Sexual Health’ (2004) 1 (3) *Sexuality Research and Social Policy* 58; Eithne Luibhéid and Lionel Cantú Jr., *Queer Migrations: Sexuality, US Citizenship, and Border Crossings* (University of Minnesota Press 2005); and Martin Manalansan, IV, ‘Queer Intersections. Sexuality and Gender in Migration Studies’ (2006) 40 (1) *International Migration Review* 224.
- 12 Christine Catarino and Mirjana Morokvašić, ‘Femmes, Genre, Migration et Mobilités’ (2005) 21 *Revue européenne des migrations internationales* 1, 2.
- 13 See Laura Oso Casas, ‘Femmes, Actrices des Mouvements Migratoires’ (2005) 5 *Cahiers Genre et développement* 35.
- 14 See Parreñas 2001 and Saskia Sassen, ‘Women’s Burden: Counter-geographies of Globalization and the Feminization of Survival’ (2000) 53 (2) *Journal of International Affairs* 503.
- 15 See Kimberlé Crenshaw, ‘Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics’ (1989) in *The University of Chicago Legal Forum: Feminism in the Law: Theory, Practice and Criticism*, 139–167; and Patricia Hill Collins, *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and Politics of Empowerment* (Unwin Hyman 1990).

transnationalism¹⁶ perspectives permeated European migration scholarship. It was during this period that studies on the international division of reproductive labour, domestic or care work, skilled migration, and transnational families burgeoned in Europe.¹⁷ Consequently, women migrants, although they were already visible in migration studies before this period, attracted renewed scientific interest to the extent that scholars overlooked men while reinforcing their pre-existing heteronormative tendencies. During the third stage (from the 2010s to the present), migration scholars in Europe have been rectifying these shortcomings in the following ways: by examining men's experiences;¹⁸ carrying out more gender informed, transnational, and/or intersectional research concentrating on power relations and inequalities;¹⁹ and moving beyond care analysis to examine emerging phenomena in the region such as family and marriage,²⁰ refugee,²¹ and LGBTQ²² migrations.

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- 16 Linda G. Basch, Nina Glick Schiller and Christina Szanton Blanc, *Nations Unbound. Transnational Projects, Postcolonial Predicaments, and Deterritorialized Nation-states* (Gordon and Breach 1995); and Nina Glick Schiller, Linda Basch and Christina Blanc-Szanton, 'Transnationalism: A New Analytic Framework for Understanding Migration' (1992) 645 (1) *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences* 1.
- 17 For example: Deborah F. Bryceson and Ulla Vuorela (eds), *The Transnational Family: New European Frontiers and Global Networks* (Berg 2002); Asuncion Fresnoza-Flot, 'Migration Status and Transnational Mothering: The Case of Filipino Migrants in France' (2009) 9 (2) *Global Networks* 252; Helma Lutz, *The New Maids: Transnational Women and the Care Economy* (Zed Books Ltd. 2011); Janet Henshall Momsen (ed), *Gender, Migration, and Domestic Service* (Routledge 1999); and Parvati Raghuram, 'Gendering Skilled Migratory Streams: Implications for Conceptualizations of Migration' (2000) 9 (4) *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal* 429.
- 18 See Ester Gallo and Francesca Scrinzi, *Migration, Masculinities and Reproductive Labour. Men of the Home* (Palgrave 2016); Majella Kilkey, Diane Perrons and Ania Plomien, *Gender, Migration and Domestic Work: Masculinities, Male Labour and Fathering in the UK and USA* (Palgrave 2013).
- 19 Anna Amelina and Helma Lutz, *Gender and Migration: Transnational and Intersectional Prospects* (Routledge 2019); and Elisabetta Zontini, *Transnational Families, Migration and Gender: Moroccan and Filipino Women in Bologna and Barcelona* (Berghahn 2010).
- 20 Katharine Charsley (ed), *Transnational Marriage: New Perspectives from Europe and Beyond* (Routledge 2012); Joëlle Moret, Apostolos Andrikopoulos and Janine Dahinden, 'Contesting Categories: Cross-border Marriages from the Perspectives of the State, Spouses and Researchers' (2019) 47 (2) *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 325; and Saskia Bonjour and Betty de Hart, 'Intimate Citizenship: Introduction to the Special Issue on Citizenship, Membership and Belonging in Mixed-status Families' (2020) 28 (1) *Identities* 1.
- 21 For example: Betty De Hart, 'Sexuality, Race and Masculinity in Europe's Refugee Crisis' in Carolus Grütters, Sandra Mantu and Paul Minderhoud (eds), *Migration on the Move. Essays on the Dynamics of Migration* (Brill Nijhoff 2017) 27–53; and Jane Freedman, 'Engendering Security at the Borders of Europe: Women Migrants and the Mediterranean 'Crisis'' (2016) 29 (4) *Journal of Refugee Studies* 568.
- 22 See Jon Binnie, 'Critical Queer Regionality and LGBTQ Politics in Europe' (2016) 23 (11) *Gender, Place & Culture* 1631; and Sébastien Chauvin, Manuela Salcedo Robledo, Timo

In Eastern, South-Eastern, Southern, and Western Asia, migration studies began in the latter part of the 1920s with a gender-neutral tone. This was evident in the 1927 study by the South Manchuria Railway Company on migrant workers in Manchuria²³ and the early works of Japanese geographer Yoshiji Takemi on the Okinawans' overseas migration.²⁴ This tone persisted after the Second World War alongside the scholarly tendency to focus on male migration. In the 1970s, migration research continued in this direction, explicitly tackling refugee and labour migrations. Migrant women were almost absent from studies during this period, but as migratory movements within and from Asia to other continents increasingly feminised in the 1980s, scholarly works on women also started to increase.²⁵ Gender and migration research appears to have taken shape during this period, focusing on rural–urban and international migration of women.²⁶ As in Europe, gender and migration research in Asia during the period from the 1990s to the 2000s was characterised by the mushrooming of studies on women's migration,²⁷ notably examining their paid reproductive labour²⁸ and marriage- and family-related issues.²⁹ The influence of globalisation, intersectionality, and transnationalism perspectives

