



universität
wien

MASTERARBEIT

Titel der Masterarbeit

„Narratives of Lives in (E)motion: Emotions, Migratory
Strategies and Transnational Experiences of Female
Migrants in Vienna“

verfasst von

Laura Antonia Soyer BA

angestrebter akademischer Grad

Master of Arts (MA)

Wien, 2013

Studienkennzahl lt. Studienblatt:

A 066 810

Studienrichtung lt. Studienblatt:

Masterstudium Kultur- und Sozialanthropologie

Betreut von:

Univ.-Prof. Dr. Ayşe Çağlar

Narratives of Lives in (E)motion:

**Emotions, Migratory Strategies and Transnational
Experiences of Female Migrants in Vienna**

Laura Antonia Soyer

Introduction.....	7
Part 1: Theoretical Framework.....	11
1. The Anthropology of Migration.....	13
1.1 Anthropological Approaches to Migration.....	15
<i>The Manchester School of Social Anthropology, The Chicago School of Sociology, Modernization and Dependency Theory, Ethnicity and Identity</i>	
1.2 Towards Transnational Perspectives in Migration Studies.....	19
<i>Transnationalism as Process, Transmigrants, Transnational Social Fields, Belonging and Being in Transnational Social Fields, The Limits of Transnationalism, Transnationalism 'from below' and Transnationalism 'from above'</i>	
1.3 Gender and Transnational Migration.....	29
<i>Households as Gendered Spheres, Gender as a Constitutive Element of Migration, Women on the Move: A Diversity of Reasons and Strategies of Migration, Global Care Chains</i>	
2. The Anthropology of Emotions	39
2.1 Anthropological Debates on Emotion and Affect.....	42
<i>Emotion and Culture, The Power and Politics of Emotions, Embodiment of Emotions, The Turn to Affect</i>	
2.2 Migration and Emotion.....	53
<i>Mobility and Emotion, Questions of Home in Transnational Lives</i>	
2.3 Transnational Family Relationships and Emotions.....	61
<i>Transnational Family Care Arrangements</i>	
Part 2: Methodological Design.....	69
3. Qualitative Social Research: Biographies and Narratives.....	71
<i>Biographies and Narratives, Self and Narrative, Culture and Narrative, Narratives of Migration</i>	
4. Interviewees.....	77
4.1 Profiles.....	79
<i>Salika, Ashiya, Dana, Arianna, Maria, Angela</i>	
5. Empirical Material: Narratives of Lives in (E)motion.....	85
5.1 The Diversity of Migration Strategies.....	87
<i>Families' Perspective on Migration, Home and Belonging</i>	

5.2. Women on the Move.....	99
<i>Seeking Employment and Labour Market Incorporation, Social Status and Mobility</i>	
5.3 Transnational Family Life.....	107
Conclusion.....	111
Bibliography.....	115
Abstract auf Deutsch.....	123
Curriculum Vitae.....	125

Introduction

That momentary paralysis of the spirit, of the tongue and limbs, that profound agitation descending to the core of one's being, that dispossession of self we call intimidation.... It is a nascent social state that occurs whenever we pass from one society to another.

Gabriel Tarde in Massumi, 2005:31

The migration narratives of six women lie at the core of this thesis. These narratives were recorded in Vienna during the fall and winter of 2011-2012 and deal with the emotional affects of transnational mobility and subsequent experiences. In these migration narratives six highly diverse women speak about their experiences of mobility, their migration trajectories and transnational family histories. Throughout their narratives they emphasise their roles as transnational family members, transnational workers and mobile subjects and reflect on their strategies, struggles and efforts to maintain a livelihood and family life in multiple and distant localities. Women's individual migration strategies particularly reflect their negotiations of familial responsibilities and economic activities across localities.

In their reflections on transnational experiences, individual migration strategies and transnational family relationships, these women provide comprehensive and emotional accounts of their transnational experiences. Moreover, their narratives offer insights into the multiple rationalities and strategies of migration, which enable them to combine work, career and family responsibilities in transnational social fields. The increasing number and visibility of women on the move, reflecting the so-called feminisation of migration, make it necessary to recognise the gendered aspects of transnationalism. Ultimately, a focus is directed towards examining the effects of transnational mobility for women, their changing role within their respective families and their active positioning and participation in global labour markets.

Since '*transnational processes are located within the life experience of individuals and families, making up the warp and woof of daily activities, concerns, fears and achievements*' (Basch, Glick Schiller, Szanton Blanc, 1995: 50), an emphasis on individual stories and experiences results in a better understanding of the implications and meanings of transnational processes for the individuals affected by it. Moreover, individual's reflections on decisions and experiences related to their migration trajectories and family relationships offer insights into the everyday lived experiences of globalisation.

Transnational models of migration challenge the classic conceptualisation of migration as a linear and assimilationist process that involves movement from one society to

another. Instead, transnational perspectives accentuate the simultaneous and multiple attachments and involvements that migrants sustain in social fields that are located in more than one nation-state (Basch, Glick Schiller, Szanton Blanc, 1994:7). As a consequence, daily concerns and activities relating to family, work and social mobility are interpreted with regards to multiple contexts and localities. Through an emphasis on multiple commitments, connections and cross-border practices, migrants' strategies and struggles can be contextualised, thereby making them more tangible, comprehensive and sensible.

Studies of transnationalism frequently overlook the affective and emotional dimensions of global processes. Transnational mobility and migration are usually conceptualised in political and economic ways, which largely ignore the lived experiences of transmigrants and their ambivalent emotional life worlds. Affects and emotions, however, are lively social phenomena that play a significant role in transnational experiences and relationships. A variety of migratory experiences, including the decision to migrate, the movement itself, the negotiations of home and belonging, transnational family relationships and transnational care arrangements, are highly affective and involve a complex range of emotions. This thesis therefore suggests that an anthropological examination of transnational experiences must recognise migration as an emotional journey with corresponding ambivalent emotional dynamics.

On the basis of the narratives that are presented in this thesis the following question will be addressed:

What kind of emotional experiences do migrant women express in their narratives of transnational mobility?

The major aim of this question is to explore how women migrants *feel* about their transnational mobility and to document the expression of these feelings in their migration narratives. An underlying assumption here is that *'migration is almost unavoidably a process that unnerves, motivates, excites, upsets or demoralises individuals, or moves them in alternative ways'* (Svasek, 2008:214).

Emotional commitments to places, people and objects are key for understanding individual's actions and practices and emotions and emotional discourses reflect broader cultural and social matters and relationships. Despite the fact that emotions are not easily quantifiable, they are nevertheless reflections of and responses to what people consider of value and importance (Martha Nussbaum 2001 in Chamberlain and Leydesdorff 2004:237). Thus, by focusing on emotions in the context of transnational

mobility, we learn about concrete, personal, lived and felt aspects of transnational experiences that are largely overlooked in most anthropological studies on transnationalism.

Structure of the Thesis

This thesis is composed of two major parts, a theoretical one and an empirical one. At the beginning of each part, the structure, content and organisation of the following chapters are outlined. Although Part 1 and Part 2 have a different focus and function, they are not mutually exclusive, but rather interdependent and complementary.

Part 1: Theoretical Framework comprises two major theoretical chapters that cover the theories and theoretical discussions about transnational migration, the feminisation of migration, and anthropological debates on emotions. Part 1 is set up to provide the background information for the subsequent discussion of the narrative extracts. It also outlines major, state-of the-art anthropological debates on transnational migration, family life and emotions. Part 1 constitutes the overall conceptual framework and context in which the women's narratives are embedded.

Part 2: Methodological Design introduces methodological issues and outlines the methodological approach of this thesis. The interplay between culture, self and narratives is addressed and the significance of narratives of migration is emphasised. The women, whose narratives were recorded, are also introduced and their biographical details are briefly presented. The choice for the great variety of women and the research context in which the narratives were produced are also illustrated. Eventually, the empirical materials, the narrative extracts, are presented and discussed in relation to the theories that are presented in Part 1.

PART 1: Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework of this thesis contains two major theoretical parts: *The Anthropology of Migration* on the one hand, and *The Anthropology of Emotions* on the other hand. Each of these theoretical parts contains three sub-sections.

The Anthropology of Migration consists of three main parts, which include 1.1 *Anthropological Approaches to Migration*, 1.2 *Towards Transnational Perspectives in Migration Studies* and finally 1.3 *Gender and Transnational Migration*. In these three chapters relevant theories of migration and related topics will be introduced and discussed.

The first chapter (1.1) provides a short historical overview of the major ideas and concepts related to research on migration and outlines significant shifts in anthropological approaches to migration. It briefly covers the work of the Manchester School of Social Anthropology, the Chicago School of Sociology and modernization and dependency theories. It also compendiously touches upon issues of identity and ethnicity in the context of anthropological research on migration.

In chapter 1.2 the focus moves away from a historical outlook on early anthropological studies and theories of migration towards a conceptual understanding of transnationalism. A major emphasis here is placed on the development of a transnational perspective in the anthropology of migration. Processes and issues of belonging and being in transnational social fields are discussed and explained. Finally, the limits of transnationalism are depicted and distinguishing features of transnational phenomena are outlined.

Finally, chapter 1.3 introduces the role of gender for transnationalism and transnational mobility. The feminisation of migration and subsequent consequences are considered. The diversity of reasons and strategies of female migrants is highlighted and issues about work in the caring and domestic sector are discussed.

The second section of the theoretical part, *The Anthropology of Emotions*, also contains three main chapters, including 2.1 *Anthropological Debates on Emotion and Affect*, 2.2 *Migration and Emotion* and 2.3 *Transnational Family Relationships and Emotions*.

In the introductory chapter 2.1 the major anthropological debates and discussions on emotions are outlined. This includes debates on the role of culture and nature for emotions and emotions as culturally specific narratives. Secondly, perspectives on emotions as discursive and political practices are discussed. Emotions as embodied experiences and an ecological approach to emotions are introduced. Finally, the turn to affect in the social sciences is emphasised.

In chapter 2.2, the emotional and affective dimensions of migration processes are emphasised. Here, a direct link is established between the theories of migration that were outlined in the first sections of Part 1 and anthropological theories of emotions. The emotional aspects of movement and mobility come to the fore and transnational homes as emotional sites are accentuated.

In chapter 2.3, the focus will move from more general perspectives on emotions and transnational mobility towards deeper insights into the emotional realm of transnational family relationships. First of all, the changes and dynamics of transnational mobility for family arrangements are examined. Then, the role of families' perspectives on migration-related issues and its emotional impact is acknowledged. Last but not least, transnational family care arrangements, especially with regard to the range of emotions that are involved in these negotiations and processes, are considered.

1. The Anthropology of Migration

Today, it is self-evident that anthropologists engage with the socio-cultural realities of global movements and the lived experiences of migrants worldwide. In fact, social and cultural anthropology became synonymous with the endeavour to analyse transnational mobility and the numerous consequences it has for places, communities and families. So, it is commonly agreed that *'it is a kind of boom time for the anthropology of migration'* (Vertovec, 2007:961). This trend is also reflected in the great quantity of anthropology conferences and publications on migration-related topics (ibid.). The proliferation of anthropological projects on migration may be explained both as a remedy for anthropology's belated contribution to migration research (Brettell *et al.* 2008:5) and other earlier theoretical and empirical omissions within the discipline. In fact, *'the study of migration has long been both central and marginal to the development of social anthropology'* (Eades, 1987 in Vertovec, 2007:962).

Until the late 1950's many anthropologists propagated very static and rigid conceptions of society and culture. These perspectives together with a lack of interest in processes of change and anthropology's 'sedentarist bias' (Malkki, 1995:208 in Brettell *et al.*, 2008:113) foreclosed significant scholarship on migratory processes. The anthropology of migration was facilitated by anthropologists' rejection of the idea of cultures as discretely bounded, territorialised, static and homogenous entities (Brettell *et al.*, 2008:113). In anthropology, as in other disciplines, ideas about migration processes have been shaped by a particular epistemology that generates specific questions and definitions. Likewise, ideas about the nation and nation-building processes have fundamentally shaped the ways in which migration-related issues are conceptualised (Wimmer and Glick-Schiller, 2002:301). Therefore, migration studies and the theoretical assumptions inherent to it are shaped by particular national, ideological and disciplinary histories.

For anthropology, a discipline sensitive to differences and comparative in perspective, issues of transculturation, intercultural relations, ethnicity and identity are central. Moreover, an emphasis on the interconnectedness of global and local processes proved relevant and led to a focus on cultural change and adaptation, particularly highlighting the ways in which individuals in local places actively respond and adapt to global realities (Brettell *et al.*, 2008:114). Thus, the interest in the human dimension of global processes and the lived and subjective experiences of mobile subjects is characteristic of anthropological approaches to migration. Brettell *et al.* (2008) summarises:

Anthropologists who study migration are interested in more than the who, when and why; they want to capture through their ethnography the experience of being an immigrant and the meaning to the migrants themselves, of social and cultural changes that result from leaving one context and entering another (Brettell et al., 2008: 5).

Anthropological research on migration provides profound insights into particular, individual motivations and choices in relation to migration, however, always already situating them in larger structural and historical contexts within which individuals operate. Inherent in recent anthropological theorising about migration is therefore an assumption that migrants 'act and are acted upon' with reference to their social, cultural and gendered positions (Brettell et al., 2008:136). Mobile subjects are thus no longer always conceived of as passive victims tossed around by forces outside of their control, but as lively agents that negotiate, modify and respond to social situations:

An anthropological approach to migration should emphasize both structure and agency; it should look at macro-social contextual issues, micro-level strategies and decision-making and the meso-level relational structure within which individuals operate. It needs to articulate both people and process (Brettell, 2003:7 in Vertovec, 2007:969).

Finally, anthropologists tend to consider both ends of the migration process, beginning in the country of origin and exploring the motivational factors for migration, the experiences of settlement, and the organization and nature of transnational relationships (Brettell, 2003:1)

1.1 A Historical Outline of Anthropological Approaches to Migration

Anthropological interest in migration and migrants developed out of an early anthropological engagement with rural populations and their migration to cities during periods of rapid urbanization. Brettell (2003) confirms the interrelationship between the anthropology of migration and anthropological *Peasant Studies*:

Interest in migrants and migration grew in conjunction with the growth of both peasant studies and urban anthropology, as anthropologists began to focus on 'peasants' or 'tribesmen' in cities (Brettell, 2003:10).

The shift of emphasis from peasants in villages towards rural migrants in urban centres led to novel theoretical discussions about issues of cultural transformation, adaptation and assimilation. Anthropologists began to follow migrant peasants into cities and explored their adaptation to urban living conditions and so-called urban lifestyles (Kearney, 1986:334). This required attention being directed towards migrants struggling to find their place and position as newcomers in urban centres, which ultimately also led to an awareness of social realities and cultural transformations that were hitherto ignored by anthropologists.

The Manchester School of Social Anthropology

Rural-urban transformations also attracted British scholars associated with the *Manchester School* of British Social Anthropology – most notably Max Gluckmann and J. Clyde Mitchell – who are credited for their ethnographic accounts and theoretical insights into migration-related issues, especially rural-urban labour migration in south central Africa during the early 1950s (Vertovec, 2007:962). Among other things, they looked at urbanisation processes and related shifts from agricultural life to waged industrial labour in the context of British colonialism (ibid.). They addressed the consequences of labour migration for local economies and urban as well as rural communities, thereby highlighting the complexity of migratory processes and the interrelatedness of distant places:

But where the project was at its most innovative was in looking at rural locations, mining centres, and towns not as separate social and cultural entities but as interrelated elements caught up in a social field (Wolf, 1990:221 in Six-Hohenbalken and Tasic et al., 2009:39).

In their efforts to link micro-level observations with wider social, political and economic structures (i.e. colonialism) they managed to contextualise local particularities within broader and complex social fields. These differentiated and

situational analyses of socio-cultural realities were a significant contribution to the discipline. Moreover, they were particularly relevant for the development of anthropological approaches to migration, because they demonstrated that reductionist, simple and linear understandings of migratory processes were no longer able to capture complex social realities.

The Chicago School of Sociology

Sociologists, by comparison with anthropologists, have a longer tradition of doing research on migration-related topics. Migration and its consequences were among the major themes pursued by the *Chicago School of Sociology* in the 1920s and 1930s, which subsequently also greatly influenced anthropological research (Brettell *et al.*, 2008:83). The *Chicago School of Sociology* is credited for developing important theoretical as well as methodological tools and ideas for migration studies as well as urban anthropology. The starting point for sociological research in Chicago was indeed the rising number of European migrants to the massively expanding metropolitan city of Chicago (Six Hohenbalken and Tasic *et al.*, 2009:32).

Scholars who are customarily associated with the Chicago School of Sociology are R. Park, L. Wirth, W. Thomas, G. H. Mead and F. Znaniecki (Kearney, 1986:333). These social scientists studied different immigrant communities in Chicago and elaborated very systematic and comprehensive accounts of migration and its social and cultural effects on different communities and spaces within the city. They explored migrants, their communities and their inclusion into the wider society and related their insights to issues of social cohesion and the wider social order. Central to their descriptions were concepts of 'assimilation', 'cultural difference' and the idea of the 'melting pot' (Six-Hohenbalken and Tasic *et al.*, 2009: 55). They were particularly interested in processes of cultural adaptation and assimilation. The underlying assumption was that immigrants experience a linear assimilation process, whereby they adopt the values and lifestyles that prevail in the country of settlement. Thus, assimilation was envisioned as an inevitable one-way street, in which immigrants gradually lose their own particular cultural beliefs and habits as they continuously adapt to a new society and culture (Six-Hohenbalken and Tasic *et al.*, 2009: 36).