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- Koren and Joël Illidge, 'Class, Mobility and Inequality in the Lives of Same-sex Couples with Mixed Legal Statuses' (2019) 47 (2) *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 430.
- 23 Thomas R. Gottschang, 'Economic Change, Disasters, and Migration: The Historical Case of Manchuria' (1987) 35 (3) *Economic Development and Cultural Change* 461.
- 24 Yoshiji Takemi, 'Okinawa Jima Shutsuimin no Keizai Chirigakuteki Kousatsu' (1) (1928) 4 (2) *Chirigaku Hyouron* 1; and Yoshiji Takemi, 'Okinawa Jima Shutsuimin no Keizai Chirigakuteki Kousatsu' (1928) 4 (3) *Chirigaku Hyouron* 12.
- 25 See Maruja M. Asis and Nicola Piper, 'Researching International Labor Migration in Asia' (2008) 49 (3) *The Sociological Quarterly* 423.
- 26 See Nasra M. Shah and Peter C. Smith, 'Migrant Women at Work in Asia' in James T. Fawcett, Siew-Ean Khoo and Peter C. Smith (eds), *Women in the Cities of Asia: Migration and Urban Adaptation* (Routledge 1984) 297–322; and Lilian Trager, 'Family Strategies and the Migration of Women: Migrants to Dagupan City, Philippines' (1984) 18 (4) *International Migration Review* 1264.
- 27 Mary Beth Mills, *Thai Women in the Global Labor Force: Consuming Desires, Contested Selves* (Rutgers University Press 1999); and Nana Oishi, *Women in Motion: Globalization, State Policies, and Labor Migration in Asia* (Stanford University Press 2005).
- 28 Nicole Constable, *Maid to Order in Hong Kong: Stories of Filipina Workers* (Cornell University Press 1997); Pei-Chia Lan, *Global Cinderellas: Migrant Domestic Workers and Newly Rich Employers in Taiwan* (Duke University Press 2006); and Rachel Silvey, 'Transnational Migration and the Gender Politics of Scale: Indonesian Domestic Workers in Saudi Arabia' (2004) 25 (2) *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography* 141.
- 29 Rajni Palriwala and Patricia Uberoi (eds), *Marriage, Migration and Gender* (Sage 2008); Nicola Piper and Mina Roces (eds), *Wife or Worker?: Asian Women and Migration* (Rowman & Littlefield Publishers 2003); and Katie D. Willis and Brenda S. Yeoh, 'Gender and Transnational Household Strategies: Singaporean Migration to China' (2000) 34 (3) *Regional Studies* 253.

is clearly evident in the Asian literature on gender and migration. Nonetheless, in terms of theorisation, as Asis and Piper remark, “it appears still a challenge to advance from the descriptive to the more theoretical level of explanation”.³⁰ Since 2011, gender and migration research in Asia has diversified in terms of analytical focus and orientation, with an increasing emphasis on marriage migration³¹ and a holistic approach to Asian migrations.³²

In the Latin American context, Herrera provides an overview of gender and international migration in the region.³³ She observes the “selective presence of gender in migration studies” there, which means that certain groups of migrant women are included in the studies “to the detriment of other subjects and other inequalities”.³⁴ She highlights that it is necessary to examine internal migration in the Andean region in the 1970s and 1980s to understand international migration from Latin America. Through this approach, “migrations are analyzed as individual male trajectories articulated to family strategies in which women, gender relations and generational differences are taken as neutral variables”.³⁵ Herrera also identifies the concepts most widely used in the study of internal migration in the 1980s – social networks and family survival strategies and reproduction. In the 1990s, these key concepts were also central to the analysis of Latin American international migration in the context of globalisation. She notes the scholarly interest in Latin American migrant women’s paid domestic/care work and transnational families, particularly stay-behind family members such as wives and children.³⁶ Interestingly, many studies on Latin American migrants in Europe focus on women and often have a transnational dimension.³⁷ Herrera concludes that the issues that still need to be

30 See Asis and Piper (n 25) 432.

31 Sari K. Ishii (ed), *Marriage Migration in Asia: Emerging Minorities at the Frontiers of Nation-States* (NUS Press 2016); see also Asuncion Fresnoza-Flot and Gwénola Ricordeau (eds), *International Marriages and Marital Citizenship: Southeast Asian Women on the Move* (Routledge 2017).

32 See Gracia Liu-Farrer and Brenda S. Yeoh (eds), *Routledge Handbook of Asian Migrations* (Routledge 2018).

33 Gioconda Herrera, ‘Género y Migración Internacional en la Experiencia Latinoamericana. De la Visibilización del Campo a una Presencia Selectiva’ (2012) 49 (1) *Política y Sociedad* 35.

34 *ibid* 37.

35 *ibid* 40.

36 Jason Pribilsky, ‘Nervios and ‘Modern Childhood’: Migration and Shifting Contexts of Child Life in the Ecuadorian Andes’ (2001) 8 (2) *Childhood* 251; and Johanna Dreby, *Divided by Borders: Mexican Migrants and their Children* (University of California Press 2010).

37 Paolo Boccagni, ‘Practising Motherhood at a Distance: Retention and Loss in Ecuadorian Transnational Families’ (2012) 38 (2) *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 261; Laura

explored in the context of Latin American migration include trafficking; the relationship between gender, state, and migration policies; and sexualities, notably migratory experiences of “transsexuals, transgender, gay and lesbian people”.³⁸

Like elsewhere in the world, migration studies in Africa started with a focus on men as leading actors of migration. Since the latter part of the 1970s, African migration research has embarked on the visibilisation of women.³⁹ For instance, Izzard remarks that studies in Southern Africa neglect migrant women “despite evidence” of their “increasing labour migration”.⁴⁰ This gap can be attributed to the stereotypical view that men migrate and women stay behind, a cliché rooted in the historically male-dominated migration during colonial times. Such a stereotype also persists when it comes to rural–urban movement, which is generally viewed as male-predominated, although statistics demonstrate that it is dominated by women in many countries.⁴¹ Because of this stereotyping, “the independent rural-urban migration of women has been grossly neglected in African studies to date”.⁴² Since the 2000s, gender perspectives have been progressively permeating migration studies in Africa. Nonetheless, Crush, Williams, and Peberdy pointed out that although “some attempts have been made to better understand the gender and dimensions of migration, the area remains unexplored”, notably regarding “the impact of migration on gender” in the context of “changing roles for women, employment opportunities, household structure as well as [the] HIV/AIDS”⁴³ epidemic. During this time, studies have increasingly focused on women’s internal migration, that is, rural–urban within a nation, circular movement within Africa,⁴⁴ and international migration to countries outside the African

Oso Casas, ‘Money, Sex, Love and the Family: Economic and Affective Strategies of Latin American Sex Workers in Spain’, 36 (1) *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 47.

38 See Herrera (n 33) 44.

39 Niara Sudarkasa, ‘Women and Migration in Contemporary West Africa’ (1977) 3 (1) *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 178.

40 Wendy Izzard, ‘Migrants and Mothers: Case Studies from Botswana’ (1985) 1 (2) *Journal of Southern African Studies* 258.

41 Josef Gugler and Gudrun Ludwar-Ene, ‘Gender and Migration in Africa South of the Sahara’ in Jonathan Baker and Tade Akin Aina (eds), *The Migration Experience in Africa* (Nordiska Afrikainstitutet 1995).

42 *ibid* 261.

43 Jonathan Crush, Sally Peberdy and Vincent Williams, ‘International Migration and Good Governance in the Southern African Region’ (2006) *Migration Policy Brief* 17, 18.