Modernization and Dependency Theory

Ideas about linear development synonymous with social progress are typical of *modernization theory*, which had great impact on migration theory (Kearney, 1986). Modernization theory postulates dichotomies between traditional, rural and modern,

urban areas and between development and underdevelopment. In this context the idea of migrants as agents of change was advanced. The idea was that rural migrants' movement to cities and their presumable adaptation and change thereafter is tantamount with general social progress and development:

Migrants were seen as progressive types who would have a positive impact on development by bringing back to their home communities innovations and knowledge that would break down traditionalism (Kearney, 1986:333).

The motivations for migration were located in the individual, usually male, migrant and were typically framed in economic, individualistic terms, which assumed that poverty and underdevelopment are among the strongest reasons for movement (Six-Hohenbalken and Tosic *et al.*, 2009:41). However, although economic and social hardship often compel individuals to migrate in pursuit of a better life and increased possibilities in different localities, the individual cannot be assumed to be merely a rational, calculating, self-interested and above all male *homo economicus* (Kearney, 1986:336). Other factors, such as family, gender, and culture also influence migration patterns and strategies and consequently motivations tend to be more complex. The empirical and theoretical shortcomings of the individualist, neoclassical economist approaches with which modernization theory has been associated, led to an interest in more historical-structural explanations of migratory processes (Brettell *et al.*, 2008:119).

Historical-structuralist approaches draw on Marxist critiques of modernization theory and theorise migration, especially labour migration, in the context of a global capitalist economy and an international division of labour (*ibid.*). Within these perspectives, negative processes of domination over the periphery, colonialism and its inherent exploitative relations generate migration and underdevelopment (Six-Hohenbalken and Tosic *et al.*, 2009:44). The achievements of these macro-approaches to migration include on the one hand the turning-away from linear, dualist understandings of development and heightened attentiveness to political realities and social inequalities, and on the other hand the comprehensive analysis of the consequences of global, capitalist and colonial processes on local, rural communities and places (*ibid.*). However, despite these achievements and the remedy for earlier linear accounts of migration, these macro approaches characteristic of world system theory and dependency theory, are rightfully criticised for being too deterministic in their portrayal of migrants as passive victims of global and capitalist forces (Kearney, 1986:341).

Ethnicity and Identity

In the context of critical evaluations of assimilation, modernization and dependency theories, anthropologists (re-) discovered *ethnicity* as a central anthropological category, which enabled linking individual's strategies to larger, political and cultural processes (Six-Hohenbalken and Tosic *et al.*, 2009:60). Thus, during the 1970s and 1980s, the anthropology of migration was particularly occupied with studies of ethnicity and identity (Vertovec, 2007:963). Research was primarily conducted in urban contexts and concerned with the maintenance, construction, reproduction and negotiation of ethnic identity among migrants of different generations. Ethnicity, conceptualised in Barth's (*Ethnic Groups and Boundaries*, 1969 in Vertovec, 2007:963) sense as a marker of identity and group boundaries, is always malleable and context-dependent (Vertovec, 2007:963). Thus, anthropologists rightly assumed that ethnic identities change in the course of migration and its subsequent social transformations. Moreover, the significance and impact of ethnicity for migration confirmed that non-economic factors have major effects on migratory decisions and processes. Finally, belonging and identification with an ethnic group and network might imply social capital and emotional attachment, which in turn could prove beneficial in the context of migration and settlement (Six-Hohenbalken and Tosic *et al.*, 2009: 60).

Despite the prevalence of ethnicity and identity in anthropological research during the 1970s and 1980s, some studies of ethnic identity have been accused of essentialism and ethnicity is no longer the single focus of key anthropological texts. (Vertovec, 2007:964). According to Vertovec, anthropology experienced new and different devices, which expanded its horizons:

Transnationalism, hybridity, creolization and cosmopolitanism are all conceptual devices that anthropologists and others now use to get beyond purportedly bounded and fixed understandings of groups and cultures which, fairly or not, have been associated with studies of ethnicity (Vertovec, 2007: 965).

In the next chapter transnational perspectives on migration and related phenomena will be introduced.

1.2 Towards a Transnational Perspective in Migration Studies

Fundamentally new and different perspectives on migration were elaborated in the 1990s and centred primarily on the concept of transnationalism, which was first formulated by anthropologists, but had an impact on migration research in several other disciplines (Brettell *et al.*, 2008:17). Linear, assimilationist and bipolar understandings of migratory processes that are associated with classical studies of migration were heavily criticised and rejected by anthropologists' working on immigration-related topics in the United States. Their criticisms mainly concerned dichotomised social science categories, which failed to explain migrants' simultaneous connection to and involvement in multiple localities (Basch, Glick Schiller, Szanton Blanc, 1994:5).

The roots of transnationalism within anthropology can be found in earlier theories of return migration that emphasised the lasting links between societies of origin and societies of settlement, thereby showing that migration is not necessarily understood by migrants themselves as definitive departure and complete withdrawal from their 'homelands' (Brettell *et al.*, 2008:17). On the basis of these early insights transnational perspectives were further developed and challenged many previously held assumptions and theories about both migratory processes and the subjects and communities affected by it.

Transnational models of migration problematised the portrayal of migration as an unusual and single event that is disruptive in its effects for individuals, communities and nation-states and demonstrated that transnational migration is a process of negotiation between people and places (Wilding, 2007:339). Moreover, it was acknowledged that the transformative impact of migrancy is not confined to migrants only. Transnational processes also affect people who do not migrate themselves and communities in which migrants reside (Baldassar and Baldock, 2007). And finally, although mobility is often required for the maintenance of transnational networks, one does not necessarily have to move in order to engage in transnational practices.

Transnationalism as Process

Among the key leading scholars, who are associated with transnational studies in anthropology are Basch, Glick Schiller and Szanton Blanc. They define transnationalism as *'the process by which immigrants forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement. An essential element of transnationalism is the multiplicity of involvements that*

transmigrants sustain in social fields' (Basch, Glick Schiller and Szanton Blanc, 1994:7). On a broader level, transnationalism was formulated as *'part of an effort to reconfigure anthropological thinking so that it will reflect current transformations in the way in which time and space are experienced and represented'* (Glick Schiller et al., 1995:49). The lives of migrants and non-migrants alike could no longer be understood by looking only at what goes on within national boundaries (Glick Schiller and Levitt, 2004:1003).

For Glick Schiller and Levitt (2004) the reformulation of the concept of society is central in so far that society can no longer automatically be equated with the boundaries of a single nation-state. In anthropology the focus on transnationalism reflects the more general move away from bounded units of analysis and localised community studies (Hannerz, 1996 in Brettell et al., 2008:121) towards an interest in the fluidity and pace with which ideas, objects, capital and people move across borders and boundaries (Basch et al., 1994:27).

This is where much contemporary social theory currently seems headed. Where there were fixed boundaries everything is now equally and immediately interconnected. Structures are replaced with fluidity. Being sedentary is replaced with movement. While the immigrant used to be portrayed as the marginal exception to the rule of staying at one's national, the transnational life of migrants constantly on the move is now the prototype of the human condition' (Glick Schiller and Wimmer, 2002:326).

The contemporary world envisioned by anthropologists and social sciences is one of hybridity, translocality, mobility and movement and rhizomes (Friedman, 2002:26). Despite some of these theoretical advancements and related reconsiderations of anthropological categories of place, locality, culture and society, some critics call attention to the positionality of these discourses. For Friedman, *'it is the discourse of global elites whose relation to the earth is one of consumerist distance and objectification'* (Friedman, 2002:27). Even if one disagrees with this tough statement, it nevertheless emphasises both the importance of subjective, emic understandings and feelings for these processes and the consideration of a politics of location with regard to class, gender and ethnic belonging.

Transmigrants

For several generations, social scientists have viewed migrants as exceptions from the norm (Al-Ali and Koser, 2003:3) and as individuals who *'uproot themselves, leave behind home and country, and face the painful process of incorporation into a different society and culture'* (Glick Schiller et al., 1995:48). However, migrants are no longer perceived as uprooted, lost and homeless victims, but as active and

resourceful agents, who maintain activities, identities and social status in several social locations (Glick Schiller, Basch and Szanton Blanc, 1992:3):

Transmigrants take actions, make decisions, and develop subjectivities and identities embedded in networks of relationships that connect them simultaneously to two or more nation-states (Basch, Glick Schiller and Szanton Blanc, 1994:7).

Most transnational studies emphasise the lived experiences of transmigrants, including the strategies and struggles inherent in their efforts to maintain multiple linkages and connections. These connections and multiple relationships are often regarded as innovative social practices that have the potential to secure income and social positions in multiple locations and contexts. However, some of these processes also encompass difficulties and suffering on individual and collective levels and must be analysed in the context of global inequalities and citizenship regimes that have the power to interfere and restrict some of these activities.

The lives of transmigrants depend on multiple attachments and constant interconnections across national borders and cultural boundaries:

Transmigrants are immigrants whose daily lives depend on multiple and constant interconnections across international borders and whose public identities are configured in relationship to more than one nation-state (Glick Schiller et al. 1992 in Glick Schiller et al. 1995).

To understand the meaning of these connections and social relations a transnational perspective that takes into account different contexts is necessary, because it enables a better understanding of migrants' lives. Moreover, by considering the commitments linking migrants to relatives in distant places and their simultaneous involvement in different societies enables a better and more comprehensive understanding of migration experiences and the decisions and considerations related to it.

A transnational focus considers migrants economic and social remittances, thereby explaining why some migrants want to, or feel obliged to, finance special events such as weddings and funerals in their society of origin or make other financial and social contributions to the welfare of their distant families and other collective groups. The theoretical and empirical advantages of a transnational perspective are illustrated convincingly by Glick Schiller *et al.* (1995:28), who exemplify their arguments with a grill, which is sent from the US to Haiti. This particular grill should not solely be considered an item of material culture reflecting and producing hybrid cultural forms. It could also be interpreted as a statement about social and economic

success in the US and thus also reflect an effort to build and advance social position in Haiti or in a transnational social field (ibid.).

Likewise, Zontini (2010:233) argues that social mobility and related economic revenue of female migrant workers should be interpreted with regards to multiple contexts and localities. She shows that Filipina women working as domestics in Italy earn wages that sometimes exceed those of local professionals in the Philippines, which in turn may increase their self-esteem and their social status in their society of origin. However, their economic revenue and related prestige might be significant only in the context of the Philippines, not in the Italian context of settlement where they are still perceived as marginalised women and low-paid workers (Zontini, 2010:233). Altogether, these examples demonstrate that a transnational emphasis enables a more contextualised and comprehensive analysis of the lived experiences of transmigrants in an increasingly globalised world.

Transnational Social Fields

Levitt and Glick Schiller (2004) argue for a social field approach to the study of migration and distinguish between ways of being and ways of belonging in that field. An emphasis on social fields rather than society as such reflects the efforts to move beyond a container theory of society, which unluckily often equates society with the boundaries of a particular nation-state. The theory of social fields and its related reformulation of the concept of society challenges the assumption that social relations and activities are naturally confined by the boundaries of one society or nation-state (Glick Schiller and Levitt, 2004:1007).

The reformulation of basic conceptual and methodological assumptions allows for the recognition and understanding of transnational relations and practices as normal and everyday experiences of a great number of individuals. Moreover, political, economic and social incorporation into a particular state and continuing transnational connections to multiple locations and histories are neither conflicting nor can they be depicted as binary opposites (Glick Schiller and Levitt, 2004:1002). Simultaneity of connection and attachments is likely:

Movement and attachment are not linear or sequential but capable of rotating back and forth and changing direction over time', because 'persons change and swing one way or the other depending on the context, thus moving our expectation away from either full assimilation or transnational connection but some combination of both' (Glick Schiller and Levitt, 2004:1011).

Belonging and Being in Transnational Social Fields

Glick Schiller and Levitt (2004) make an important distinction between ways of being and ways of belonging in transnational social fields. They argue that there is a need to distinguish between the existence of transnational social worlds and the consciousness and motivation of being embedded in them (Glick Schiller and Levitt, 2004: 1006).

Transnational ways of being refer to concrete social relations and practices that individuals engage in transnationally (Glick Schiller and Levitt, 2004). This transnational engagement, however, does not necessarily involve identification with or sympathy for the politics, values and identities that could become associated with it (ibid.).

Ways of belonging, on the other hand, refer to practices and performances in which individuals deliberately associate themselves with a particular group, political interest and cultural or religious worldview. These actions are symbolic, tangible and sometimes also visible, such as wearing religious symbols, or flags that symbolise certain national and political ideologies. For Glick Schiller and Levitt, these '*ways of belonging combine action and an awareness of the kind of identity that action signifies*' (Glick Schiller and Levitt, 2004:1010). Conclusively, the explicit recognition by transnational migrants of the influence of their transnational relations and practices on their subjectivities and identities, expresses a transnational way of belonging (ibid.).

The Limits of Transnationalism

The first critique of transnational theory in the social science relates to the mistaken assumption that transnational research postulates the novelty of transnational migration. Transnational migration is not a totally new phenomenon and transnational connections and practices are a social and historical reality, because people have always migrated and their subsequent experiences and lives were not suddenly segmented between host and home societies (Glick Schiller and Wimmer, 2002).

In previous periods migrants also maintained connections with relatives and engaged in political processes in multiple localities. However, without the availability of technology that facilitates communication and transportation across large distances, the scope and frequency of transnational activities remained marginal. Thus, according to Portes et al. (1999) previous transnationalism lacked the

elements of regularity, frequent involvement and the critical mass characteristic of contemporary examples of transnationalism (Portes *et al.*, 1999:225). However, even though transnationalism is not a new phenomenon, nationalist imaginaries, methodological nationalism and other theoretical lenses have made transnational activity look like an exception rather than the rule of social life and of migration experiences:

What we discover in this twilight is how transnational the modern world has always been, even in the high days when the nation-state bounded and bundled most social processes. Rather than a recent offspring of globalization, transnationalism appears as a constant of modern life hidden from a view that was captured by methodological nationalism (Wimmer and Glick Schiller, 2002:302).

To study transnational communities and migration is therefore not to discover something new, but to contribute to an epistemological shift away from *methodological nationalism*, which assumes that '*that the nation/state/society is the natural social and political form of the modern world*' (Wimmer and Glick Schiller, 2002:301). Methodological nationalism, according to Glick Schiller and Wimmer, kept social scientists from fully grasping and theorising what they were seeing:

We have been able to begin to analyse and discuss transnational migration and long distance nationalism because we have changed the lens through which we perceive and analyse the world, putting aside some of the preconceptions of methodological nationalism' (Glick Schiller and Wimmer 2002:322).

In this context it becomes clear that the novelty and innovation refers to the transnational perspectives that were introduced by anthropologists rather than to transnational activities *per se*.

For other critics the concept of transnationalism is used too much and if so then usually without conceptual and definitional clarity (Al-Ali and Koser *et al.*, 2002:1 and Portes *et al.*, 1999:218), therefore running the risk of becoming '*an empty vessel*' (Smith and Guarnizo, 1998:3-4). Among other scholars in the field, Al-Ali and Koser *et al.*, (2002) call for investigating the different meanings of transnationalism for different people at different times of their lives. Inherent in this is an assumption that transnational processes are located within individual's daily practices and experiences. Consequently, studies of transnationalism should take as a starting point individuals, their daily activities, concerns and achievements and finally also their close networks (Portes *et al.*, 1999:220).

In an effort to specify and confine the concept of transnationalism Portes *et al.*, (1999) argue that certain criteria must be fulfilled. These include regular, intensive

and sustained social contact over a long time (Portes *et al.*, 1999:219). For Portes *et al.* occasional contacts, travels, remittances and other practices across national borders, even though they may create transnational social fields, are not substantive enough to constitute truly original and transnational phenomena that justify a new area of investigation (Portes *et al.*, 1999:119). What is relevant in their view is the high intensity of exchange, the new modes of transacting, communicating and travelling and finally the multiplication of activities that require cross-border travel and contacts on a continual basis (*ibid.*)

In a similar vein, Glick Schiller (*et al.*, 1999) argue that it is not useful to *'equate transnational migration with the longings that migrants may feel for home, if these sentiments are not translated into systematic participation in networks that cross borders'* (Glick Schiller *et al.*, 1999:94 in Brettell 2000:49). However, contrary to this view, it is possible to interpret transnationalism not just as a set of practices, but also as a capacity for imagining connections between individuals, groups and localities around the world (Englund, 2002 in Wilding, 2007:341). For Wilding (2007:341) *'the capacity to imagine 'difference', 'opportunity', and 'connection' are clearly important in motivating people's engagement with movements and activities that transcend national borders'*. Likewise, for Appadurai (1996) *'imagination has become a collective, social fact', which 'especially when collective, can become the fuel for action'* (Appadurai, 1996:5).

Imagination, in its collective forms creates ideas of community and nation and of foreign labour prospects and visions of a glorious life and future abroad (*ibid.*). This in turn can motivate and legitimate transnational migration. Moreover, migrants are affected by a mass mediated imaginary that often transcends national space (Appadurai, 1996) and which helps to create transnational social fields. Nevertheless, in order to count as social facts considered relevant in the context of research on transnational migration, some of these transnational imaginaries have to be translated into concrete and sustained transnational connections and practices.

The increase in transborder activity was interpreted by some as a symbol for the demise of the nation-state as both a centre of power and as source of identity politics (Kearney, 1991 in Glick Schiller and Wimmer, 2002:322). However, it became clear that transnationalism is not synonymous with the end of the nation-state (Al-Ali and Koser, 2002:14) and that nation-states still regulate transborder activities, thereby affecting the daily lives of a large number of individuals. The initial outcry of the end of the nation-state, characteristic of the first wave of transnational studies, was relativised by subsequent analyses that confirmed the continuing role of national governments and institutions in transnational processes (Glick Schiller and Wimmer,

2002:323). Nevertheless, the term *transnational* is criticised by Hannerz (1996) for the apparent ambiguity, which on the one hand denies the significance of national boundaries and on the other hand retains the idea of the nation as the central category and of analytical importance. Similarly, Glick Schiller and Wimmer (2002:234) remind us that the term *transnational* semantically refers to the national as the entity that is crossed, superseded and transformed, thereby reproducing and naturalising a vision of the world divided into nations (Glick Schiller and Wimmer, 2002: 324). Finally, Glick Schiller and Wimmer criticise several transnational studies for overstating the internal homogeneity and boundedness of transnational communities and point to the differences pertaining to class, gender and region that determine transmigrants social positionality (ibid.).

Due to some of these problems with the term *transnational*, some scholars propose to use the terms *translocal* and *translocality* instead (Smith and Goldring, 1998 in Smith and Guarnizo, 1998:13; Conradson and McKay, 2007). In fact, it has been argued that '*one of the main contribution of postmodern ethnography and critical theory has been the redefinition of the local as a dynamic source of alternative cosmopolitanisms and contestation*' (Smith, M.P. 1992, Robinson 1993, Schein 1998 in Smith and Guarnizo, 1998:11). Appadurai (1996) coined the term *translocality* to describe the ways in which communities that were once relatively localised became internationalised due to the increasing geographical expansion and mobility of its members (Appadurai, 1996 in Conradson and McKay, 2007:168).

A translocality is thus a place whose social architecture and relational topologies have been refigured on a transnational basis' (Faist 2000 and Vertovec 1999 in Conradson and McKay 2007:168).

Appadurai, like Hannerz, have been criticised, however, for understanding *translocality* in terms of intensified mobility and deterritorialisation rather than the situatedness and emplacement of migrating subjects (Smith, M.P in Brickell and Datta 2011:182-183), thereby neglecting the significance of place.

Suggestively, the term *translocal* privileges the local as the primary area of significance and identification over the national and recognises that localities continue to be important as sources of meaning and identity for mobile subjects (Conradson and McKay, 2007:168). Another implicit assumption inherent in the term *translocal* is that many migrants may feel more attached to specific localities within nation-states rather than to more abstract constructions of nationhood (Conradson and McKay, 2007:169).

Socio-spatial issues have been taken up by scholars in migration studies who include different levels of analysis in their research on transnationalism and recommend the inclusion of scale and processes of rescaling in studies of transnationalism (Çağlar, 2007 and Glick Schiller; Çağlar 2009; Brickell and Datta, 2011). These multi-scalar approaches are well summarised by Levitt (2004):

It is critical to examine how (transnational) connections are integrated into vertical and horizontal systems of connections that cross borders. Rather than privileging one level (e.g. the local) over another, a transnational perspective holds these sites equally and simultaneously in conversation with each other and tries to grapple with the tensions between them (Levitt, 2004:3 in Brickell and Datta, 2011:185).

The role of localities and cities in transnational connections and practices are significant and the social construction and negotiation of 'place' is always also a process of local meaning-making and territorial specificity (Smith and Guarnizo, 1998:12). A focus on locality works against the idea that transnational practices take place in an imaginary 'third space' (Bhabha, 1990 in Smith and Guarnizo, 1998:11) abstractly located 'in-between' nation-states. To the contrary:

Transnational practices, while connecting collectivities located in more than one national territory, are embodied in specific social relations established between specific people, situated in unequivocal localities, at historically determined times (Smith and Guarnizo, 1998:11).

Consequently, locality must be further theorised in studies on transnational migration. A scalar approach to migration and urban studies includes issues of space and locality in the analysis of transnational connections and addresses the global restructuring of the local and the uneven effects of global processes (Glick Schiller and Çağlar, 2009:196). This approach includes migrants as active participants in cities and urban restructuring processes, which are always already embedded in differential power hierarchies that must be specified (Glick Schiller and Çağlar, 2009).

Transnationalism 'from below' and Transnationalism 'from above'

Another impetus towards specification and differentiation of transnational processes led to a distinction being made between 'transnationalism from above' and 'transnationalism from below'. This distinction was made in order to bring some clarity to the field and to express both the hegemonic and emancipatory potential of transnational practices. 'Transnationalism from above' refers to macro- level, structural, political and economic forces that are dominated by elites and powerful institutional actors – such as state bureaucracies and businesses – and evoke

images of commodification, cultural homogeneity and capitalist expansion and excess (Smith and Guarnizo, 1998: 66-67).

Quite to the contrary, 'transnationalism from below', which most anthropologists have predominantly emphasised, takes as a starting point the daily lives and everyday experiences of ordinary people, including their feelings, anxieties and conditions of existence (Smith and Guarnizo, 1998:67; Portes *et al.*, 1999). Concurrent with this emphasis is a tendency to conceive transnationalism as an expression of subversive, emancipatory and popular resistance 'from below' and thus as something to celebrate. For Bhabha (1990:300 in Smith and Guarnizo, 1998:5) for example the practices and identities of transmigrants constitute '*counter-narratives of the nation*', whereas for Friedman (2002) '*transborder activities are not necessarily liberating, nor is the national always reactionary*' (Friedman, 2002:23).

The idea that the individual is a potential agent of change is advanced. Likewise, it is assumed that '*through transnational processes everyday people can generate creole identities and agencies that challenge multiple levels of structural control: local, regional, national, and global*' (Smith and Guarnizo, 1998:68). However, even if transnational activities and practices and related hybrid identities are potentially counter-hegemonic and subversive, they are by no means always necessarily resistant. Moreover, transnational discourses and practices can be used for the purposes of capital accumulation by transnational elites who adopt and enact a 'flexible citizenship' in order to benefit from different national regimes by selecting different sites for investments, work and family settlement (Ong, 1999:112).

The ambiguity inherent in much of transnational processes must be recognised as well as the fact that transnational phenomena are neither hegemonic nor emancipatory, but often combine different and contradictory elements at the same time. Furthermore, the differences – in gender, age, and class – within the large group of transmigrants are manifold. In the context of transnational migration, some of these 'differences' intersect and change, thereby altering individuals' role and position in transnational social fields. In the following chapter, I will explicitly focus on gender-related debates in the anthropology of migration, thereby validating that gender matters to transnational mobility and movement.

1.3 Gender and Transnational Migration

For a long time research on transnational migration overlooked the role of gender in transnational migration and its impact on different levels of the migratory processes. Migration was envisioned as a gender-neutral process of movement with equal consequences for the subjects involved, irrespective of their social and gendered positionality within transnational social fields. If women were considered at all in studies of migration, they were generally portrayed as dependents and passive followers of the initiating male migrant and their movement was often subsumed under the category of family reunification (Brettell, 2003:139). Thus, women were assumed to migrate primarily to accompany or reunite with their breadwinner migrant husbands and were predominantly considered in their familial roles as mothers and wives rather than as initiators of migrations in their own right and as active protagonists in the labour market (Mahler and Pessar, 2006: 27-28; Phizacklea, 2003:82). Kofman (2000) reveals the gendered dichotomies inherent in traditional accounts of migration:

Dichotomies based upon a constellation of the economic, male and work-place in opposition to the socio-cultural, female and family, frame the way migration is traditionally explained. The dominant form of explanation of migratory phenomena is economic, usually associated with the masculine, and is demarcated from the social, considered to apply to the female. Men pursue an economic, career, rationality supposedly divorced from the everyday concerns of the family. Women alone are enmeshed in family matters care and social reproduction (Kofman, 2000: 647-648).

Despite the tendency to associate women with the socio-cultural, the domestic and the family (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1999 in Kofman, 2004:644), it is now commonly agreed that men are also affected by familial considerations (Baldassar and Baldock, 2000). Likewise, the diversity of reasons, including economic and career-oriented motives, which prompt many women to migrate and invest in transnational relations, is recognised. However, this wave of recognition was initiated relatively late by what Hondagneu-Sotelo (2000) defines as the first stage of feminist intervention in migration studies in the 1970s.

Characteristic of this first phase of feminist research on migration is an exclusive emphasis on female migrants and their experiences, position and decision-making in migration processes (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2000:113). This important first step involved the correction of previous exclusions and invisibilities of women migrants in dominant and male-based narratives of migration. Women's experiences and opinions were emphasised and included in accounts of migration. This 'add and stir-approach' (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2000:114) with its exclusive focus on women,

however, failed to explain how gender as a social system affects migratory and transnational experiences of both men and women. Moreover, questions of power and social change related to transnational mobility were almost entirely neglected.

Households as Gendered Spheres

In the 1980s and 1990s early feminist approaches were differentiated and advanced and the focus shifted towards the ways in which migration reconfigures systems of gender inequality (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2000:117). Significantly, the great diversity inherent in the category 'women' as well as the fluidity of gender relations was recognised. A great deal of research during that period looked at the level of the household and the family, rather than the individual and acknowledged the 'family' as an effective decision making unit in the context of migration (Phizacklea, 2003:83).

Mahler and Pessar (2006) interpret this shift of emphasis towards family-related as a reflection of anthropologists' traditional inclination towards kinship studies and social organizations (Mahler and Pessar, 2006:33). Moreover, this focus also reflects an understanding of migration as a socio-cultural process informed by gendered and kinship ideologies, rather than a process defined in strictly economic and political terms (Grasmuck and Pessar, 1991; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994; Matsuoka and Sorenson, 1999 in Mahler and Pessar, 2006:33).

The decision to migrate and other motivational factors were linked to major events and life cycles within families and were no longer viewed as the product of individual and rational decision-making (Kofman, 2004:647). However, despite the fact that social networks and families assume an important role in migratory processes, these networks are not organised upon norms of social solidarity and equality as was previously assumed (Mahler and Pessar, 2006:33). Feminists demonstrated that great disparities of power, authority and resources exist within families and that these together with gender ideologies inform household strategies (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2000:115):

Opening the household 'black box' exposes a highly charged political arena where husbands and wives and parents and children may simultaneously express and pursue divergent interests and competing agendas. How these agendas become enacted draws attention to the place of patriarchal authority in shaping migration (Hondagneu-Sotelo 1994:95).

Thus, according to Hondagneu-Sotelo, family and household decisions don't represent homogenous and equally beneficial outcomes for all members. Families and households are highly gendered spheres, in which negotiations and decision-

making are shaped by relations of power (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2000:115). Moreover, families and households are not necessarily harmonious entities and family and household members don't always share the same interests and resources. On the contrary, as feminist anthropologists have demonstrated, families and households are often centres of struggles. These struggles also include conflicts over decisions about who migrates, for how long and to what country (Mahler and Pessar, 2006:29). In her analysis of Mexican migration Hondagneu-Sotelo concludes as following:

Traditionally, gender relations in the networks have facilitated men's and constrained women's migration, but this is changing. While patriarchal practices and rules in families and social networks have persisted, through migration women and men reinterpret normative standards and creatively manipulate the rules of gender (Hondagneu-Sotelo 1994:96).

Social transformations characteristic of migratory processes are highlighted and special attention was directed towards understanding how gender relations change as a consequence of new living and working arrangements in the process of migration (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2000:116). Inherent in this focus was an assumption that in the process of migration, gender relations develop towards more egalitarianism between men and women. Changes in employment, family structures and lifestyle potentially affect women's public activities and their sense of self. Thus, anthropologists investigated when and how labour participation abroad enhances the power and status of migrant women within their families and transnational social fields (Brettell, 2003:146).

Despite some of the significant contributions towards analysis of gender and migration during this period, shortcomings were discovered. One of these shortcomings pertains to the fact that much of this research remained focused on the level of the household and family, thereby suggesting that gender is somehow enclosed within the domestic arena (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2000:117).

Gender as a Constitutive Element of Migration

Hondagneu-Sotelo outlines a third phase of feminist migration research in which gender is interpreted as a constitutive element of migration and as a social process that permeates a variety of practices, identities, and institutions (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2000:117). Everyday practices and institutional political and economic structures are no longer perceived as gender-neutral and gender is analysed with regard to diverse discourses and issues, including citizenship, sexuality, labor participation, ethnic business and ethnic and class identity (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2000:117). The idea of gender as a process rather than a set of fixed structures and rules is advanced. Moreover, gender is understood as a human construction, which organises our daily

behaviour and thought and is experienced through a diversity of social institutions from the family to the state (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1999, Ortner, 1996, Lorber, 1994 in Mahler and Pessar, 2006:29). Fundamentally, gender is envisioned by Mahler and Pessar (2001) as a process, which maintains and creates differences:

Conceptualizing gender as a process, as one of several ways humans create and perpetuate social differences, helps to deconstruct the myth of gender as a product of nature while underscoring its power dimensions (Mahler and Pessar, 2001:442).

Likewise, for Parreñas (2009) gender is not just a social difference but also and essentially a social inequality. She criticises that gender is often applied but not analysed and calls for an explicitly feminist perspective which investigates the gender inequalities that underlie migration processes and subsequent transnational experiences (Parreñas, 2009). According to Parreñas, gender inequalities intersect with other differences and discriminations and pervade the transnational migration experiences of women and men.

To better study gender across transnational fields Mahler and Pessar developed a conceptual model - '*gendered geographies of power*' - which emphasises the ways in which gender as a social process operates simultaneously on multiple spatial and social scales (Mahler and Pessar, 2001:445). One of the aims of this conceptual model is to analyse people's agency given their own initiative as well as their social positioning within multiple hierarchies of power that operate across transnational spaces (Mahler and Pessar, 2001: 447). Thus, through the concept of a *gendered geography of power*, particularistic circumstances and experiences of a particular group of people are appreciated and the analysis of these experiences on multiple levels is encouraged (Mahler and Pessar, 2001:447).

Significantly, this analytical framework recognises multiple inequalities and the intersectionality of class, gender, age, nationality and ethnicity, thereby also acknowledging the significance of a politics of location. The politics of location imply that the positionality of individual's and their related social status influences the ways in which they experience and act in the world. It also acknowledges that people are born into a particular social location that confers on them certain advantages and disadvantages (Mahler and Pessar, 2001:446). Moreover, these multiple dimensions of identity and social positionality are created and transformed through historical, political, economic and other socially stratifying factors (ibid.).

Gendered ideologies and other inequalities are, however, not always just passively accepted, since they become actively negotiated and transformed: '*It is both within the context of particular scales as well as between and among them that gendered*

ideologies and relations are reaffirmed, reconfigured, or both' (Mahler and Pessar, 2001: 445). Based on Massey's (1994) work on agency, Mahler and Pessar elaborate how and if individual's practices and activities change their social and gendered positions in transnational social fields:

Some individuals initiate flows and movement, others don't; some are more on the receiving-end of it than others; some are effectively imprisoned by it. There are groups who are really in a sense in charge of time-space compression, who can really use it and turn it to advantage, whose power and influence it very definitely increase...but there are also groups who are doing a lot of physical moving, but who are not in 'charge' of the process in the same way at all' (Massey 1994:149 in Mahler and Pessar, 2001:446).

Transnational subjects have very different points of departure and degrees of autonomy over transnational processes and transactions (Phizacklea, 2003:80). Despite the fact that access to resources and mobility across transnational spaces is determined by gender and class ideologies and their related social locations, individual's role as agents of change and transformation is underlined. In line with Massey (1994), Mahler and Pessar (2001) leave enough room for the agency of migrants without losing sight of issues of power and inequality. With regard to the prominent topic of agency, they contribute two significant ideas. The first idea rests primarily on the assumption that agency is not just affected by external factors but also by individual's personality and characteristics such as initiative (Mahler and Pessar, 2001:447).

The second point consists of the idea that cognitive processes, such as imagination, are as meaningful as substantive agency in analysing transnational activities and practices (ibid.). The significance of cognitive processes derives from the fact that much of what people actually do transnationally includes imagining, planning and strategizing. Therefore, Mahler and Pessar (2001) call for examining if and how images, meanings and values associated with gender, consumption, modernity and the family circulate within the global cultural economy. Finally they are interested to analyse how these 'media-and ideoscapes' (Appadurai, 1990) are gendered, interpreted and appropriated by women and men in varied localities and in ways that promote or constrain mobility (Mahler and Pessar, 2006:43).

Women on the Move: A Diversity of Reasons and Strategies of Migration

The acceleration, diversification, globalisation and feminisation of migration constitute major characteristics of contemporary migratory processes (Castles and Miller, 1998 in Kofman *et al.*, 2000:7). The feminisation of migration is related to

complex and diverse, yet interrelated, processes. These processes include global economic transformations, which restructure the labour force and shift the demand for labour from industrial to service sector and caring professions (teaching, nursing, care for children and the elderly), which are traditionally associated with women.

While in the post-war period of reconstruction, male labourers were highly demanded and constituted the majority of migrants to Europe (Zlotnik, 1995 in Kofman *et al.*, 2000:1), female labour flows are prevalent in today's post-industrial societies. In the context of the global restructuring of economies and labour, feminist epistemological debates as well as female migratory flows could no longer be ignored (Kofman, 2004:646). The recognition of female migratory flows and an understanding of the experiences and motivations of highly diverse 'women on the move' is enabled through a gender-sensitive approach, which does not universalise male categories and experiences and acknowledges that access to and management of mobility is gendered (Morokvasic, 2004). In many cases, women are independent and active protagonists of their transnational lives. However, individuals never act entirely independent and autonomous, and issues of relational autonomy with regards to migration trajectories must be acknowledged.

The reasons for transnational migration are numerous and it is sometimes difficult to single out a unique and singular reason or motivation for migration. Usually the combination of individual reasons and structural factors generate the decision to migrate. Likewise, individuals pursue multiple rationalities and strategies in the context of transnational migration, which enable them to combine work, career and family obligations and duties (Zontini, 2010). The challenges and struggles that are characteristic of the management of different concerns and interests in transnational social fields often involve psychological suffering and additional stress. At the same time, these transnational experiences and strategies may also lead to increased self-determination and empowerment and perhaps even increase the opportunities for upward social mobility.