44 Thomas Antwi Bosiakoh and Vera Williams Tetteh, ‘Nigerian Immigrant Women’s Entrepreneurial Embeddedness in Ghana, West Africa’ (2019) 11 (1) *International Journal of Gender and Entrepreneurship* 38; and Stefania Gadia Meda, ‘Single Mothers

continent.⁴⁵ The scholarly interest in studies on migrant men in and from the region through a gender lens has also surged,⁴⁶ notably those examining male refugees' experiences.⁴⁷

Against this background of evolution of gender and migration research in different social contexts, we can conclude that advancements in the field have been taking place, moving through various phases, but in a non-uniform fashion. The USA and Europe appear to be at almost the same stage of progress in empirical and theoretical terms. Asia and Latin America have also advanced, but there is still a need for theorisations that go beyond Euro-American perspectives of migration. Africa underwent a long period of visibilisation of women in migration research compared to other regions in the world, which has culminated in the growth of separate areas of scholarship respectively focused on women and men. Making these areas converge will require more studies adopting gender perspectives in Africa. Finally, sexuality and queer perspectives have not yet received much attention in Asia, Latin America, and Africa, a gender gap that can be attributed to the challenging socio-legal situations of LGBTQ individuals in these regions. Analysing the debates around gender, migration, and globalisation over the past 40 years, Marchetti observes that a new era started in the late 2000s, during which two opposite tendencies became evident. Gender and migration became "a core element in a range of disciplines from the social sciences", while at the same time "several scholars are looking partially disappointed about what has been achieved, seen as a 'glass half-full'⁴⁸." ⁴⁹ Hence, the major challenge for gender and migration

of Nairobi: Rural-urban Migration and the Transformation of Gender Roles and Family Relations in Kenya' (2013) 15 (2) *Lidé Města* 279.

- 45 For example: Ameena Alrasheed, 'An Alternative Perspective: Islam, Identity, and Gender Migration of Sudanese Muslim Women in the UK' (2015) 9 (1) *African Journal of Political Science and International Relations* 1; and Marina De Regt, 'Ways to Come, Ways to Leave: Gender, Mobility, and Illegality among Ethiopian Domestic Workers in Yemen' (2010) 24 (2) *Gender & Society* 237.
- 46 Dan Godshaw, 'A Masculinist Perspective on Gendered Relations of Power: Rwandan Migrant Men in the UK' (2014) Working Paper 72; and Netsai Sarah Matshaka, "'Marobot NeMawaya"—Traffic Lights and Wire: Crafting Zimbabwean Migrant Masculinities in Cape Town' (2010) 65 (13) *Feminist Africa* 65.
- 47 For example: Rosemary Jaji, 'Masculinity on Unstable Ground: Young Refugee Men in Nairobi, Kenya' (2009) 22 (2) *Journal of Refugee Studies* 177; and Samuel Muchoki, *Intimacies, Citizenship and Refugee Men* (Springer 2016).
- 48 Katharine M. Donato, Donna Gabaccia, Jennifer Holdaway, Martin Manalansan, IV and Patricia R. Pessar, 'A Glass Half Full? Gender in Migration Studies' (2006) 40 (1) *International Migration Review* 3.
- 49 Sabrina Marchetti, 'Gender, Migration and Globalization: An Overview of the Debates' in Anna Triandafyllidou (ed), *Handbook of Migration and Globalization* (Edward Elgar Publishing 2018) 449.

scholars in different socio-geographic contexts is how to finish filling that glass. In this respect, there is an immediate need to diversify gender and migration research by incorporating interdisciplinary perspectives. This will require dynamic collaborations among migration scholars from various disciplines and research fields. This represents another challenge due to the compartmentalised “nature of social science” in which, in the words of Hondagneu-Sotelo, “researchers [...] are mostly not in conversation with one another”.⁵⁰

3 State of Migration Studies in Quantitative Terms

A quantitative approach is needed to obtain a holistic view of the recent developments in migration studies and to find out whether gender gaps persist. The Web of Science and Google Scholar search engines, as well as websites of selected leading journals, provide interesting insights that are usually invisible in qualitative analyses of migration literature. These virtual research platforms enabled six major developments in the field to be identified, each of which is outlined below.

3.1 *Visibilised Women, Feminised Gender*

A search of Web of Science for the terms “gender, women, migration” and “gender, men, migration” in the title, abstract, and keywords of literature published from 1980 to 2019, identified 3,287 scholarly works for the former and 1,462 for the latter. Excluding self-citations, studies on “gender, women, migration” garnered more citations than those focusing on “gender, men, migration”: 38,108 versus 20,939. The search with Google Scholar also identified more publications on the former than the latter: 430 versus 36 (see Figure 5.1).

Interestingly, the peak number of studies with the words “gender”, “women”, and “migration” in the title was reached during the period from 2000 to 2009. This coincided with the development of gender and migration research, particularly in the USA and Europe (see section 2 on the qualitative review of gender and migration scholarship). From 2010 to 2019, the number of studies on this theme dropped by 22 per cent, from 208 to 162. By contrast, the number of publications with “gender, men, migration” in the title showed a slow increase: from 0 (1980–1989), to 5 (1990–1999), 13 (2000–2009), and 18 (2010–2019). This suggests that the tendency to study women’s migration through the prism of gender does not apply to men’s migration. Although gender is

50 See Hondagneu-Sotelo (n 9) 227.

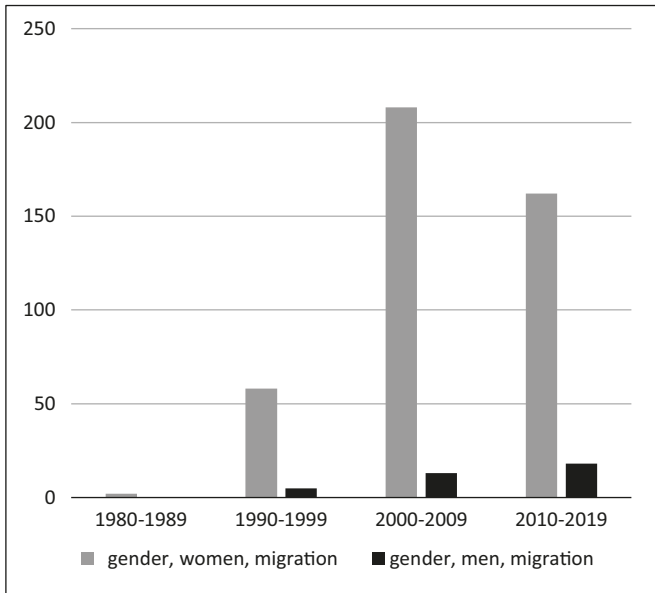


FIGURE 5.1 Google Scholar publications with gender, (wo)men, and migration in the title

relational and experiential,⁵¹ gender often remains connoted with women and women with gender.