Despite the fact that demand for labour effects who moves where and when, it is not the only reason why people in general, and women in particular, hit the road. A diversity of women with different educational levels, legal statuses and class backgrounds move for a diversity of reasons, including work, family reunification, violent conflict, poverty, education and in pursuit of a better and autonomous future (Kofman *et al.*, 2000, Metz-Göckel *et al.*, 2008). So, women migrate to improve financially their own situation and that of their families and to improve future prospects, including the possibilities of providing education for their children (Kofman *et al.*, 2000:22). They also migrate for personal autonomy, better career

opportunities and the related pursuit of self-fulfilment, which possibly enhances self-respect and assertiveness. They may also want to migrate because of unhappy relationships and marriages and perceive migration as a means of resisting and escaping at least some aspects of the restrictive and limiting structures in which they live their lives (Kofman *et al.*, 2000:22, Zontini, 2010). And, while some individuals might suffer due to geographical separation from family and friends, others interpret this separation as independence and freedom from pressure to conform to familial or conventional social roles (Espin, 1997). Moreover, for those women who 'settle in mobility' (Morokvasic, 2004), transnational mobility has become both a life-style and a strategy for maintaining their social status at home and coping with deskilling in their countries of origin:

Rather than relying on transnational networking for improving their condition in the country of settlement, they tend to 'settle within mobility' staying mobile as long as they can in order to improve or maintain the quality of life at home. Their experience of migration thus becomes their lifestyle, their leaving home and going away, paradoxically, a strategy of staying at home, and thus, an alternative to what migration is usually considered to be – emigration/immigration (Morokvasic, 2004:7).

Morokvasic (2004) demonstrates that mobility is used as a strategy of adaptation and coping in the context of post-communist transition, a period which is marked by insecurity:

After 1989, hitting the road has become a strategy for supplementing insufficient income. Migration has become one of the many strategies developed by individuals in order to resist the decline of their social status at home (Morokvasic 2004:12).

Transnational mobility and related 'transnational capability' (Al-Ali and Koser, 2001 in Metz-Göckel *et al.*, 2008:14) can be a resource and an important dimension of migrant's social capital. Thus, mobility as a strategy can be empowering, a resource, a tool for social innovation, agency and entrepreneurship (Morokvasic, 2004:7). Despite the fact that staying mobile can be used as a creative and resourceful strategy, it may however also reflect increasing dependencies and the proliferation of precarious jobs (*ibid.*),

Global Care Chains

Global chains of care are prominently defined by Hochschild as 'a series of personal links between people across the globe based on the paid and unpaid work of caring' (Hochschild, 2000:131). At the heart of the so-called care chain approach lies the assumption that the globalisation of labour markets is drawing women from the global South to the post-industrial societies of the North to provide not only physical

labour –‘caring for’ – but also emotional labour –‘caring about’ (Yeates, 2004:371 in Mckay, 2007:176). Hochschild exemplifies a global care chain ‘as an older daughter from a poor family who cares for her siblings while her mother works as a nanny caring for the children of a migrating nanny who, in turn, cares for the child of a family in a rich country’ (Hochschild, 2000:131). Within this model, the absence of women in their original households creates a care-drain, leaving ‘an emotional void’ in these families (Mckay, 2007:177).

The global care chain concept emphasises the interconnections of female labour flows, welfare systems and the social organization of care in more than one country. Socio-demographic changes, care regimes and the feminisation of migration are intrinsically linked and the demand for migrant labour makes the transformations within the welfare states visible (Zontini, 2010). Kofman *et al.*, found that the increased labour participation of women in Europe and the concomitant public failure to provide adequate care facilities and services has led to an increase in the demand for female migrant labour (Kofman *et al.*, 2000: 194).

In Europe it is the most overtly feminized sector of labour migration, especially in Southern European states, where inadequate provision of welfare services (child care, care for the elderly and disabled) and the reduced role of the family in providing care mean that there is substantial demand for migrant labour (Anderson 2000, Anthias and Lazaridis, 2000 in Kofman, 2004: 651).

At the same time, women in the global South are significant agents in the circuits of counter-geographies of globalisation, who ensure the survival and well being of their families and national economies (Sassen, 2000). Sassen’s notion of the *feminisation of survival* highlights the fact that households and whole communities are increasingly dependent on women for their survival (Sassen, 2000:506). Moreover according to Sassen (2000:510) globalisation has restructured global cities as strategic sites for global economic activities and produced new dynamics, in which women are playing an important role:

The demands placed on top-level professional and managerial workforce in global cities are such that the usual modes of handling household tasks and lifestyle are inadequate. As a consequence, we are witnessing the return of the so-called ‘serving classes’ in globalized cities around the world, composed largely of immigrant and migrant women (Sassen, 2000:510).

However, the migrant women and care-providers that Sassen depicts are often themselves middle class, academics or professionals in their own countries (Metz-Göckel *et al.*, 2008:17). By working abroad these women are trying to maintain their social status at home and to provide their families with required resources and

income. However, even if their status preservation at home is successful, they frequently face de-classing in their country of work (Metz-Göckel *et al.*, 2008:17-18), which presumably impinges on their self-esteem. Also, migrant women and domestic workers regularly have to challenge the prevalent idea that they are uneducated and illiterate.

Studies of domestic work underline the severe degree of de-skilling and disqualifications that many female transnational migrants with high school diplomas and even university degrees experience (Friese, 1995, Andall, 2000 and Zontini, 2001 in Kofman, 2004:651). In this context, Kofman (2004) problematises the predominant focus on poorly skilled female migrants from rural backgrounds and argues that an increasing number of female migrants take up skilled employment in feminised sectors, such as the health and education sectors (Kofman, 2000 in Kofman, 2004:650).

2. The Anthropology of Emotions

In every human attitude – for example in emotion....- we shall find the whole of human reality, since emotion is the human reality which assumes itself and which, "aroused", "directs" itself toward the world. There is, in effect a world of emotion.

Jean-Paul Sartre

Emotions – including feelings, sentiments, motivations, dreams as well as expressions and representations thereof – are vital aspects of human life, social interactions and relationships in both public and private domains. In fact, anthropological contributions have blurred the line of demarcation between private and public by highlighting that feelings, which hitherto were perceived as intimate and private 'properties' of individuals, are collective and individual reflections and expressions about '*social life rather than internal states*' (Abu-Lughod and Lutz, 1990:1-2). Although anthropological interest in emotional phenomena is taken for granted today, initial anthropological interest and academic permissibility to study emotions had yet to be established and developed. For Lutz and White (1986:405) the rise of interpretative approaches to social phenomena and an interest in understanding sociocultural experiences and practices from the perspectives of the individual subjects involved, formed the basis on which anthropological studies of emotions could be further elaborated. Additionally, the growing interest in concepts of self and subjectivity that are particularly characteristic of postmodern anthropology also fuelled a resurgence of interest in emotions (Lyon, 1995). Finally, because anthropologists have learned that people's emotional commitments to values, objects and other human beings are key for understanding their actions and practices, they currently encourage research which includes emotional aspects of sociality, engagement, subjectivity and how these issues influence processes such as mobility, movement and migration (Milton *et al.*, 2005; Svašek, 2010).

Contemporary anthropological research on emotions is directed towards understanding why certain relationships, ideas as well as objects matter in the lives of individuals, what they care most about and why (Milton *et al.*, 2005). Moreover, what are the experiential and emotional results of living within a specific social and cultural context at a particular time in history? And how do people *feel* about all of this? What kind of experiences, patterns of personal engagements with human and non-human environments shape individuals emotional commitments and their subjectivities? (Milton in Wulff, 2007:71-73). These questions and much of contemporary anthropological research on emotions reflect attempts to account for the lived and felt aspects of existence and experiences that generally elude records, documents and most historical and official accounts (Harding and Pribram, 2002:417). The focus on emotions and feelings with its related accentuation on the

sensual, bodily and somatic aspects of life and social interactions may also reflect anthropology's effort to become 're-embodied'.

A diversity of emotions – involving fear, love, grief, shame, envy, hatred and happiness – and their multiple meanings, expressions and socio-political implications in different societies, have been recorded and documented by anthropologists (Abu-Lughod, 1986; Svašek, 2005; Milton *et al.*, 2005; Myers and M & R. Rosaldo in Wulff *et al.*, 2007; Ahmed, 2010). One of the first fundamental questions that anthropologists of emotions set out to answer was whether emotions are a universal human phenomenon or a culturally distinct variable. In fact, emotions are usually treated as either biological, universal phenomenon or as a cultural category (Leavitt, 1996; Lutz and White, 1986). While biologically and psychodynamically oriented anthropologists have assumed that emotions are universal and bodily, cultural and cognitive anthropologists claimed that emotions are fundamentally adjustable, culturally determined and therefore '*an aspect of cultural meaning*' (Lutz and White, 1986:408 in Leavitt, 1996:515).

Anthropologists, like Leavitt (1996) and Lutz and White (1986) have demonstrated that a set of dichotomies, especially between nature and culture and body and mind, have polarised the study of emotion, so that emotions are treated either as biological or cultural phenomena. Leavitt, however, disputes that emotions should be categorised into these dichotomies, because emotions '*involve both meaning and feeling, mind and body, both culture and biology*' (Leavitt, 1996:515). The association and reduction of emotion to either pure physical sensation or cultural cognition is therefore misleading. Likewise, Milton (2005) argues that drawing a line between biology and culture is not useful, especially with regards to emotions, which are neither biological nor cultural and consist of both bodily processes and cultural interpretations.

These critiques and approaches are echoed in contemporary theories of affect, which foreground the significance of the body, its materiality and sensational experiences for individual's actions and sociality. Massumi, who is widely associated with the affective turn in the social sciences, demonstrates convincingly how the complex relationship between the bodily-felt and the rational-perceived in relation to fear creates a socio-political atmosphere that is simultaneously affective *and* thoughtful (Massumi, 2005).

Inherent in anthropological approaches to emotion is the idea that emotion and emotional discourses reflect broader cultural themes and social relationships. Likewise, emotions experienced by individual subjects are affected by the cultural

and social system in which they are embedded. This implies, that what we feel and the ways in which we experience and evaluate these feelings is partly determined by the symbols, meanings and vocabularies that are culturally available to us. Moreover, emotions are not just things to *have*, but things to be managed and worked upon by individuals (Hochschild, 1983). Hochschild discovered that individuals are socialised into managing their emotions by learning how to induce, inhibit and manipulate their feelings in order to render them 'appropriate' to a specific situation and social setting (Hochschild, 1983). Moreover, emotions are often regarded as a language of the self – '*a code for statements about intentions, actions and social relations*' (Lutz and White, 1986:417). Discourses on the private self, subjectivity and individuality reflect prevailing cultural values and ideas:

Emotion has value as a way of talking about the intensely meaningful as that is culturally defined, socially enacted, and personally articulated (Lutz, 1988:5 in Lyon, 1995:247).

Significantly, anthropological studies of emotion have established that emotions are not merely private, innate and individual phenomena, but that they are inherently social and thus influenced by historical, socio-economic and political conditions that are characteristic of a particular cultural and social system. Lutz (1986) criticises that emotions are construed as psychological rather than social phenomena and that thought and emotion are taken to be the property of individuals rather than collectives. She argues that with a few exceptions '*emotions have been sought in the supposedly more permanent structures of human existence – in spleens, souls, genes, human nature and individual psychology, rather than in history, culture, ideology and temporary human purposes*' (Lutz, 1986:287). While psychologists, who to some extent still claim primacy and intellectual authority over the study of emotions, have tended to study emotions as individual, internal and private states, anthropologists placed emotions in the realm of culture and social relationships, thereby challenging universalistic and individualistic approaches to emotion (Abu-Lughod and Lutz, 1990:4).

2.1 Anthropological Debates on Emotion and Affect

According to Svašek (2006), most anthropological approaches have defined emotions as culturally specific narratives, as evaluative and moral judgments and as ideological discursive practices (Svašek, 2006:7). However, much of these social constructionist and discursive approaches to emotions have recently been criticised for neglecting the significance of sensual and embodied experiences that are essential to an understanding of the role of emotions in individual and social life. In this chapter, I will outline some of the fundamental debates and perspectives on emotions in anthropology by beginning with a summary on social constructionist perspectives on emotion and '*emotion as discursive practice*' (Abu-Lughod and Lutz, 1990:10). Finally, I will discuss emotions as embodied experiences, the contributions by ecological approaches to emotion and the turn to affect in the social sciences and humanities.

Emotion and Culture

To say that two people belong to the same culture is to say that they interpret the world in roughly the same ways and can express themselves, their thoughts and feelings about the world, in ways, which will be understood by each other. Culture is about feelings, attachments and emotions as well as concepts and ideas.

Hall, S.1997: 2 in Harding et al., 2002:412

Culture and culture concepts are, obviously and without doubt, at the heart of anthropological writings and theorizing. While some anthropologists are 'Writing against Culture' (Abu-Lughod, 1991), others argue for anthropology as cultural critique (Marcus & Fischer, 1986 in Boellstorff and Lindquist, 2004:439) or advance the idea of culture as a symbolic system (Geertz, 1973 in Lyon, 1995:244). However, despite the numerous differences inherent in anthropological approaches to the study and analysis of *culture*, including the critiques and neglect of culture concepts in more recent years, anthropologists are still assumed to have a fundamental interest in *culture* – whether as lived, embodied processes, as discourse or as a symbolic system, within which social action takes place and political power is generated. Despite widespread and intense debates on *culture*, recent developments within the discipline have problematised and neglected dominant ideas about culture. The focus on globalisation and transnational processes, for example, has challenged the relationship between 'culture and place' (Gupta and Ferguson, 1997 in Boellstorff and Lindquist, 2004:439) so that culture can no longer be assumed to be a homogenous, static and bounded entity. Likewise, postmodern anthropology challenges the representation of the wholeness of culture and stresses the arbitrary in culture as well as in descriptions of culture and theorizing about culture (Barnard, 2000:170-171). Moreover, the Foucauldian turn in anthropology led

to a shift away from meaning and symbols characteristic of symbolic and interpretative anthropology, towards issues of discourse and power and its material effects for individuals and social life and organization (Boellstorff and Lindquist, 2004:439).

Despite the recent critiques of dominant culture concepts, the idea of culture as a complex system of symbols, meanings and schemas that structure experience, thought *and emotion* informs early constructionist approaches to emotions (Lyon, 1995:244). Quite prominently, Geertz argued that *'not only ideas, but emotions too, are cultural artefacts'* (Geertz, 1973:81 in Boellstorff and Lindquist, 2004:439). Moreover, for Rosaldo *'feelings are not substances to be discovered in our blood but social practices organised by stories that we both enact and tell. They are structured by our forms of understandings'* (Rosaldo, 1984:143 in Lyon, 1995:253). A cultural constructionist perspective on emotion implies that how individuals feel and the ways in which they evaluate, manage and express these feelings depends on the cultural and social system in which they are embedded:

Within the cultural constructionist approach, our categories of thought, how we talk, our experiences and feelings, and what we express and do are primarily determined by the culture in which we live (Lyon, 1995:244).

Similarly, *'what individuals can think and feel is overwhelmingly a product of socially organised modes of action and of talk'* (Rosaldo, 1984:147 in Abu-Lughod and Lutz, 1990:27). Thus, emotions are inherently related to socio-cultural systems and reflect social relations and different values and norms inherent to them. Myers (1986) makes the point that *'emotions are not simply reactions to what happens, but interpretations of an event, judgments about situations'* (Myers, 1986:106 in Abu-Lughod and Lutz, 1990:26). Although, individuals understand, learn and communicate about social events through emotional means, an emphasis on activities such as understanding, making sense of, judging, and interpreting, may reproduce the mental, idealist, or cognitive bias characteristic of Western social sciences (Abu and Lutz, 1990:26; Lutz and White, 1986).

Concepts of the self, individuality, personhood and distinctions between what constitutes private and public domains are culturally variable. These cultural ideas reflect the prevailing attitudes and norms at particular historical moments in different societies. Illouz (2007) for instance, claims that the making of capitalism went hand in hand with the making of a particular emotion culture and that *'through emotion we enact cultural definitions of personhood as they are expressed in concrete and immediate but always culturally and socially defined relationships'* (Illouz, 2007: 3). According to Rosaldo *'notions of the person, affective processes and forms of*

society are interlinked' (1984:148) and therefore *'we need to relate lives of feelings to conceptions of the self, as both of these are aspects of particular forms of polities and social relations'* (1984:150). Also, in the context of postmodernity, in which the relationship between private meanings and public symbols is blurred, special emphasis on emotions is represented as a means of seeking and accessing a more authentic, because intimate and hitherto 'private', cultural domain (Lyon, 1955:245). That is also why Marcus and Fischer recommend anthropologists to provide *'cultural accounts of less superficial systems of meaning'* (1986:45 in Lyon, 1995:245). The assumption here is that a focus on emotions, which become equated with privacy and individuality, facilitates the disclosure of profound cultural differences and significant particularities.

Once the important role of culture in constructing emotional experience and expression was established, anthropologists emphasised the diversity of emotional expression and discourses of different subjects and communities in different localities. In the process of documenting the diversity of emotional experiences, discourses and expressions of emotions, they faced problems relating to issues of comparison and translation of local understandings and expressions of emotional experiences. Thus, translation of emotional vocabulary and the mapping of conceptual domains of emotions words in different societies were and still are considered a central task of the anthropology of emotions (Abu-Lughod and Lutz, 1990:25). For Lutz and White (1986:428), however, the focus should be directed towards understanding how people make sense of events in their lives, rather than on understanding whether emotional experiences are 'the same' or 'different' across cultures. Finally, according to Abu-Lughod and Lutz (1990) issues related to agency and discourse, i.e. what people do and say, should be foregrounded: *'Instead of enriching our concept of culture, we need to break with it by pressing harder on the question of social action and talk. In other words, we need to examine emotions as discursive practices'* (Abu-Lughod and Lutz, 1990:27).