In terms of disciplines and research areas, Web of Science revealed that studies on “women, gender, migration” were mainly carried out in the fields of women’s studies, demography, sociology, and geography. By contrast, studies on “men, gender, migration” were usually conducted in the fields of demography, sociology, geography, and public environmental and occupational health. The top five journals publishing studies on both topics were inscribed in one or more of the above disciplines and research areas. The following journals led in terms of numbers of publications on “women, gender, migration”: *Gender, Place and Culture*; *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*; *Women’s Studies International Forum*; *International Migration*; and *International Migration Review*. Except for *Women’s Studies International Forum*, all these journals also published work on “men, gender, migration”. The list of leading journals publishing articles on “men, gender, migration” included the journal *Social Science Medicine*, which was not among the leading journals publishing articles on “women, gender, migration”. *Gender, Place and Culture* and *Journal of Ethnic*

51 See Fresnoza-Flot and Shinozaki (n 6).

and *Migration Studies* ranked first and second, respectively, in both lists, confirming that women are no longer invisible in migration studies. From 1994 to 2019, *Gender, Place and Culture* published more articles with “women” and “migration” in the title than with “men” and “migration”: 22 versus 5. This was also the case for the *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* in which 74 articles with “women” and “migration” in the title were published from 1971 to 2019 versus 6 articles on men.

In addition, based on the address for reprints or the corresponding author of each publication, the regions that dominated research outputs on migration studies were North America – with the USA at the top of the list – and European countries such as England and Germany. Australia was also among the top ten countries with publications in Web of Science, whereas the People’s Republic of China was the only Asian country that made it to the top ten. Latin American and African countries were not among the top ten countries. This suggests that it is not only social science that is compartmentalised, but also the geopolitical regions in which migration research takes place. Thus, the findings echo the results of the qualitative review earlier in this chapter showing that the USA and Europe are ahead of the developments in gender and migration research. It also illustrates the social inequalities migration scholars identify between the so-called “Global North” and the “Global South” as well as between “visible” women in the former and their “invisible” counterparts in the latter. Migration studies reflect these inequalities in knowledge production, which call for more collaborative research projects and exchanges among countries in these regions to fill this gap.

3.2 *Slowly Increasing Consideration of Sexuality and LGBTQ*

Through his doctoral dissertation on *Border crossings: Mexican men and the sexuality of migration*, Cantú introduced in 1999 sexuality in the study of migration. In 2004, Carrillo proposed conceptualising “sexual migration” in many ways, including by taking into account “sexual immigrants’ transportation of practices across international borders, their lives in their places of origin”, and “their exposure to local and foreign sexual ideologies before migrating”,⁵² among others. In 2005, Luibhéid and Cantú published their highly influential work on queer migrations, reinforcing the field of queer migration studies.⁵³ The following year, Manalansan called for sexuality and a queer perspective to be brought into migration studies.⁵⁴ This raises the question of whether

52 Carrillo (n 11) 58.

53 See Luibhéid and Cantú (n 11).

54 Manalansan (n 11).

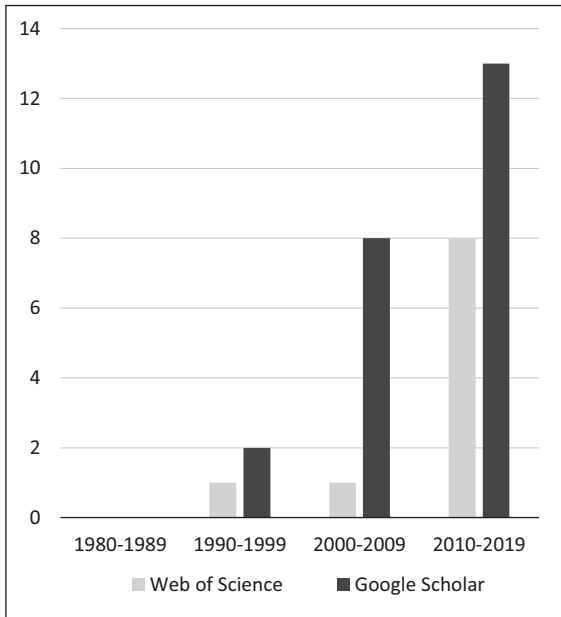


FIGURE 5.2 Publications with gender, sexuality, and migration in the title

scholars in the broader field of migration studies are following the path initiated by the above-mentioned pioneering scholars.

The search of Web of Science shows that studies with “gender, sexuality, migration” in the title remain at the margin of broader migration scholarship with only 10 publications from 1980 to 2019 (see Figure 5.2). Likewise, only 11 works with “men”, “sexuality”, and “migration” in the title were published during the same period. Google Scholar found 23 publications with “gender”, “sexuality”, and “migration” in the title (see Figure 5.2) and indicated that the first work with “men”, “sexuality”, and “migration” in the title appeared in 1999 – Cantú’s doctoral dissertation. The period 2010–2019 witnessed a sudden surge of publications on the topic, with 13 in total.

As scholars started to examine sexualities in migration, interest in LGBTQ migrants also increased, slowly at first, before intensifying from 2010 onwards. The search of Web of Science retrieved only 24 publications with “LGBT migrants” in the title, abstract, and keywords from the late 2000s to 2019. One of them appeared in 2007 following the publication of Manalansan’s work,⁵⁵ and the others emerged during the 2010–2019 period. Surprisingly, the search

55 *ibid.*

engine found no study before 2007 with “LGBT migrants” in the title, abstract, and keywords. When the search term was changed to “LGBTQ migrants” and restricted to titles, Web of Science returned four results for the period 2010–2019. However, when the search for the keyword “LGBTQ migrants” was specified as a “topic” – a phrase appearing in the title, abstract, and keywords of a paper – instead of as a “title”, Web of Science found 18 publications. Most of these studies were published between 2010 and 2019.

Similarly, the search of Google Scholar showed that publications with “LGBT migrants” in the title, abstract, and keywords came out during the same period, and so did the first set of publications (4) with “LGBTQ migrants” in the title. Before 2010, more studies included “LGBT, migration” in any part of their text than “LGBTQ, migration”. In summary, since 2010, sexuality and LGBT(Q) migrants have been increasingly considered in the analysis of migration,⁵⁶ but generally remain marginal when compared to the bulk of publications on heterosexual migrants, as described in section 3.1. As previously observed, LGBTQ migrants “remain largely neglected in studies on transnational migrations.”⁵⁷ Nonetheless, if the scholarly interest in sexuality and LGBTQ migrants continues, LGBTQ migration through the prism of sexuality and queer perspectives will occupy a central place in broader migration studies, similar to what has happened with studies on women’s migratory movements.

3.3 *Continued Transnationalisation*

It is the pioneering work of Glick Schiller, Basch, and Blanc-Szanton that introduced the perspective of transnationalism in migration studies in the early 1990s.⁵⁸ This perspective highlights migrants’ multi-faceted social relations, ties, and activities that connect the societies in which they are enmeshed. Before this perspective was adopted in migration studies, scholars mostly concentrated on international human mobility without necessarily examining the simultaneity and intensity of migrants’ social being and practices “here” and “there”, or, in other words, their embeddedness in social spaces traversing national borders.⁵⁹ The transnationalism perspective radically changed the

56 For example: see Chauvin et al. (n 22).

57 Asuncion Fresnoza-Flot, ‘Negotiating Transnational Mobility and Gender Definitions in the Context of Migration’ in *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Education* (Oxford University Press 2021) 13.

58 See Glick Schiller, Basch and Blanc-Szanton (n 16), as well as Basch, Glick Schiller and Blanc-Szanton (n 16).

59 Thomas Faist, ‘Transnational Social Spaces out of International Migration: Evolution, Significance and Future Prospects’ (1998) 39 (2) *Archives Européennes de Sociologie/European Journal of Sociology/Europäisches Archiv für Soziologie* 213.

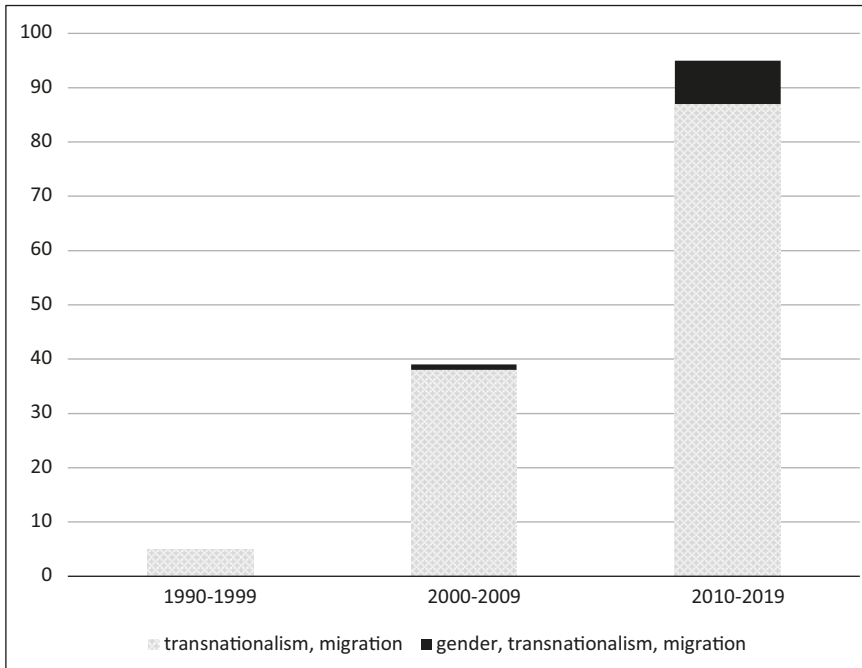


FIGURE 5.3 Web of Science publications on gender, transnationalism, and migration

way scholars viewed and examined migratory phenomena then and now. The search of Web of Science and Google Scholar provides quantitative proof of the continued transnationalisation of migration studies, that is, the process in which many migration scholars continue to adopt the lens of transnationalism in their studies.

Between 1990 and 2019, there were 130 publications listed in Web of Science with “transnationalism, migration” in their title (see Figure 5.3). When the search for the same words was extended to abstract and keywords, Web of Science identified 1,578 publications. These works garnered a total of 31,422 citations, reaching their peak in 2019 with 3,989 citations. When the search incorporated “gender” into the keywords “transnationalism, migration” and looked only at the title of publications, only nine publications were retrieved. However, Web of Science returned 224 results when the search covered the title, abstract, and keywords of publications (see Figure 5.3). Since 1990, the number of citations of these works has been steadily increasing.

In the search of Google Scholar, the number of publications including the keywords “transnationalism, migration” in the title was also found to be constantly increasing: for example, from 53 publications between 1990 and 2000

to 217 publications from 2011–2019. However, a search for the words “gender”, “transnationalism” and “migration” in the titles of articles published during the 1990–2019 period gave only 17 results and none during the period 1980–1989. The comparison of data obtained from the two search engines confirms the lingering scholarly tendency to study migration using a transnational perspective. Interestingly, gender appears often out of the focus, which is surprising given the widely known studies on gender and migration (see section 2 about the evolution of this field), specifically about transnational families, care, and social reproduction.

3.4 *Rising Intersectionality, Prevailing Mobility Lens*

The intersectionality approach examines how the overlap of “categories of difference”⁶⁰ such as gender, social class, and “race” produces and reinforces marginality and oppression of social minorities, notably Black women. Although it was initially applied to the study of these minority women, it has become progressively more influential in migration studies in recent years. Likewise, the spatial turn in the social sciences led to the rise of the mobility perspective,⁶¹ most notably in geography, sociology, and anthropology. In quantitative terms, this perspective has had a bigger influence on migration studies than the intersectionality approach and transnational perspective, as the data below from searches of the Web of Science and Google Scholar prove.

During the period 1980–2019, Web of Science registered eight publications with “intersectionality, migration” in the title, all of which emerged between 2011 and 2019. However, this search engine retrieved 325 studies with “intersectionality, migration” not only in their title but also in their abstracts and keywords. From 2008 onwards, there was an uninterrupted increase in the number of such works. Their highest peak of 84 publications was reached in 2019. A significant change took place in 2017 after two years with the same number of publications, which was probably due to the new tendency among scholars to combine analytical perspectives such as intersectionality and transnationalism: for example, the Special Issue on “Transnational perspectives on

60 See Crenshaw (n 15).

61 Peter Adey, David Bissel, Kevin Hannam, Peter Merriman and Mimi Sheller (eds), *The Routledge Handbook of Mobilities* (Routledge 2014); Weert Canzler, Vincent Kaufmann and Sven Kesselring, *Tracing Mobilities: Towards a Cosmopolitan Perspective* (Ashgate 2008); Noel B. Salazar, *Momentous Mobilities. Anthropological Musings on the Meanings of Travel* (Berghahn 2018); John Urry, *Mobilities* (Polity Press 2007); and Tanu Priya Uteng and Tim Cresswell (eds), *Gendered Mobilities* (Ashgate 2008).

intersecting experiences”⁶² in *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*. Out of 325 publications identified from Web of Science, 233 contained “gender” in their title, abstract, and keywords. Most of these publications appeared during the period 2011–2019, which is in line with the results of the Google Scholar search: 27 of 28 publications with “intersectionality, migration” in the title came out in the same period.