The Power and Politics of Emotions

The correlation between affective, emotional dynamics and socio-political and economic transformations hints at the ideological and political qualities of emotions. Political processes are inherently emotional (Svašek, 2006) and *'emotional discourses are implicated in the play of power and the operation of a historically changing system of social hierarchy'* (Abu-Lughod and Lutz, 1990:15). Svašek (2006) argues that in the context of post-socialist transitions in Central and Eastern Europe, individuals have been politically motivated and manipulated by a variety of

emotions including hope, disappointment, joy and fear. In her work on emotional discourses in post-socialist countries, she reveals how aspirations such as longing for freedom and prosperity, nostalgia for the past and more negatively perceived feelings such as anger, outrage, despair and racial hatred involve strong emotions, which in turn also have strong implications for political processes (Svašek, 2006:9-14).

In fact, emotions should not be viewed merely as consequential for political processes, but as already intrinsically political in and of themselves. Thus, emotional conditions are also expressions of political, worldly and collective, rather than simply individual and psychological, desires, anxieties and conflicts. Furthermore, while some emotions are culturally permissible and appropriate in specific times and contexts and for particular subjects, other emotions might be considered socially inappropriate and their expression and performance might become sanctioned (Harding and Pribram, 2002:418). Thus, emotions are deployed and articulated in different ways by different individuals who are differentiated on the basis of their social status and position within relations of power. For example, researchers have discovered that the expression and manifestation of anger constitutes a privilege of high-status individuals (Schupp, 2012 in Thivissen, 2013:13). They conclude that the anger expressed by privileged individuals probably leads to self-assertion and an increased capacity to act, which in turn might consolidate and reinforce social inequalities and status differences (ibid.).

Likewise, women, especially in popular discourses in Western societies, are considered to be naturally more emotional than men and therefore culturally more required to be emotionally expressive (Lutz, 1986:299). Harding and Pribram (2002) comment on gender and emotion as following:

With the advent of the Enlightenment and modern science, emotions have increasingly been placed in dichotomous opposition to the rational, as well as the intellectual, the cultural, the universal, the public and the male. Understood as irrational, the emotions have been situated alongside the physical, the natural, the particular, the private and the female (Harding and Pribram, 2002:415).

Accordingly, marginalised groups, including women, people of colour, and the lower classes are often associated with emotions (Lutz, 1986:292). This emotional connotation is often used as a means to justify the discrimination and absence of marginalised people from positions of power, responsibility and government. Moreover, to describe someone emotional is often to belittle someone and to question the validity, the very sense of what a subject is saying (Lutz, 1986:219). In this context, emotions clearly have an ideological function and exist within a system

of power relations. Ideas about emotions and emotional dynamics potentially challenge or reinforce power hierarchies and status differences (Abu-Lughod and Lutz, 1990:12).

Abu-Lughod and Lutz argue in *Language and the Politics of Emotion* (1990) that emotions must be approached as discursive practices with an inherent potential to establish, challenge and reinforce power and status difference (Abu-Lughod and Lutz, 1990:10). An emphasis on discourse highlights the significance of social practices and interactions that involve people speaking, singing and narrating to and about each other (Abu-Lughod, 1990:10-11). The turn to discourse implies a turn to detailed empirical studies of conversations, poetry about or with emotional content (ibid). Also, the focus on discourse allows not only for an insight into how emotions reflect cultural themes and ideas, but also how it serves as a means of communication that is central to social interaction:

Rather than seeing emotions as 'expressive vehicles, we must understand emotional discourses as pragmatic acts and communicative performances (Abu-Lughod and Lutz, 1990:11).

Individuals and communities deploy different discourses on emotion to communicate and express their concerns about and critiques of social relations, conflicts and injustices such as gender and class hierarchies. In this context, Abu-Lughod's study of the politics of sentiment in a Bedouin community in Egypt in *Veiled Sentiments: Honour and Poetry in a Bedouin Society* (1986) is a relevant ethnographic contribution. In this ethnographic study Abu-Lughod focused primarily on poems that articulate feelings, such as love, suffering and desires –emotions that are otherwise considered inappropriate and in conflict with the idea of honour. Her main argument is that poetry and its related expression of emotions represents a means to express contradictions and problems in a socially acceptable way. In that sense, women's poetic expression of emotion both subverts and enacts gender ideology (Abu-Lughod, 1986:252). In a different context, albeit similar way, Svašek (2006) argues that '*emotions are not only used by those in power to persuade and dominate the less powerful, but they also provide loci of resistance, idioms of rebellion and the means of establishing complementarity with status superiors*' (Svašek, 2006:7).

The ethnographic case studies on post-socialism in Central and Eastern Europe (Svašek *et al.*, 2006) also acknowledge and confirm multiple and complex linkages between emotions and politics (Svašek, 2006). Other ethnographic and theoretical studies about the political and ideological function of emotion include Good and Good's (1988 in Abu-Lughod and Lutz, 1990:6) research on the manipulation of emotional discourse for state purposes in the Islamic Republic of Iran. They

investigate the discourse of sadness and grief and trace its transformation from a religious, ceremonial feature before the revolution to a post-revolutionary sign of political loyalty to the state (Good and Good, 1988 in Abu-Lughod and Lutz, 1990:6). Also, medical anthropologists, who specialise in the relationship between the medical and the social, have examined cross-cultural variation of depressive symptoms and explain that discourses on depression in Western societies have become increasingly medicalised with the result that feelings of sadness and melancholia are pathologised and subsumed under the category of depression and psychic disorder (Kleinman and Good, 1985; Jenkins, Kleinman and Good, 1991). This becomes particularly meaningful in the context of the work *The Promise of Happiness*, in which Sara Ahmed (2010) identifies a contemporary 'happiness imperative' that posits being positive and feeling good about oneself not just as a normal and healthy way of being, but also as a moral and social responsibility of good and 'happy citizens'.

Anthropological debates on depression and cross-cultural variations of depressive symptoms, challenge and complement dominant biomedical approaches to depression by highlighting the ways in which cultural norms and ideas effect the manifestation and diagnosis of depression (Kleinman and Good *et al.*, 1985, Jenkins, Kleinman and Goods *et al.*, 1991). An increased societal awareness of psychological illness goes hand in hand with the recognition that emotional suffering is as distressing and severe as bodily agony and encourages and enables affected individuals to speak about their problems and seek support. At the same time, however, the medicalization of depressive symptoms and related biomedical approaches are partial due to their neglect of the political, socio-economic and relational causes of and cultural contexts in which these particular psychophysical condition arise. That is why anthropological approaches foreground the socio-cultural and political context of the manifestation, development and diagnosis of depression.

In order to explain and understand the causes and development of depression, anthropologists examine the role of class, gender, family relations, migration histories and violence experienced in the context of political conflicts (Jenkins, Kleinman and Good, 1991: 68). Inherent to social scientific and especially anthropological approaches to depression is the assumption that '*culture is of profound importance to the experience of depression, the construction of meaning and social response to depressive illness within families and communities, the course and outcome of the disorder, and thus to the very constitution of depressive illness*' (Jenkins, Kleinman and Good, 1991:68). Moreover, '*different cultural traditions of suffering vary according to the salience of the 'vocabulary of emotion*'

(Geertz, 1959 in Jenkins, Kleinman and Good, 1991:72). The cultural theorist and philosopher Julia Kristeva argues along similar lines in *Black Sun. Depression and Melancholia* (1989), in which she proposes a view on depression as a cultural discourse with a language to be learned, rather than strictly a pathology to be treated. More recently, however, discursive perspectives have been criticised for reducing emotions to processes of meaning construction, thereby largely ignoring the sensual, bodily dimensions of emotional experiences (Svasek 2006:8).

Embodiment and Emotions

Traditionally, thought and emotion, like culture and biology are perceived as largely separate and mutually exclusive categories. However, emotions are neither purely biological nor cultural phenomena (Leavitt, 1996). In fact, for Leavitt (1996), the challenge for anthropology is to find ways of understanding emotion that address both its physical and its cultural aspects (Wulff, 2007:62). With regards to depression Kleinman and Good (1985) argue that drawing a line between culture and biology is not useful:

Depression is neither a simple 'reflection' in personal experience of psychophysiological processes nor culturally constituted phenomena free of physiological constraints. Depression is of such interest to anthropologists and psychiatrists alike because it provides a prime opportunity for exploration of the interaction of culture and biology (Kleinman and Good, 1985:31).

The same holds true for emotions more generally, because they *'are neither completely personal inner feelings, nor purely externally imposed dispositions, but experiences of 'embodied sociality' that are essential to human agency'* (Lyon and Barbalet, 1994:48 in Svašek, 2010:8) and social interaction. Embodiment and related bodily and material effects are central to an anthropological understanding of emotions:

Emotion are thoughts somehow 'felt' in flushes, pulses, 'movements' of our livers, minds, hearts, stomachs, skin. They are embodied thoughts (Rosaldo, 1984:143 in Milton et al., 2005:26).

So, according to Rosaldo emotions should be understood as *'embodied thoughts'* (1984:137-8 in Abu-Lughod and Lutz, 1990:26) involving the body and the senses as well as cognitive and cultural capacities, such as judgement, interpretation and the more or less conscious evaluation and comprehension concerning *'self-and situation'* (Rosaldo, 1983:136 in Leavitt, 1986:524). Although, anthropological approaches to emotion have tried to take account of cultural, cognitive and biological and bodily aspects of emotion, they have nevertheless largely presented their

arguments in a dichotomous fashion, usually presented as a 'choice' between taking a 'culture or biology' perspective (Milton *et al.*, 2005:25). Milton (2005), however, sets out to provide an alternative to these dichotomous conceptualizations by arguing for an ecological approach to emotions (*ibid.*). According to Milton, emotions are essentially ecological phenomena that attach individuals to their surroundings (Milton *et al.*, 2005:25).

An ecological approach to emotion is partly based on insights by the neuroscientist Antonio Damasio, who posited that emotions and feelings arise and operate in the relationship between a living organism and its environment (Milton in Wulff, 2007:66). Drawing on this insight, Milton emphasises the relational aspects inherent in emotion by locating emotions in the relationship between an individual and its environment. Whether that environment is social or non-social does not matter and the social environment is not privileged over non-social and non-human environments (Milton in Wulff, 2007:67). '*Emotions connect us to the things that surround us, whether those things are human or non-human*' (Milton in Wulff, 2007:71). This seems to agree also with de Riviera, for whom '*emotional behaviour is always relative to an other*' (de Riviera, 1984 in Lyon, 1995:257). Significantly, however, an ecological approach to emotions enables us to perceive the relationship between subjects and their non-human environment, including landscapes, buildings and places that nevertheless, might be inscribed and associated with absent people and histories. Likewise, this approach facilitates a better understanding of the (emotional) significance of material culture in people's lives, i.e. why particular material objects are valued, loved and worshiped, whereas others are considered repulsive and worthless by individuals and collectives.

The Turn to Affect

The significance of non-human bodies and environments is also reflected in contemporary theories of affect, which take account for the effects of different environments, including artefacts of material culture, architecture and other visual, natural and acoustic landscapes. Understanding affect is especially significant in the context of our information-and image-based late capitalist culture (Massumi, 1995:88). For affect theorists, human bodies are not the main factor in the emergence of affect, because all sorts of bodies, whether organic, inorganic, artificial or imaginary, may be affective and thus socially significant (Seyfert, 2012:88). In theories of affect, sensuous life and embodiment are foregrounded and the biological constitution of being is reasserted:

Much of current investment in affect in cultural theory is motivated by a desire to address intimate aspects of life through attending to an enfleshed understanding of action and thought. In so doing, affect theory works to compensate for an assumed neglect of the body's materiality in earlier paradigms dominating the humanities and social sciences (Papoulias and Callard, 2010:34).

This reintroduction of the body and the related empiricism of sensation imply that human agency is not conceptualised as being dependent only on cognitive thought but also on feelings and our bodily responses to feelings (Gorton, 2007:345).

Affect theory may thus be seen to emerge out of the perceived inadequacies of constructionist models of the subject in dealing with how embodied experience might contribute to a certain kind of agency that is not reducible to the social structure within which subjects are positioned (Papoulias and Callard, 2010:34).

The significance of the bodily and biological aspects of being and subjectivity and the centrality of affect for understanding sociality are characteristic of theories of affect (Papoulias and Callard, 2010:31). In fact, Papoulias and Callard interpret the turn to affect as a turn to the '*non-reflective bodily space before thought, cognition and representation*' (Papoulias and Callard, 2010:34). This current trend in theory reflects a shift away from a concern with the social construction of identities to a reassertion of the biological and bodily constitution of being (ibid.). In that way biology and neuroscience becomes a foundation for cultural theory. Although it might be appreciated that 'the affective turn invites a transdisciplinary approach to theory and method' (Clough, 2007:3 in Papoulias and Callard, 2010:32), hasty translations of scientific models into the humanities and social sciences might be flawed. Therefore, Papoulias and Callard argue not directly against the use of scientific research in social theory, but claim that battles for legitimation are central to the understanding of interdisciplinary spaces, which are produced through studies of affect (Papoulias and Callard, 2010:32).

While there is 'no stable definition of affect' (Thrift, 2004:59), it is nevertheless '*crucial to theorize the difference between affect and emotion*' (Massumi, 1995:88). According to Massumi, affect is autonomous in the sense that it is independent from the '*subject's emotional qualifications through language and self-narration of the feeling experience*' (Massumi, 1995:86). Significantly, affect is presubjective, without being presocial (Mazzarella, 2009:291). Once affect, which according to Massumi is embodied yet impersonal, is recognised and registered it can be considered an emotion.

An emotion is a subjective content, the sociolinguistic fixing of the quality of an experience, which is from that point onward defined as personal. Emotion is qualified intensity, the conventional, consensual point of insertion of

intensity into semantically and semiotically formed progression, into narrativizable action-reaction circuits, into function and meaning. It is intensity owned and recognized (Massumi, 1995:88)

Affect refers to the bodily-felt sensation, whereas emotion refers to the rational-perceived on a more conscious and cognitive level. In a way emotion is thus the rationalization of affect. However, according to the anthropologist Mazzarella affect should not be equated with Freud's notion of the unconscious, because it is too corporally rooted for that, nor should it be aligned with culture, since the whole point of affect is that unlike emotion it is not always already semiotically mediated (Mazzarella, 2009:291-292). Despite the '*autonomy of affect*' (Massumi, 1995), affects and emotions may also influence and shape each other, thereby having aggravating effects. With regards to fear in post 9/11 U.S. society, Massumi argues that fear has been both affectively and thoughtfully modulated to establish a particular sociocultural climate, which authorises specific forms of political action (Massumi, 2005).

Like emotions, affects are not individual 'properties'; they emerge in situations, encounters and interaction between bodies (Seyfert, 2012). Brennan (2004) famously notes that sometimes '*the atmosphere or the environment literally gets into the individual*' (2004:1 in Seyfert, 2012:29). Affective atmospheres and environments thus shape and impinge upon bodies (Seyfert, 2012:29). The mere recognition of the existence of affective atmospheres, however, does not explain why and how different bodies are affected in different ways by the same atmosphere (ibid.). That is why individual exceptions to be affected are explained with recourse to individual's ability to distance or detach themselves, their so-called power of self-possession (Brennan, 2004:11 in Seyfert, 2012:29).

Although most of these issues are not yet fully elaborated and need further thought, affect theories are highly significant in that the notion of interaction is not limited to language and communication, but describes the whole range of social life (Seyfert, 2012:34). This means that affect theory does not give priority to language and symbolization for interpreting relations, since '*human language is no longer assumed to offer the only meaningful model of communication*' (Thrift, 2004:59). In fact, Massumi defines affect studies precisely by its '*attempt to expand the conceptual range of affective interactions beyond the common scope of a social theory that is mainly interested in language and symbols*' (Massumi, 1995:87 in Seyfert, 2012:35). Finally, the recent turn to affect in the social sciences and humanities facilitates sensual accounts of different forms of affective interactions, including material, electrical, architectural, acoustic, psychological, spatial and visual interactions and their various social, political and cultural effects.

1.2 Migration and Emotions

Migrant stories are linked with the experiences of adjustment, settlement, nostalgia, a shattered sense of belonging, renewal, loss, discrimination, abrupt endings, new beginnings and new opportunities – all potent sources of emotions.

Skrbis, 2008:236

In recent years anthropologists began to emphasise the affective and emotional dimensions of global processes (Boehm and Swank, 2011; Skrbis and Svasek, 2007; Faier, 2011) and linked research on transnationalism with examinations of affect and emotion. In these accounts, transnational migration is no longer considered primarily as an economic and political phenomenon, but also and equally as an emotional journey that involves complex and ambivalent emotional dynamics (Ryan, 2008). Affect and emotion are central aspects of transnational migration and play an important role in a wide range of transnational migration experiences (Conradson and McKay, 2007; Skrbis and Svasek, 2007), including material and financial investments and practices. Emotions are no longer viewed as mere individual and subjective phenomena, but as social and embodied experiences that are, however, inherently connected to global capital and labour flows (McKay, 2007). Thus, *'the emotional and affective realm should not be considered secondary to economic life, or as somehow divorced from the material realities of production and consumption'* (Conradson and McKay, 2007: 172).