Concerning the mobility perspective, between 1980 and 2019, Web of Science registered 1,062 publications with “mobility, migration” in the title, and the largest number (714) appeared in the period 2011–2019. The number of these publications started with seven in 2000 and reached its highest point in 2019 with 121 studies. This increase coincided with an increased number of citations per year: from 41 in 2000 to 1,589 in 2019. When the search for “mobility, migration” included abstracts and keywords, Web of Science gave 18,720 results. However, the publications identified did not concern human migration alone but encompassed other types of movement from particles to ions and from cells to birds. The same observation also applied to the 1,220,000 works with “mobility, migration” elsewhere in the text retrieved by Google Scholar. Thus, it was more useful to search only for publications with “mobility, migration” in the title, giving 3,160 results of which 1,680 appeared between 2011 and 2019. As regards gender, in a search of Web of Science from 1980 to 2019, only 27 studies had “gender, mobility, migration” in their title, with the highest number – five publications – in 2009. When the search covered title, abstract, and keywords, it identified 1,044 publications. The largest increase in their number occurred in 2011 with 51 publications, up from 35 the preceding year. The highest peak was in 2019 with 159 publications. The influence of the mobility perspective in migration studies, as evident in the data presented above, rose following the launch of the journal *Mobilities* and Berghahn’s *Worlds in Motion* series. Both have published several studies on mobility and migration often with a gender perspective.⁶³

Figure 5.4 compares the number of publications with the words “mobility, migration”, and “intersectionality, migration” in the title identified by a search in Google Scholar. It clearly shows that whereas the transnationalisation of

62 Fresnoza-Flot and Shinozaki (n 6).

63 Noelle K. Brigden, ‘Gender Mobility: Survival Plays and Performing Central American Migration in Passage’ (2018) 13 (1) *Mobilities* 111; Christian Groes and Nadine T. Fernandez (eds), *Intimate Mobilities. Sexual Economies, Marriage and Migration in a Disparate World* (Berghahn 2018); and Dawn Lyon, Erica Capussotti and Ioanna Laliotou (eds), *Women Migrants from East to West: Gender, Mobility and Belonging in Contemporary Europe* (Berghahn 2007).

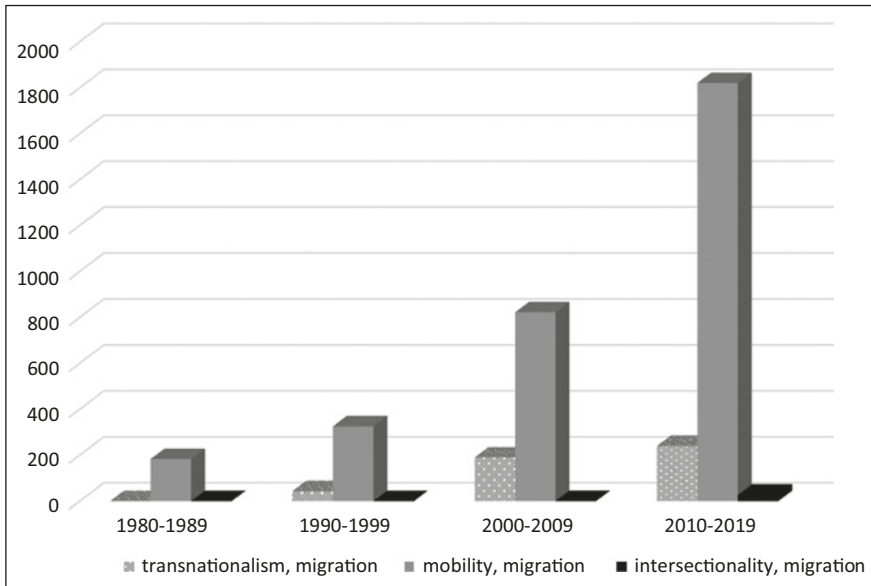


FIGURE 5.4 Google Scholar publications on transnationalism, mobility, and intersectionality

migration studies continues and the intersectionality approach is on the rise, the mobility perspective retains its dominant influence in the field. This dominance is probably due to the polyvalence of the “mobility” concept. Scholars in different research fields and disciplines are applying the concept in their inquiries, as well as combining it with other perspectives and approaches such as transnationalism and intersectionality (see for instance the Special Issue “Mobilities intersections”⁶⁴ in the journal *Mobilities*). Furthermore, it is noteworthy that the three analytical lenses above reinforce the value of the qualitative approach to migration studies. Web of Science, for instance, found more publications (523) with “gender, qualitative, migration” in their title, abstract, and keywords between 1980 and 2019 than with “gender, quantitative, migration” (236).

3.5 *Diversification of Research Focus*

In recent years, the research focus in the field of migration studies has diversified. Scholars are pursuing new lines of inquiry as migratory movements

64 Monika Büscher, Mimi Sheller and David Tyfield, ‘Mobility Intersections: Social Research, Social Futures’ (2016) 11 (4) *Mobilities* 485.

intensify. These include “super-diversity”⁶⁵ in global cities, migration of displaced people, and “family-related migration”.⁶⁶

“Super-diversity” is seen when various categories of difference such as religion, social class, ethnicity, and nationality intricately intersect at different facets of social life. The “decline of multiculturalism”⁶⁷ in Western countries has led to a rise in popularity of the “super-diversity” concept among migration scholars, most notably in Europe. Several publications using it as an analytical lens have revealed the heuristic value of this concept.⁶⁸ However, this burgeoning research field has been criticised for excluding from its analysis the “dimension of power” and for its “ethno-focal lens”.⁶⁹ At the time of the bibliometric analysis presented here, 239 works in Google Scholar with “super-diversity” in the title were identified, but not one of them included “gender”. Since a gender perspective considers power dynamics and processes, incorporating it in the analysis would be an effective solution to address the gaps above.

Another recent phenomenon that has been attracting scholarly attention, especially in Europe, involves asylum seekers and displaced people from war-torn and/or poverty-stricken countries in the Middle East and Africa. Since 2010, studies on migrant refugees have been increasing: Google Scholar showed 187 publications on this topic between 2000 and 2019, whereas Web of Science found 446. The latter search engine indicates that these works were mostly authored by scholars from major countries receiving displaced people: the USA, England, Australia, Germany, Canada, the Netherlands, Turkey, Italy, Sweden, and Switzerland. There are still only a few publications with “gender, refugees, migration” in their title: only five from 2000 to 2019. This suggests a need to engender the analysis of the movements of displaced people.

65 Steven Vertovec, ‘Super-diversity and its Implications’ (2007) 308 (6) *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 1024.

66 Eleonore Kofman, ‘Family-related Migration: A Critical Review of European Studies’ (2004) 30 (2) *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 243.

67 Amnon Rubinstein, ‘The Decline, but not Demise, of Multiculturalism’ (2007) 40 (3) *Israel Law Review* 763.

68 Mette Louise Berg, ‘Super-diversity, Austerity, and the Production of Precarity: Latin Americans in London’ (2019) 39 (2) *Critical Social Policy* 184; and Susanne Wessendorf, *Commonplace Diversity: Social Relations in a Super-diverse Context* (Palgrave 2014).