Alongside the analysis of relationships between emotionality and materiality, and so-called 'affective economies' (Ahmed, 2004), a focus on emotions in migration discloses how transnational mobility generates new forms of subjectivity and emotional experiences. The challenge for anthropologists is therefore to investigate if and how transnational processes create new and distinct emotional experiences and forms of emotional expression and how these relate to issues of transnational and translocal identity and subjectivity (Faier, 2011). Elliott and Lemert (2006) argue that in the context of globalisation and increased mobility, new types of experiences associated with risk-taking, experimentation, and self-expression are made, which in turn produce new forms of apprehension and anxieties (Elliott and Lemert, 2006 in Svasek and Skrbis, 2007:372). According to Elliott and Lemert (2006:62 in Svasek and Skrbis, 2007:372), globalisation and the related individualism involve ongoing emotional struggles to relate internal and external experiences, in which self-definition and identity are explicitly revised and transformed (Elliott and Lemert, 2006:72 in Svasek and Skrbis, 2007:372).

Emotions are not only the result and consequence of migration and transnational lives, but are constitutive of these experiences and processes (Skrbis, 2008 in

Boehm and Swank, 2011:2). A great variety of migratory experiences – including the decision to migrate, the movement itself, the process of 'home-making', transnational family relations and related care requirements and finally the idea of return – involve emotions and complex and sometimes very ambiguous feelings. These emotions and feelings, of course, differ with regards to their intensity, duration, effect and cultural appraisal. Moreover, since feelings and memories are influenced by different emotional discourses, practices and expressions, characteristic of a particular 'emotion culture' and place, problems of misunderstanding and cultural translations in a new socio-cultural context are likely. That is why anthropologists embrace a context-sensitive cultural translation of emotions and an acknowledgment of the active and on-going emotional engagement of mobile subjects with both their past as well as present and future environments (Svasek and Skrbis, 2007:373).

Transnational migrants frequently (have to) learn to express feelings in new ways, using novel metaphors, vocabularies of foreign languages and cultural symbols in order to be meaningful in different contexts. Different vocabularies and expressions of emotion, however, make a difference to people's emotional experiences (Wierzbicka, 2004:574 in McKay, 2007:181) and may thus also generate new ideas of selfhood and identity. For the linguist Wierzbicka *'emotions mark the psychic work the individual does to shape a self against the implicit models offered by culture(s) of what selfhood ought to be'* and she suggests to emphasise the role of particular emotional discourses in producing narratives of self-making implicit in cultural models of personhood (Wierzbicka, 2004: 585 In McKay, 2007: 181). Consequently, an understanding of the role of emotions in mobile and intercultural contexts presupposes an exploration of the changing meanings of both 'self and culture' (McKay, 2007:181).

Crossing national and geographical borders also entails the crossing of emotional and behavioral boundaries (Espin, 1997) as mobile subjects are confronted with diverse meanings, emotions rules, values and lifestyles. These confrontations and new experiences may initiate processes of self-reflection, transition and transformation. They may also, however, lead to confusion in terms of role expectations, values and identity and finally to a sense of discontinuity of identity (Espin, 1997). Migration perhaps provides new and plenty opportunities – for education and labour for example – yet it is also often accompanied by complex dynamics of obligation, longing and feelings of guilt (Conradson and McKay, 2007:170). Ryan (2008) for example, highlights that emotional costs associated with migration are usually under-estimated, although many transnational migrants experience intense stress about conforming to the ideal of the successful migrant and work hard to keep up 'positive' appearances (Ryan, 2008: 311). Other

negatively evaluated emotions could include loneliness, anxiety and feelings of loss, estrangement and exhaustion due to the absence of family and people with shared experiences and histories and the effort to adapt to and cope with a new environment, language and social norms (Espin, 1997):

The loss experienced by (an immigrant) encompasses not only the big and obvious losses of country, a way of life, and (perhaps) family. The pain of uprootedness is also activated in subtle forms by the every day absence of familiar smells, familiar foods, familiar routines for doing the small tasks of daily life. It is the lack of (...) 'the average expectable environment', which can become a constant reminder of what is not there anymore. It is the loss of this 'average expectable environment' that can be most disorienting and most disruptive of the persons previously established identity.

Espin 1992:3 in Espin 1997:446

The processes of uprooting as well as those of regrounding can involve forms of mourning, nostalgia and remembrance as well as physical suffering and experiences of trauma (Ahmed and Fortier *et al.*, 2003:9). Moreover, feelings of rejection and alienation in the new society are common and usually affect the self-esteem and well-being of transnational migrants. These emotions, together with commitments to certain values and hopes for a better future, influence the ways in which transnational migrants make sense of their lives in different places. Thus, an insightful and empathetic understanding of the experiences, practices and potential difficulties of mobile subjects reveals the emotional, affective and sensuous aspects of migration. Finally, an emphasis on emotions may explain why transnationals maintain ties to distant places and support families and friends in multiple and distant localities. It may, however, at the same time explain why they omit to do so.

Mobility and Emotion

An etymological emphasis on 'emotion' underlines the intrinsic connection between emotion, movement and mobility. The word 'emotion' derives from the Latin word 'emovere', which means to stir up, *move*, to move (Rapport 2007 in Wulff (ed.) 2007:380). For Rapport (2007 in Wulff (ed.), 2007:379-380) emotion therefore refers to those aspects of an individual's life that concern fluidity and movement. Similarly, Massumi (2002) emphasises the relationship between feelings, sensations and movement:

When I think of my body and ask what it does to earn that name, two things stand out. It moves. It feels. In fact, it does both at the same time. It moves as it feels, and it feels itself moving. Can we think a body without this: an intrinsic connection between movement and sensation whereby each immediately summons the other? (Massumi, 2002:1 in Conradson and McKay, 2007).

Massumi's insight into the relationship between movement, affect and feeling highlights the causality of this connection: feelings can cause movement and movement and mobility can generate emotions. This idea is echoed by scholars, who argue that transnational migration possibly generates new emotions and forms of emotional expression and discourses (Faier 2011, Conradson and McKay, 2007). Mobility and movement, which are commonly recognised as the 'key hallmarks of globalisation' (Urry, 2000 in Svasek and Skrbis, 2007) are thus perceived as providing opportunities for new forms of subjectivity and emotion to emerge, whether broadly positive or negative (Sheller and Urry, 2006 in Conradson and McKay, 2007:168). The global transit of people, objects, images and ideas is not devoid of emotions and individuals experience their own and other people's mobility in different, albeit almost always, emotional ways:

The happiness, sadness, frustration, excitement and ambivalence that accompany emplacement and mobility are central to social life, shaping our experiences of the world and our relations with others (Conradson and McKay, 2007:170).

The emotional dynamics and experiences of *immobility*, although frequently neglected, are equally prevalent and complex. Importantly, neither mobility nor immobility are absolute categories and a range of relative mobilities exists. Besides, rootless mobility is not the only formative aspect of contemporary experience and is not opposed to any forms of 'rooted belonging' (Ahmed and Fortier *et al.*, 2003:3). The choice to remain in place differs fundamentally from the inability to move due to economic, political and financial reasons, as it is a conscious choice made by individuals who are able to move, but choose not to (Barcus and Werner, 2009:50).

Whether (im)mobility is involuntary or voluntary obviously impacts on the emotions, feelings and opinions people have with regards to the process itself. Immobility, especially if involuntary, may cause a whole range of emotions including frustration, despair, anger, and envy, hopelessness, feelings of impotence, and rage. Individuals react differently to these feelings of marginalization, powerlessness and exclusion. These different patterns of reaction might be explained with regard to internalised gender rules, social class, religious affiliations and values as well as biographical circumstances, which inform the politics of articulation and emotion. While some people will absorb and suffer in silence from these emotions, others will be angrier and might translate their own distress into a public statement about the discriminations and injustices of border restrictions and migration policies. Narratives of emotions are thus frequently used as a means of expressing social issues involving inclusion, exclusion, injustice, power and control in a global context (Boehm and Swank, 2011).

Emotional issues are no longer neglected in social and cultural anthropology, geography as well as in urban studies, (Davidson and Milligan, 2004; Thien, 2005). The 'emotional turn' in geography allows for questions about emotion and its relationship with spatial conceptualization, thereby leading towards researching how people feel and experience places and spaces. Emotional geographies address what kinds of feelings are evoked by particular places and how people feel when they are confronted with unfamiliar places, landscapes, ideas and practices (Svasek and Skrbis, 2007). Likewise, anthropologists investigate the ways in which people settle themselves into particular places by emotional means (Rapport, 2007 in Wulff, 2007:376-96) and the '*complex range of feelings that emerge as a consequence of dwelling within and movement through places*' (Davidson *et al.*, 2005; Anderson and Smith, 2001 in Conradson and McKay, 2007:169). Davidson and Milligan (2004) introduce the ideas of a spatiality of emotions and speak of an emotion-spatial hermeneutic, thereby implying that emotions are understandable - 'sensible' - only in the context of particular places and that place must be *felt* to make sense' (Davidson and Milligan, 2004:524). Moreover, meaningful sense of space emerges only via movement between people and places (Davidson and Milligan, 2004:524).

Geographical movement, transnational mobility and its emotional dimensions are also emphasised by Conradson and McKay (2007), who argue that mobility and movement influence subjectivity and generate particular forms of translocal subjectivity. They propose the term *translocal subjectivities* to describe the multiply located senses of self amongst those who inhabit transnational social fields (Conradson and McKay, 2007: 168). Translocal subjectivities are the result of both mobility and different forms of ongoing emplacement and reflect the continuous commitments that most transnational migrants feel towards family, community and friends in particular places (Conradson and McKay, 2007: 168). In fact, mobility and placement are interdependent and Ahmed and Fortier *et al.* get at the heart of this issue when they argue that '*being grounded is not necessarily about being fixed, being mobile is not necessarily about being detached*' (Ahmed and Fortier *et al.*, 2003:1).

For Conradson and McKay (2007), the self is a relational achievement that involves spatial aspects (Conradson and McKay, 2007:167). This perspective implies that who we are derives from the multiple relations and connections we have to other people, places, events and objects, whether these are geographically close or distant, located in the present or past (Conradson and McKay, 2007:167). Significantly, place plays also a major role in the constitution of identity, because many of the relationships and events that shape our senses of self and belonging

are connected to particular places (ibid.). Since mobility and movement between places changes our relationship with these places, they thus also impact upon subjectivity and identity:

Geographical mobility inevitably changes the relations we have with emplaced configurations of people and events, while at the same time bringing us into contact with new and different ecologies of place (Conradson, 2005 in Conradson and McKay, 2007:16).

Questions of Home in Transnational Lives

Despite ever-changing meanings and definitions of home, home usually evokes idyllic and idealised notions and is romantically viewed as a place of rootedness, belonging, protection and privacy. 'Feeling at home' commonly connotes positive feelings and emotions and reinforces ideas about individuality and one's place within the world. Moreover, it highlights the importance of family, irrespective of its definition, and familiarity for a sense of home.

Home-as-familiarity can refer to people, landscapes and places as well as to more sensuous and affective effects such as smells and tastes. The association of home with familiarity is, however, problematic, because it associates migration immediately with strangeness and ignores the fact that movement and strangeness already take place within the home itself (Ahmed, 1999: 340; Ahmed and Fortier *et al.*, 2003:5). Homes are also sites of change, conflict, relocation and uprooting (Ahmed and Fortier *et al.* 2003:1).

Ahmed and Fortier (*et al.*, 2003) came up with the concept of 'uprootings/regroundings' to challenge the naturalization of homes as origins and the categorization of home as the antithesis of migration, transformation and change (ibid.). This theoretical framework thus allows considering home and migration in terms of a plurality of experiences and personal histories and in ways that emphasises the interdependence of the affective and material processes of uprootings and regroupings (Ahmed and Fortier *et al.*, 2003:2).

For Eva Hoffmann 'making home' is about the (re)creation of 'soils of significance', in which affective qualities and memories become intermingled with more physical materialities such as buildings, objects and particular rooms and spaces (Hoffmann, 1989:278 in Ahmed and Fortier *et al.*, 2003: 9). Likewise, for Rapport and Dawson (1998) home entails different affective and cognitive meanings and values at the same time:

Home brings together memory and longing, the ideational, the affective and the physical, the spatial and the temporal, the local and the global, the positively evaluated and the negatively (Rapport and Dawson, 1998:8).

Notwithstanding the different meanings and interpretations of home for individuals, the affective power of home seems to be a universal actuality. Home and 'being at home' is affective and is often related to issues of 'how one feels or fails to feel'. Ahmed argues that *'movement away is always affective: it affects how 'homely' one might feel or fails to feel'* (Ahmed, 1999:341). Moreover, home is *'sentimentalized as a space of belonging'* (Ahmed, 1999. 341):

Where is home? On the one hand, 'home' is a mythic place of desire in the diasporic imagination. In this sense it's a place of no return, even if it is possible to visit the graphical territory that is seen as the place of 'origin'. On the other hand, home is also the lived experience of locality, its sounds and smells (Brah, 1996:192 in Ahmed, 1999:341).

As highlighted in the above quote, home is envisioned both as a specific locality with its particular, affective qualities as well as an imagination, a dream, an impossibility. With regards to the impossibility of arriving and being at home Ahmed writes that *'home becomes the impossibility and necessity of the subject's future, rather than the past which binds the self to a given place'* (Ahmed, 1999:331). In fact, for Ahmed, home gains significance through mobility and movement away from home (ibid.). This insight is particularly significant in the context of migration, in which the idea of home inevitably undergoes change and involves complex and sometimes even melancholic and painful processes of leaving home as well as making new homes.

While for some individuals locality and place play an important role in their imaginations and memories of home, others are not at home in a place but *'in a life being lived in movement'* (Berger, 1984:64 in Dawson and Rapport, 1998: 27). Accordingly, home in that sense is *'no longer a dwelling but the untold story of a life being lived'* (Berger, 1984:64 in Rapport and Dawson, 1998:27). Rapport and Dawson define home in non-spatialised ways as where one best know oneself (ibid.). Despite the complex relationship between movement and home and the consequent idea that home can be found in and through movement, many people still associate home with a *sense of place*. However, that sense of place can range from a sense of belonging and 'rootedness' within an intimate locality all the way to a broader sense of family, community, or even citizenship.

2.3 Transnational Family Relationships and Emotions

The emotional life of migrants is often characterised by contradiction, as migrants are morally pulled in different directions in social networks that stretch over large distances. Not being able to physically be present in two places, migrants need to juggle with time, communication technologies and financial means to keep up their emotional connections with those in the homeland.

Svasek, 2008:216

Since the beginning of the disciplinary history of anthropology, the comparative study of family and kinship systems has been central. Recent approaches to family studies in anthropology introduce concepts such as 'cultures of relatedness' (Carsten, 2000) and kinship by choice, thereby highlighting the multitude and diversity of forms of family, relatedness and emotional connection in contemporary times. Anthropologists emphasise the ethnographic particularities of being related in different cultural contexts and demonstrate individual differences in the interpretation of the meanings and values associated with 'family' (Carsten, 2000). Moreover, the diversity of practices of 'doing family' challenges the modern ideal of the universal nuclear family form that is also envisioned as being inherently connected to a geographical place. Finally, anthropologists call for an examination of the 'implications of current day transnationalism for kinship relations, family organisation and the form and content of networks' (Glick Schiller *et al.*, 1992 in Zontini, 2004:1114)

In the context of transnational migration and increased mobility, the multiple changes in family structures, dynamics and arrangements are widely recognised (Bryceson and Vuorela, 2002; Baldassar *et al.*, 2007; Svasek 2008, Skrbis, 2008; Zontini, 2010). Zontini (2010) and Al-Ali (2002), for example, highlight that as a consequence of transnational migration an increasing number of women assume the role of family provisioner and breadwinner, thereby transforming traditional gender roles within their families including the transfer of familial and caring responsibilities to other family members. According to Al-Ali (2002) in the context of migration, changes in family structure and gender relations can amount to empowerment and improved opportunities. However, family dynamics brought about by transnational mobility can also cause impediment, difficulties and conflict. Gambourd (2000 in Zontini, 2010:55), for example, notices the emotional difficulties, conflicts and ambiguous feelings caused by the negotiation of changing gender roles and family structures due to female migration from Sri Lanka.

Bryceson and Vuorela (2002) define transnational families as families that live some or most of the time separated, yet maintain a sense of collective welfare and unity (Bryceson and Vuorela, 2002:3). They suggest the terms 'frontiering' and

'relativizing' for research on transnational families. The first refers to *'the ways and means transnational family members use to create familial space and network ties in a terrain where affinal connections are relatively sparse'* (Bryceson and Vuorela, 2002: 11). The second refers to the ways *'individuals establish, maintain or curtail relational ties with specific family members'* (Bryceson and Vuorela 2002:14). These concepts highlight that 'doing family' requires a lot of work, including emotional labour and constant negotiations about mutual responsibilities and obligations for care, support and assistance. According to Vuorela (2002) the family is an imagined community, which is both imagined and materialised through various practices:

A sense of togetherness is reproduced through correspondence, greetings and presents carried by visitors. It is anchored in photography and objects that become talismans of home and belonging (Bryceson and Vuorela 2002:76).

Despite numerous changes and new challenges for transnational families, transnational family life does not necessarily lead to family fragmentation and disintegration; in fact it may be part of a strategy for social mobility and security for all members (Olwig, 2002). Similarly, Sorensen (Sorensen, 2005:12 in McKay, 2007:180) argues that migration and mobility do not necessarily dissolve intimate relations and Goulbourne and Chamberlain (2001) find that *'geographical distance is no barrier to being a 'close' family and informants stressed the importance of transnational links, the 'tightness of emotional bonds', and the level of 'trust' expected and experienced between family members'* (Goulbourne and Chamberlain, 2001:42 in Zontini, 2010:533). Similarly Glick Schiller (1995 et al.) argue followingly:

Transnational connections have enabled immigrants during their years abroad to have children cared for by kin at home, to continue as actors in key family decisions, to visit at regular intervals and to purchase property and build homes and businesses in their countries of origin, even as they have bought homes and created businesses in their countries of settlement (Basch, Glick Schiller, Szanton Blanc, 1995:53)

Thus, despite the geographical dispersal of transnational family members, a sense of community and kinship is still retained (Baldassar et al., 2007). This sense of 'being family' and relatedness is evidently not effortless and transnational relationships require continual care, time and resources to be invested in them (ibid.).

Emotions are central to the idea of 'family' as such and play a central and significant role in transnational family life and relations. Despite living apart, transnational families develop, maintain and negotiate bonds of emotions in transnational social and intimate spheres (Baldassar et al., 2007). Different emotional discourses of love and loyalty and long-distance communicative practices dominate transnational family

relationships (Svasek, 2008). Long-distance family communication with its underlying aspiration to 'stay in touch' has a clear emotional dimension (Svasek, 2008:220). For Baldassar the desire and effort to 'stay in touch' is not only about maintaining open means of communication, but also and importantly about maintaining some level of emotional connection and support (Baldassar, 2007:387). Despite the tension, disagreement and overall difficulties that some transnational family members experience, migration can also create positive transformations in the emotional connections within transnational families (Mckay, 2007:180). Therefore, distance from familiar environments and family might be experienced as increased freedom of expression and as a feeling of independence and autonomy (Espin, 1997).

Families' Perspectives on Migration and its Emotional Impact

It is commonly established that individuals within families have different opinions about a diversity of issues, including the benefits and values associated with migration and particular family roles and arrangements that probably result from it. Consequently, family members develop different and sometimes conflicting views on the migration experience and decision of family members, which in turn also affect the ways in which mobile subjects feel about their own mobility, transnational lives and family obligations.

The migration process often results in fractious family histories as the migrants and their family members who remain behind develop different and sometimes conflicting views on the migration experience and on appropriate family roles (Baldassar et al., 2007:7)

Different ideas and judgments about migration that circulate within families can cause, conflicts, feelings of guilt and other tensions between relatives. In their study on transnational care-giving practices, Baldassar *et al.* (2007) found that whether a migrant was given 'license to leave' affects the relationship between family members and thus also the sense of duty and responsibility for care (Baldassar *et al.*, 2007). A 'license to leave' implies that a decision to migrate is motivated, appreciated and supported.

Migration may be intrinsically valued and perceived as an essential part of growing up and as an empowering and viable strategy. In other cases, the decision to migrate is interpreted as an abandonment of family duties and responsibilities and thus negatively evaluated by other family members. Although the perspective of family members does not fully determine how an individual feels about his or her life and migration trajectory, it nevertheless often complicates or facilitates certain

relationship dynamics within families. Baldassar *et al.*, for example, found that individuals who have license to leave and whose migrations are supported as appropriate choices by themselves and their families are likely to enjoy less fractious transnational family relationships than those individuals whose migration meets with disapproval (Baldassar *et al.*, 2007: 211).

In cases where the decision to migrate is not wholly supported and accepted by other family members, some degree of resentment towards the migrant could become apparent. At the core of these resentments is often the idea that migration implies the abandonment of the familial responsibilities for caregiving and support. This also explains why migrants who don't obtain a license to leave often report feelings of guilt and 'debts of gratitude' towards their family and parents, which they feel they owe but fail to repay. In this context, it becomes quite clear that notions of morality, including a sense of duty towards parents and relatives, shape emotional dynamics (Abu-Lughod in Svasek, 2008:222). Despite the fact that for some individuals migration is synonymous with the abandonment of familial responsibilities and duties, migration is actually often motivated by a feeling of responsibility for family matters and a sense of having to look after the family' (Zontini, 2010). Also, in particular families, migration is intrinsically valued and perceived as an experience that is an essential part of growing up (Chamberlain and Leydesdorff, 2004).

Transnational Family Care Arrangements

Family care is an important phenomenon of migration processes and an essential aspect of the daily practices of transnational families (Baldassar, 2007:388). The type of care, which is exchanged within families, includes economic, practical, emotional, personal and moral support. Generally, transnational families are able to exchange all the types of care and emotional support that proximate families do (Baldassar *et al.*, 2007).

Significantly, emotional nurturing and economic provision are not totally separable and caring relationships often take on practical and transactional forms (Mckay, 2007:191). In fact, McKay found that intimacy in transnational relationships is often expressed in economic terms (Mckay, 2007:188) and that economic support and care can express and construct transnational intimacy (Mckay, 2007:176). Therefore, remittances within transnational families are not just important material assets; they are also a means to communicate important matters of obligations, prestige, power and love (Mckay, 2007). The title of the article by McKay '*Sending Dollars Shows Feelings*' (Mckay, 2007) emphasises intimacies as contextual and multiple (Mckay, 2007:178) and highlights the entanglement of emotions, affect and

monetary care and support. Moreover, emotions are central to transnational family relationships, because quite generally 'our emotional attitudes to one another are part of the continual redefinition of ongoing relationships' (Brian Parkinson, 1995:170 in Svasek, 2010:866).

Relationships require time, resources, care, love and communication and can therefore be considered as 'work'. Di Leonardo provides a definition of relational work between relatives:

The conception, maintenance, and ritual celebration of cross household kin ties, including visits, letters, telephone calls, presents, and cards to kin; the organization of holiday gatherings, the creation and maintenance of quasi kin relations; decisions to neglect or intensify particular ties; the mental work of reflection about all these activities, and the creation and communication of altering images of family and kin vis-à-vis the images of others, both folk and mass media (Di Leonardo, 1992:248 in Zontini, 2010:53).

In their study of transnational care Baldassar *et al.* (2007) develop a model of transnational caregiving that is comprised of three major aspects: the capacity to provide transnational care, the normative obligations of care and the negotiated commitments that individuals come up with (Baldassar *et al.*, 2007). In the context of transnational migration, care exchanges across distances are influenced by the capacity of individual members and their culturally informed sense of obligation to provide care, as well as the individual and subjective kin relationships and negotiated family commitments (Baldassar *et al.*, 2007:204). This model shows the complex patterns of motivation that inform the exchange of transnational family care by emphasising both the subjective and personal motivations and familial arrangements as well as structural factors that affect transnational care practices. Thus, it illustrates how transnational caregiving is influenced on the macro-level by state provision of care services, by community involvement on the meso-level and by individual and family factors on the micro-level (*ibid.*). Thus, the exchange of care in transnational social fields is dependent on a dialectic of capacity, obligation and cultural expectation of care, and the individual negotiations thereof (Baldassar, 2007:393).

The capacity to provide care refers to the ability and motivation of individuals to participate in transnational care giving activities and highlights the fact that transnational care is dependent on the availability and affordability of resources, including money and time and above all the access to technology and mobility. Changes and improvements of communication and travel technologies evidently have great impact upon the ability for transnational care. According to Wilding (2006:128), however, internet facilities and new communication technologies have not replaced communication by letters and telephone calls, but, rather have

supplemented them. Significantly, the ability for increased communication may also give rise to augmented expectations and obligations within transnational family relationships. Wilding (2006) thus calls attention to the fact that advancement in the ability to stay in touch has probably increased the obligation to remain connected, although this might not be desired.

The capacity to engage in transnational care can be limited severely by 'macro' structural factors, such as migration policies and visa restrictions, access to travel and also the political stability and safety in the respective countries. Whereas the capacity for care is therefore for the most part about the practical ability to provide and receive care, normative obligations of care refer to the cultural and gendered ideals of duty and responsibility for family care.

Care practices are influenced by a cultural sense of obligation and expectation of care. This means that who cares for whom and under what circumstances is always also influenced by social and cultural norms and ideals. According to Baldassar *et al.*:

Obligation is the dimension that accounts for cultural understandings of transnational caregiving relations and highlights the central mediating effect of cultural values and expectations on kinship relations' (Baldassar et al., 2007:208).

Likewise, interpretations of mobility and distance are also dependent on cultural understandings of family relations and transnational caregiving (*ibid.*). In that sense, norms and ideals of care also expose ideals of appropriate social roles and ideals of femininity and masculinity, including for example ideals of being a 'dutiful daughter', a 'good mother' and a 'respectful and caring son'. Finally, cultural norms of caregiving are also influenced by the public and private organisation of care. Baldassar *et al.* (2007:208) differentiate between individual oriented systems of care and more family oriented systems of care, in which care is largely provided within the family and community. Likewise, Zontini explains that '*whereas in Northern Europe it is the state, through the welfare system, that plays the role of safety net, in Southern Europe this function has been historically carried out by the family*' (Zontini, 2010: 11).

The last aspect of Baldassar *et al.* model of transnational care is the notion of negotiated commitment. By negotiated commitment Baldassar *et al.* emphasise that family caring responsibilities are the outcome of negotiation and compromise between transnational family members, rather than the consequence of fixed rules of obligations. It also highlights the fact that although individuals often internalise normative norms about appropriate care, they nevertheless creatively adopt and contextualise these norms according to their personal history and situation. The

process of negotiation can therefore only be understood '*with reference to the biographies of the individuals involved and the history of their relationships, as they have developed over time. Biographies are themselves part of the negotiating process*' (Finch and Mason, 1993 in Baldassar *et al.*, 2007:79). An emphasis on processes of negotiation enables an understanding of the more personalised and intimate family and care dynamics that arise between transnational family members.

PART 2: Methodological Design

Without stories, without listening to one another's stories, there can be no recovery of the social, no overcoming of our separateness, no discovery of common ground and common cause.

Jackson, 2002: 104-105 in Eastmond, 2007: 261

Despite the neat division into the theoretical framework (Part 1) on the one hand, and the methodological design and approach (Part 2) on the other hand, it is necessary to bear in mind that theory and practice are interdependent and thus not easily dissociable. The ways in which we conduct research and engage in conversations with interview partners guides theoretical considerations and gives priority to particular topics and themes. Likewise, the theories we endorse and internalise to a certain extent also influence the methodological possibilities that are being considered. In the case at hand, I started the research process by conducting conversations and interviews with a very diverse group of female migrants in Vienna. From the start, I was interested in learning about their transnational migration experiences, their transnational family relationships and the emotional implications of these experiences and its impact on their senses of self.

However, despite my preliminary interest in particular topics, which I disclosed to my interviewees, I was ready to embark on new directions concerning the research areas. Inherent to this 'openness' was the objective to pay particular attention to the issues and concerns of these women and to enable them to relate to their experiences and their own life histories. That is why I, first of all, listened to the concerns and issues of my interviewees, asking narrative questions and learning biographical themes and details. When I felt that particular issues were in the air, but remained unaddressed, I sometimes asked questions in the end, thereby trying to redirect the conversation towards particular issues. This, of course, is critical in terms of the premises of biographical-narrative research, in which the researcher is not meant to interfere in the narratives. However, in accordance with Freeman (1989) I believe that the role of the researcher in documenting life histories and migration narratives is not '*an interference with the data, but rather an integral part of it, indeed is the data*' (Freeman, 1989:432-433 in Eastmond, 2007:261).

The methodological design of this thesis is twofold. In the first section (Chapter 4), I will first of all provide a short overview of the major principles of qualitative research and then I will emphasise biographic-narrative research methods, which are considered a central approach in researching 'transnationalism from below' (Apitzsch and Siouti, 2007:6). The objective of biographical and narrative research is to allow individuals to relate and narrate their own life experiences and to reflect on what they consider relevant in their lives. In fact, narratives and life stories are a

means for individuals to express, negotiate and evaluate experiences (Eastmond, 2007: 248). For researchers, on the other side, narratives and life stories provide a site to examine the meanings and feelings that people, individually or even collectively, ascribe to their experiences, including moments of crisis and conflict (Eastmond, 2007:248). This is particularly interesting in the context of migration, where individuals reflect on their personal migration experiences, their negotiation strategies and transnational family relationships. Therefore an emphasis will be placed on narratives of migration and transnational mobility, also inquiring whether migration creates particular kind of narratives.

In the second part, in Chapter 6, I will present and work with the empirical materials that I gathered during the research process. I will comment on the interview extracts and link them to the theoretical debates that were outlined and discussed in Part 1. However, at the very beginning I will introduce my interviewees with a short summary of their biographical information, the main issues and concerns that they expressed in their narratives and finally a description of how we met and how our relationship developed during the conversations and interviews. During the conversations and interviews experiences, feelings, thoughts, reflections and personal information were shared and recorded. These conversations and narrative extracts of lived experiences and emotional journeys are the empirical material from which I extend out to theoretical elaborations on transnational experiences, migratory strategies and transnational family life. Thus I will outline and discuss the diversity of reasons for migration, including families' perspectives on the decision to migrate, questions of home and belonging, the feminisation of migration and finally tensions and obligations in transnational families through the analysis of participant narrative extracts.

3. Qualitative Social Research: Biographies and Narratives

Life is not the one you live, but the one you remember as you remember when you tell it.

Gabriel Garcia Marquez

Qualitative research methods – participant observation, fieldwork practice and interviews – constitute essential research activities and approaches in anthropology and other social sciences more generally. In sociology, the Chicago School established the importance of qualitative inquiry for an understanding of the mechanisms of social processes and social change (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000). Likewise, in anthropology, ethnographic fieldwork methods were introduced and qualitative approaches were revised. Despite the great variety of qualitative social research methods, which are frequently a field of inquiry and scholarly debate in their own right, some major principles of qualitative research are easily discernable.

One major premise of qualitative social research is the reconstruction of social processes and events from the perspective of ordinary individuals and informants. Inherent in this approach is the idea that individuals are best placed to voice their issues and concerns and that their articulations and interpretations reveal motivations and explanations that were hitherto ignored. Thus, the assumption here is that an emphasis on individual's actions, perspectives, feelings and experiences facilitates deeper insights into social processes and relationships. Also, an emphasis on the perspectives, interpretations and articulations of the individuals involved in the research process discloses why and how people make certain decisions, interpretations and take particular actions. These more or less practical considerations about gathering information and access to informants goes well together with the political or ideological aim to give historical voice to ordinary as well as marginalised men and women.

Other basic characteristics of qualitative research include '*detailed descriptions of the social settings*'; '*commitment to understanding events, behaviours in their context*' and '*to view social life in processual, rather than static terms*' (Bryman, 1988:61-8 in Roberts, 2002:3). Frequently also, qualitative researchers take an emic approach, which allows them to take as a starting point the perceptions, articulations and interpretations of research participants and then see what kind of themes and patterns occur during the research process and dialogue. Moreover, anthropologists are always required to reflect on their subjectivity as researchers and the power relations that are implicated in the research activity and their relationship with participants.

Biographies and Narratives

According to Miller (2000), biographic research has its true origins as part of the 'qualitative backlash' against the dominance of the quantitative approach and has at its core the interplay between biography, history and society (Miller, 2000:6-7). Another origin of biographical research methods can be found in the Chicago School of Sociology, whose early and unconventional use of biographical material, including letters, diaries and other personal documents highlighted the complexities of life histories and social worlds of migrants in the United States of America (Riemann, 2003:2). Biographical research is thus part of the broader practice of qualitative research methods, which seeks to understand the experiences and attitudes of individuals in their lives, what they consider important and how they perceive their past, present and future (Roberts, 2002:2).

Biographical researchers examine the interchange between individuals lives on the one hand, and broader social and historical processes on the other, using stories and other personal and subjective meanings to understand the individual life within in its social context (Roberts, 2002:3). Biographical research contextualises personal, subjective meanings and experiences by situating the biography and life of an individual in its socio-historical context:

It also allows us to see an individual in relation to the history of his time, and how he is influenced by the various religious, social, psychological and economic currents present in his world. It permits us to view the intersection of the life history of men with the history of their society, thereby enabling us to understand better the choices, contingencies and options open to the individual (Bogdan, 1974:4 in Plummer, 1983:69).

The interest in biographic-narrative research in the social sciences has continually grown (Chamberlayne, Bornat, Wengraf, 2000) and according to Eastmond (2007) interest in life stories and personal narratives emerged in the early 1980s, as researchers turned away from realist and positivist traditions towards an interpretative narrative approach that set out to explore the lived experiences and subjective dimensions of social life (Eastmond, 2007: 248). Eastmond (2007), who studies narratives in forced migration, argues convincingly that biographical and life narratives promote a greater appreciation of the diversity of experiences involved in forced migration, thereby challenging and undermining the universalizing and conventional descriptions of what it means to be a 'refugee' (Eastmond, 2007:253). Life stories and narratives reveal the variety of subject positions that are subsumed under public discourses of a community of people. It also highlights the fact that different interpretations grow out of different life experiences and that these interpretations and experienced are often also based on gender and class (ibid.)

Also, biographical and narrative inquiry can reveal how social changes are experienced and interpreted by individuals and how these changes have influenced their social situation and life trajectories. Moreover, biographical and narrative methods can provide insights into the ways in which personal experiences and emotional trajectories are influenced by particular family dynamics, socio-economic and political circumstances and how these translate into certain life attitudes and behaviour.

Self and Narrative

Life stories and migration narratives allow us to see how particular individuals experience and interpret their lives. Narratives are reconstructions of an individual's experience that are closely linked to subjective meanings, a sense of self and identity. According to Chamberlain and Leydesdorff, *'the plots and themes we select and through which we choose to recount our lives have effectively prefigured the way we see ourselves'* (Chamberlain and Leydesdorff, 2004:230). In fact, in narratives, *'we constantly construct and reconstruct a self to meet the needs of the situations we encounter, and we do so with the guidance of our memories of the past and our hopes and fears of the future'* (Bruner, 2003:210 in Bamberg, 2006:65). Moreover, individuals are constantly doing 'biographical work' in the sense that they are altering and adapting their self-view and perspectives to a rapidly changing society (Miller, 2000:156).