69 Nancy Foner, Jan Willem Duyvendak and Philip Kasinitz, ‘Introduction: Super-diversity in Everyday Life’ (2019) 42 *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 1, 3, 14.

Finally, the migratory wave that has intensified in recent years and has attracted the interest of scholars is related to families, notably migration by and/or for marriage leading to “mixed couples” with “different nationalities and/or ethnicities”.⁷⁰ Web of Science retrieved 197 publications with “marriage, migration” in the title during the period 2000–2019. Aside from several articles and monographs, edited volumes⁷¹, and Special Issues⁷² on the subject mushroomed during the second decade of the 21st century. More and more publications have examined the migration by and/or for marriage through the prism of intimacy and mobility.⁷³ However, among the 197 publications identified in Web of Science, only 16 had “gender” in the title. None had “LGBTQ, marriage, migration” in the title. These two aspects represent a gap in this research field of marriage and migration.

3.6 *Expansion beyond the Core Disciplines*

Another significant development in migration studies is the unabated expansion beyond the borders of the core disciplines, namely geography, history, demography, sociology, anthropology, economics, and political science. This development can be mainly observed in theology and in biology. Web of Science and Google Scholar provide quantitative data showing the extent of this growth.

In theology, reflections on human migration can be traced back as far as the 1960s, during which the first initiatives took place: the organisation of “national and international theological conferences”, and the publication of the “writings of some Scalabrinian missionaries” in Rome.⁷⁴ These missionaries

70 Betty de Hart, Wibo van Rossum and Iris Sportel, ‘Law in the Everyday Lives of Transnational Families: An Introduction’ (2013) 3 (6) *Oñati Socio-Legal Series* 995.

71 Nicole Constable (ed), *Cross-border Marriages: Gender and Mobility in Transnational Asia* (University of Pennsylvania Press 2010); see also Ishii (n 31) as well as Fresnoza-Flot and Ricordeau (n 31).

72 See Bonjour and de Hart (n 20); Beate Collet and Anne Unterreiner, ‘Introduction. Mixités conjugales et Familiales’ (2017) 14 (1) *Recherches familiales* 49; Hélène Le Bail, Marylène Lieber and Gwénola Ricordeau, ‘Migrations par le Mariage et Intimités transnationales’ (2018) 64 (1) *Cahiers du Genre* 5; Maïté Maskens, ‘L’amour et ses frontières: Régulations étatiques et migrations de mariage (Belgique, France, Suisse et Italie)’ (2013) 150 (6) *Migrations société* 41; Moret et al. (n 20); and Laura Odasso, ‘Introduction. Special Issue “Migration, amour et état: Un ménage à trois”’ (2015) 85 *Revue de l’Institut de Sociologie* 11.

73 See Groes and Fernandez (n 63).

74 Gioacchino Campese, ‘The Irruption of Migrants: Theology of Migration in the 21st Century’ (2012) 73 (1) *Theological Studies* 7.

founded Centres for Migration Studies in seven cities around the world to gain “a deeper understanding of migration in all its aspects”: “New York, Paris, Rome, Cape Town, São Paulo, Buenos Aires, and Manila”.⁷⁵ It was in the late 1970s in the USA that “the first attempts to craft a theology of migration” were made.⁷⁶ During the first decade of the 21st century, several theological gatherings took place and publications appeared. In 2008, Groody and Campese proposed a theology of immigration in their book *A promised land. A perilous journey*.⁷⁷ The following years witnessed the publication of several books⁷⁸ and articles, notably in the journal *Theological Studies*. Since it first began, theology of migration has promoted interdisciplinarity, drawing from different disciplines of migration. It is not surprising that the Centres for Migration Studies that the Scalabrinian missionaries founded are the home of some of the leading journals in the broader field of migration studies, such as *International Migration Review* and the *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal*.

Quantitatively speaking, of the four decades from 1980–2019, Web of Science and Google Scholar identified the second decade of the 21st century as the period with the highest number of publications with “theology, migration” in the title: 37 and 83 respectively. Hence, the second decade of the 21st century marks the sharp take-off of the theology of migration. This development coincided with the surge of scholarly interest in religion in the broader field of migration studies. As Google Scholar reveals, this increase started in the period from 1990 to 1999 when 69 publications had “religion, migration” in the title. This number more than doubled between 2000 and 2009, but the peak was reached in the period 2010–2019 with 389 publications (see Figure 5.5), as confirmed by Web of Science. During the same period, six publications appeared with “gender, religion, migration” in the title. However, there are so far no publications with “gender, theology, migration” in the title in Web of Science, which indicates a critical gap to address in the theological study of migration.

75 Scalabriniani, *Networks of Study Centers* (2015) <<https://www.scalabriniani.org/en/federazione-dei-centri-di-studio-sulle-migrazioni/>> accessed 28 November 2020.

76 *ibid.*

77 Daniel G. Groody and Gioacchino Campese (eds), *A Promised Land, a Perilous Journey. Theological Perspectives on Migration* (University of Notre Dame Press 2008).

78 Gemma T. Cruz, *An Intercultural Theology of Migration. Pilgrims in the Wilderness* (Brill 2010); Judith Gruber and Sigrid Rettenbacher (eds), *Migration as a Sign of the Times. Towards a Theology of Migration* (Brill 2015); and Kristin E. Heyer, *Kinship across Borders: A Christian Ethic of Immigration* (Georgetown University Press 2012).

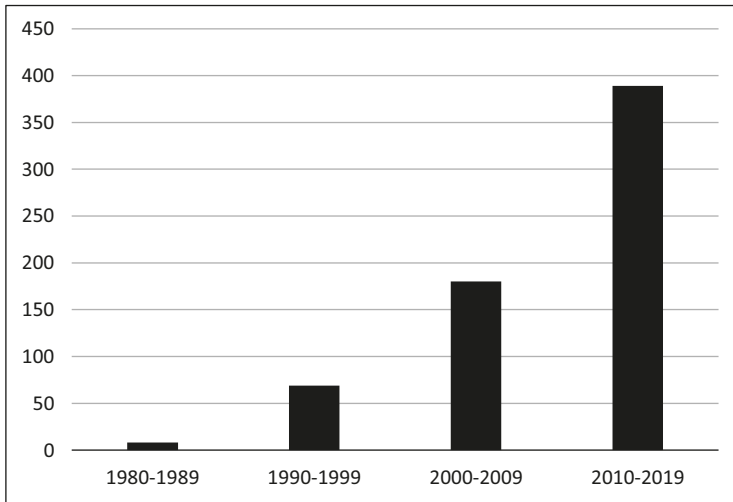


FIGURE 5.5 Google Scholar publications with religion and migration in the title

Since the 2000s, the biological research field of genetics has been contributing new findings regarding migration by analysing human DNA (deoxyribonucleic acid). This process involves examining the Y chromosome that fathers pass on to their male children and/or the mitochondrial DNA (mtDNA) that mothers transfer to both their male and female offspring. Studies employing these methods provide fresh knowledge on human mobility across time and geographical spaces. For example, mtDNA analysis has shown that the early waves of human migration occurred first within Africa, specifically from the region called “Makgadikgadi”⁷⁹ in Southern Africa, before proceeding to different continents.⁸⁰ Like the theology of migration, the genetic study of human mobility promotes interdisciplinarity. Scholars in this field integrate and draw from various disciplines such as anthropology, archaeology, paleoclimatology, and linguistics to obtain evidence corroborating their DNA

79 See the latest findings regarding the “cradle of humanity” by Eva K. F. Chan, Axel Timmermann, Benedetta F. Baldi, Andy E. Moore, Ruth J. Lyons, Sun-Seon Lee, Anton M. F. Kalsbeek, Desiree C. Petersen, Hannes Rautenbach, Hagen E. A. Försch, M. S. Riana Bornman and Vanessa M. Hayes, ‘Human Origins in a Southern African Palaeo-wetland and First Migrations’ (2019) 575 (7781) *Nature* 185.

80 See also mtDNA “haplogroup migration pattern” in Michelangelo Mancuso, Massimiliano Filosto, Daniele Orsucci and Gabriele Siciliano, ‘Mitochondrial DNA Sequence Variation and Neurodegeneration’ (2008) 3 (1) *Human genomics* 71.

analysis. Recently, Reich has demonstrated the value of analyses of ancient human DNA in the study of human mobility.⁸¹ Studies using this method contribute to refuting or calling into question racialising stereotypes and discourses regarding majority and minority populations in society. They also help us understand power inequalities in the past that left genetic imprints on the present-day human population. For example, Reich discusses⁸² how the analysis of the Y chromosome can identify “star clusters” in which a population of men sharing a common male ancestor is spread across many countries and generations.

Despite its novel findings, genetic research on migration appears to be gaining ground more slowly than the theology of migration in quantitative terms. Google Scholar and Web of Science identified only 12 and 8 publications, respectively, with “genetics, human migration” in the title between 2000 and 2019. Likewise, these search engines found only 41 and 29 works, respectively, with “DNA, human migration” in the title, and not all of these studies focused on human migration. Moreover, no publications with “gender, DNA, human migration” and “gender, genetics, human migration” in the title were retrieved by Web of Science. As with theology of migration, there is a need in this new field of migration research to adopt a gender frame in the analysis, a lens that focuses on relational aspects and moves beyond the mere description of differences between sex categories of “male” and “female”.

4 Discussion and Conclusion

The present chapter provides new insights regarding the state of gender and migration scholarship and on the broader migration studies. It unveils lacunas that should be addressed to attain gender equality in migration studies and to deepen the reflection about the gender–power nexus in this research field.

Based on the quantitative data and, to a lesser extent, on the qualitative data analyses, the gender gaps in migration studies identified in this chapter can be summarised as follows. First, the visibility of women, or for other scholars the “over-visibility of women” in migration studies, unintentionally leads to feminised gender in the field, which overlooks other socially constructed categories of difference and the dynamics of power among them. Hence, the

81 David Reich, *Who We are and How We Got Here: Ancient DNA and the New Science of the Human Past* (Oxford University Press 2018).

82 *ibid.*

numerical dominance of migrant men that we observe in present-day migration statistics does not automatically translate into many more publications about them compared to research focusing on migrant women. Second, heteronormativity still prevails in migration studies, which slows down the inclusion of sexuality and queer perspectives. This explains why the voices and experiences of LGBTQ migrants, notably beyond Europe and the USA, remain marginal in migration scholarship compared to their heterosexual counterparts. And third, although gender and migration scholarship has brought to the fore the analytical effectiveness of a gender approach to migration, its influence has not yet permeated the broader migration studies: for example, the theology of migration and genetic studies of human mobility. The reflex of “bringing gender in”⁸³, therefore, does not appear to be well developed in this field as yet.

There are at least three factors that can explain the gaps described above, which are not necessarily related to one another. First, since the evolution of gender and migration scholarship across countries and regions is not uniform, neither are the broader migration studies; there are many socio-geographic contexts in the world where gender and migration research is still in its first or second phase of development. Second, the compartmentalised “nature of social science”⁸⁴ engenders compartmentalised migration studies in which scholars continue to working within the constraints of their disciplines or research areas, with little or no contact or dialogue with scholars outside their fields. And third, there is also a compartmentalised geography of migration studies reflecting the “Global South–Global North” relations of inequalities. Widely held theoretical perspectives on migration still originate mostly from the “Global North” and scholars from this region still dominate in terms of the number of publications and research outputs on human mobility.

To address the non-uniform development and compartmentalised characteristics of transnational migration studies, the present chapter calls for more analytical rigour in migration research. This can be achieved in three ways: adopting an intersectional approach, considering its “*contextuality*”, and paying attention to “the issue of simultaneity in analysing transnational experiences and practices”.⁸⁵ The lens of transnationalism appears effective

83 Patricia R. Pessar and Sarah J. Mahler, ‘Transnational Migration: Bringing Gender In’ (2003) 37 (3) *International Migration Review* 812.

84 Hondagneu-Sotelo (n 9) 227.

85 Fresnoza-Flot and Shinozaki (n 6) 875.

to pursue inclusiveness in migration studies as it compels scholars to expand their analytical horizons to the societies of origin of migrants, their historical ties (colonial or post-colonial) with migrant-receiving countries, the social and legal norms that prevail, and their influence on migrants' lives, positionality and sense-making. Combining the lens of transnationalism with other analytical approaches, such as intersectionality, makes it powerful tool to unveil the nuances and subtleties of migrants' experiences.

Furthermore, there is a need for immediate transnational collaborative actions to bring migration studies to the next level by making the field more diversified, interdisciplinary, and gender sensitive. These actions will entail cooperation among scholars with diverse socio-demographic backgrounds, working in distinct research fields and disciplines, from economically developing and developed countries, as well as at different stages in their research and/or academic careers. Such cooperation can take various forms, such as collaborative research projects, sharing data, co-authoring scholarly publications, co-organising scientific events such as seminars and conferences, or making these events accessible to researchers with little or no funding, particularly in the times of a global pandemic that exacerbates the social inequalities around the world. It is through these collaborations that scholars can avoid “methodological nationalism”,⁸⁶ remedy the “unequal internationalization”⁸⁷ of the field, and, by doing so, reduce inequalities in knowledge production. Transnational collaborations are urgently needed to understand human migration in terms of the gender–power nexus.

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86 Andreas Wimmer and Nina Glick Schiller, ‘Methodological Nationalism and Beyond: Nation-state Building, Migration and the Social Sciences’ (2002) 2 (4) *Global Networks* 301.

87 Eleonore Kofman, ‘Unequal Internationalisation and the Emergence of a New Epistemic Community: Gender and Migration’ (2020) 8 (36) *Comparative Migration Studies* 2.

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