Constructing biographies, however, often proves to be a challenge for individuals, especially when they find themselves in phases of liminality and crisis, in which it is difficult to present linear and straightforward accounts of one's life course. Furthermore, Beck (1992) famously reminded us that individuals are not just overstrained by having to choose among contingent biographical opportunities, but also by taking the responsibility for these choices. Despite some of these difficulties, the healing effects of stories and storytelling about one's life and particular, especially also, difficult circumstances and traumatic experiences have been demonstrated (Rosenthal, 2003). According to Rosenthal (2003) narratives can have curative effects in that individuals may win a feeling of continuity and direction and become aware of their suffering from the inability to speak and share feelings (Rosenthal, 2003:925). Moreover, speaking about oneself may not just be liberating, but may also be a way of seeking ways of going forward and calculating the next steps for action (Eastmond, 2007:251). Finally, stories are therefore not only reflections on past events, but *'creative constructions or interpretations of the past, generated in specific contexts of the present'* (Eastmond, 2007:250).

Culture and Narrative

Significantly, the ways in which individuals narrate and tell their stories is mediated by cultural realities. This means that cultural norms and ideals are used to articulate experience in ways that is understood by others:

To be communicable, both to oneself and to others, attempts to recapture the past must be constructed of cultural material, using culturally based narrative forms which draw upon cultural understandings or schemas (Reddy, 1997:342).

Whether individuals draw on discourses of achievement, freedom, self-sacrifice or self-discovery in their narratives and self-presentations depends to a large extent on cultural narratives that are dominant at a given place and time. Culture and vocabulary, thus, offer what Pollner and Stein call 'narrative maps' (Pollner and Stein, 1996 in Gubrium and Holstein, 2000). Also, the ways in which people articulate issues about success, failure, pain or happiness in their narratives may reveal some of the values and ideals they have – unconsciously or not - internalised throughout their lives. In that sense, narratives are somehow mediated by individual experiences, personality and cultural context:

While the personal narrative may be seen as the property of the individual – intrinsic to and defining of the individual – the plot that it follows and the themes that are woven through it may reflect and conform to the cultural narratives to which any one individual is exposed at any time (Chamberlain and Leydesdorff, 2004:230).

People create identities and position themselves through telling stories and engaging in narrative processes. Narratives, thus, also propagate a more dynamic understanding of the individual as subject, performing and acting in the world and thinking about this action (Eastmond, 2007). In order to make sense of the stories people tell us about who they are, including their histories and journeys, we must relate this information to social, political and cultural contexts that have shaped and continue shaping their life situations (Eastmond, 2007:252). Finally, cultural meanings are not only important with regards to lived experience and narratives thereof, but also in the ways that others, including researchers and their audiences understand and retell that story (Eastmond, 2007:250).

Narratives of Migration

Narratives of migration reveal the variety and richness of migration experiences and transnational mobilities. They often speak of a duality of loss and gain and of other ambivalences that are part and parcel of most migratory phenomena. Through

migration narratives we can investigate migration decisions and trajectories on the basis of personal experiences and gain insights into the everyday lived experience of globalisation. Personal stories and memories are a unique way to access migrant experience, feelings and identity (DeRoche, 1996 in Chamberlain and Leydesdorff, 2004:228) and to understand the functioning of transnational family bonds:

If we want to understand migrant experiences, if we wish in particular to reveal how migrants reflect on their lives and on the families that surround them often in the imaginative and emotional world, then we suggest one way forward is to engage with memories, with what is recalled and how then memories translate into the stories people tell about their passages through their lives (Chamberlain and Leydesdorff 2004:237).

Migration is also part of an autobiographical narrative and stories of migration are incorporated in the individual biographical framework. This means that individuals try to make sense of their migration experience by formulating a story that fits their life circumstances and their biography. Thomson (1999) argues that:

Migration stories have always been a central part of the migration experience: in the imagination of possible futures; during the physical process of passage; and as migrants have lived with and made sense of the consequences of their migration. At each stage life stories articulate the meanings of experience and suggest ways of living (Thomson, 1999:35).

Furthermore, *'the stories themselves represent constantly evolving ways in which migrants make their lives through stories. Viewed in this way, migrants' oral histories provide evidence both about past experience and about the life stories significant and material features of that migrant experience'* (Thomson, 1999:35-36).

Significantly, we must accept that *'all life stories are composed- constructed, fabricated, invented'* (Plummer, 2001:238). Thus, in cases where individuals narrate their life and migration experiences, it is not primarily about whether it is true or not, but how they interpret these experiences and present themselves. It is not for the researcher to judge the accuracy or reliability of the stories being told, but to listen carefully to what is being said and to assess what and why something is told and constructed in a particular way. Therefore, one of the major challenges for researchers working with narratives and life stories is to make sense of what is being told, including for what purposes and under which conditions.

Life stories are unique in themselves, with all their ambiguities and complexities. Emphasising the particular and individual ambiguities and inconsistencies can help uncovering the complex web of feelings. This, however, requires that processes of reflexivity be encouraged during the research process. Ryan (2008) argues that we need to adopt a reflexive approach during conversations and interviews, which

'brings all this messy, personal and emotional baggage out into the open and allows a discussion of interpersonal dynamics that would otherwise remain buried within the research process' (Ryan, 2008:311). Once, emotional aspects of transnational experiences become tangible, we might also come to the conclusion that *'emotions are not just a topic of research, they also impact on the research process'* (Ryan, 2008:299) and that research is concurrently an embodied, emotional, thoughtful and political activity (Gray, 2008: 947). Last but not least, the methodological use of narratives and biographies in migration research has the potential to overcome the nation state perspective as the 'natural unit of analysis' and the methodological nationalism of traditional research on migration (Wimmer, Glick Schiller, 2003 in Apitzsch and Siouti, 2007:20).

4. Interviewees

The fundamental right becomes the right, as Homi Bhaba puts it, to narrate; the right to tell your story; to formulate the specific narrative of your suffering.

Žižek, 2004: 140

I interviewed six very different and diverse women in Vienna and recorded their narratives during the fall and winter of 2011-2012. The women's biographical details will be introduced in this section. Some of the women did not want their real names to be mentioned, while others did not mind. The names of the women who wanted their real names to be concealed will be marked accordingly (*). As an introduction, I will explain why I wanted to do research with women rather than men and why I decided to focus on a highly diverse group of transnational migrants. Finally, I will also clarify how, when and why I approached the particular subjects of this research.

The reasons for choosing to work with women rather than men are manifold. First of all, I was interested in the feminisation of migration and its social and gendered consequences, including women's 'novel' role as transnational breadwinners and as main providers for their distant families. Also, I wanted to understand and capture the effects and affects of gendered migratory phenomena and the consequences thereof for women's position within their respective transnational families. A major concern here was to understand the ways in which women negotiate between familial responsibilities and economic necessities and how these concerns are reflected in their adoption of particular migration strategies. Another aim was to investigate their emotional expressions and understanding their coping mechanism in the context of transnational mobility and transnational family life.

Men are equally gendered beings that negotiate between different responsibilities and demands and are also affected by gendered migratory processes and familial considerations (Baldassar and Baldock 2000). Nevertheless, I decided to work with a group of woman, mainly because being a woman myself I felt more comfortable approaching women with my research agenda and engaging in dialogue about intimate and highly emotional issues and stories.

From the beginning of my studies, I had great interest in feminist anthropology and debates and I wanted to relate this interest to debates on transnational migration and mobility. Last but not least, I am often deeply disturbed by the fact that migrant women are frequently represented as passive, uneducated victims in popular discourses and I wanted to demonstrate that migrant women are often active protagonists in their transnational families and in transnational social spaces.

The women that I interviewed constitute a very diverse group of women and transnational migrants. They come from different social, cultural and class backgrounds and had different reasons and motivations for migration and for engaging in transnational activities and sustaining transnational relationships. Moreover, they have quite different family histories and relationships, which give rise to different individual needs and relational practices. These social and individual differences, which are reflected in their individual perspectives and narratives, and the great disparity of material and non-material resources available to them, are important factors that influence their migratory strategies and experiences. In fact, not every one of these women is a transnational migrant in the strict sense of the term. While Salika can be considered a transnational migrant *par excellence*, Angela is an asylum-seeker, whose transnational mobility is severely restricted. Despite some of these tremendous differences, which can't and shouldn't be ignored, confrontations with differences accentuate and uncover important differentiations of being and belonging in transnational social fields.

For my research purposes, the internal diversity of this group of female migrants is simultaneously interesting and challenging. On the one hand, I want to emphasise precisely this diversity of transnational experiences and strategies in order to demonstrate that clear-cut categories such as 'transnational migrant' and 'female migrant' can't do justice to the very diverse social realities and life-worlds of my interviewees, who would commonly be subsumed into a single category of migrant women. On the other hand, besides highlighting the diversity of female migrants and their transnational experiences, I wanted to investigate whether, and despite this variety, transnational experiences and mobility could create a common ground for the formation of identities, forms of subjectivity and emotional expressions.

The great differences of my female narrators also required me to rethink and engage with Adrienne Rich's notion of a 'politics of location' (Rich, 1976, 1979, 1985 in Braidotti, 1993:8), which recognises and accentuates the multiple differences that exist among women. An underlying assumption inherent to this concept is that the position and location from where an individual is speaking from is situated and thus highly significant. Therefore, feelings and experiences of particular transnational women are not generalizable and not applicable to transnational women from other locations. For the particular research context at hand, this means that differences will be emphasised and recognised. However, it will also be investigated whether despite these differences a common basis for particular emotional experiences can be detected.

4.1. Profiles

To be attentive is to orient oneself towards the other and this implies a communicative activity in which emerges a position from which to speak and to affect. To notice, to approach, to understand, to balance, to anticipate, to contextualize, to support, are ingredients of the relational work of attention to people.

Vega Solis in Gutierrez-Rodriguez, 2010:128

Salika

Salika was the first woman that I interviewed on topics relating to migration, domestic work and transnational family life. I met her for the first time in 2008, but it was only in 2011 that we started to meet regularly in order to talk about her migration and transnational family experiences.

For many years Salika was working for and also living with my father's wife, Gabi. Salika was taking care of her three children, thereby enabling a single mother to pursue a career in a male-dominated medical environment. I mention this connection and how I got to know Salika, because I am aware that the way and the people through which we met affect our relationship with each other and thus also the overall 'research situation', i.e.- the things she feels like speaking about and the stories that she might not want to tell me.

I had the impression that we were both comfortable in the situation and during the conversations. In fact, I felt that she was pleased to talk about her experiences with me. In return, I was honoured that I had the opportunity to listen and interview Salika about her migration experiences and her personal family stories.

She spoke openly with me about her migration experience, about how she perceives her own mobility and how she manages to sustain household and family relations in two distant places. She also talked a lot about her achievements, the similarities of her and Gabi's life patterns, her role as a main provider of her family in Sri Lanka and about her social status and family background in Sri Lanka.

Throughout the phase that we were in contact and routine communication I did not only gain new insights into transnational family life, issues relating to mobility and belonging and domestic work, but I also learned a lot about interviewing in general. I did not have a lot of interviewing experience beforehand, so the interview meetings with Salika were interesting and instructive moments which made me more sensible about when, how and if to guide and intervene in the communication process.

Salika was born in the capital of Sri Lanka, Colombo, and migrated to Vienna in 1991, at the age of 38. She left her two daughters and her husband in Sri Lanka and

moved to Vienna on her own. Initially she wanted to stay for a short period only, but she extended her stay and she has been living in Vienna for more than twenty years now. She holds Austrian citizenship, legally, but says *'this is only theoretically, but practically I am just Sri Lankan'*.

Her decision to migrate was influenced by a diverse number of things, including the prospect of employment and work, thereby enabling her to take financial responsibility for her family, and also the possibility of helping her sister, who had already been living in Vienna, to fight a divorce case. In this respect, the reason to migrate included family-related considerations as well as the pursuit of work and financial freedom.

Salika is a transnational migrant in the sense that she is an active member in two societies in two different and in fact very distant places, Vienna and Colombo. She often speaks of standing responsibility in both places and she asserts that she belongs to these two places now. She has a home here, and a home there and she invests in social relations and status in Vienna and Colombo. She does not express any explicit resentment about her transnational life path, although she also describes the difficulty of being separated from her family and of managing households in two distant places. In her perspective, migration and transnational mobility, although impinging on family life, was nevertheless an empowering experience. She says she feels happy and proud about what she has achieved for herself and especially also for her daughters, for whom she managed to build two houses in Sri Lanka.

Salika comes from a relatively well-off family in Sri Lanka and she repeatedly emphasised this during the conversations with me. I got the impression that it was very important for her to clarify her social identity, her class and family background and to make sure that I would understand and recognise the uniqueness of her life story and how it differs from 'normal maids' and migrants from poorer families in general. I interpret her efforts to differentiate herself from other migrants also as an aim to represent herself as an active and strong woman, rather than as a passive and weak victim. In that sense, her narratives of the self could be regarded as counter-hegemonic narratives of female migrant agency and power.

Ashiya

Ashiya is a Sri Lankan citizen, who lives and studies in Vienna since 2003. She was 10 years old when her mother, Salika, left Sri Lanka to find work in Austria in order to financially support her family in Colombo. Until she joined her mother in Vienna in 2003, Ashiya was living with her father, her older sister and babysitters in Colombo.

A transnational perspective enables us to understand that family members who stay behind and don't migrate are nevertheless affected by migration (Baldassar and Baldock, 2007). In Ashiya's case, the migration of Ashiya's mother, Salika, has affected the structure and dynamics of an entire family left behind in Sri Lanka. In this particular case, the father and two babysitters took over the tasks and responsibilities that were previously managed by Ashiya's biological mother. I talked with Ashiya about these changes, about how she came to terms with her mother's separation and the consequent geographical distance between them. Thus, I wanted her to narrate her own perspective on the changes and affects of migration and transnationalism for her family life and dynamics.

In our conversations we talked predominantly about issues concerning home, mobility and belonging. In this context, I was particularly interested to learn about how she felt about her mother's live-in situation with another family and the fact that she was looking after other children. In addition I wanted to know how she thinks about her own relationship to her babysitters and what she thinks and how she feels about normative and social ideals of motherhood.

Dana

Dana Peslova moves between Vienna and Brno for more than twenty years. She began to oscillate between these two cities after the fall of the Iron curtain in 1989. Before 1989, Dana has worked as a secretary for a state-owned enterprise, which became insolvent during the period that is collectively known as the Revolutions of 1989. After the insolvency of her company Dana had difficulties finding a job in the Czech Republic. She told me about how hard she was looking for another job and how she finally found a job in a restaurant in Vienna. It was a seasonal job only, and when the season finished she had to look for other employment opportunities. That is when and how she started cleaning for Austrian middle-class families.

She works illegally and worries about her retirement benefits. In the conversations we had, she told me about the great variety of families she is working for, how she thinks about her work and how she worries about her financial situation. She also expressed worries about her mother's health condition and how she organised someone to take care of her while she works in Vienna. Usually she commutes quite regularly, once a week, and she is somehow settled in mobility. She never rented an apartment in Vienna and always stayed at different people's places. For her home is the Czech Republic and Vienna is only a place to work, which enables and provides for life back home.

From the women that I interviewed, Dana is the most mobile one in the sense that she is constantly on the move, crossing the borders between the Czech Republic and Austria. She does not seem to be settled in one place, but seems rather settled in mobility, in the constant crossing of national borders and boundaries. I was particularly interested in understanding how she perceives her mobility and how she manages to sustain a livelihood precisely through this mobility. Moreover, I was interested in how she describes the advantages and disadvantages, the opportunities, difficulties and emotional aspects of her transnational mobility.

Arianna

Arianna calls Vienna 'home', she has been living and working in Vienna for the past 10 years. Originally she is from New York City and she still feels somehow attached to that city, her family and her 'roots', however in often complicated and ambivalent ways. She is a US-citizen and does not want to change that. She told me about her Sephardic Jewish family background and her relatives who live in Izmir, Turkey.

The conversations with her were mainly focusing on family-related stories, rather than on how she earns a living. She started telling me about her family background, where her mother and father are from, how they met, what she knows about her grandparents and about their immigration background and escape from Europe during World War II.

I was particularly interested in understanding how she keeps in contact with her family, what she thinks about transnational family obligations, why she decided to migrate and whether she had 'license to leave' from her family. Another emphasis in our conversations was on family conflicts and how these change due to geographical distance. Finally we also spoke about how she personally negotiates between the duty to care for her elderly parents in the United States and her desire for an autonomous life and 'new start' in Vienna.

*Maria Osorio**

Maria Osorio has been living in Vienna for almost twenty-five years. However, according to Maria, it was only in 2005 that she felt settled and 'at home' in Vienna. She narrates her life story in vivid and emotional ways; her decision to migrate, the pain of separation from and longing for her family that she left behind in Cali, the joys of starting a new family and finding new friends in Vienna, the difficult notion of belonging and home, the long process of settlement and the management of transnational kinship relations.

Her story begins as a story of transnational mobility, of feeling and living in and between two social worlds, in which she emphasises the difficult and painful side of her mobility. It is also a narrative that reveals a constant search for roots, for belonging and for a place that she could call 'home'. At some point during the dialogue, I got the impression that Maria was proud about having finally arrived at home in Vienna. She presented her individual process of home-making in terms of an achievement that she has made. In her reflections, it also appeared to be a contentious and ambivalent process, involving huge personal struggles, which were nevertheless resolved due to her decision to remain settled with her 'new' family in Vienna. So what starts with a focus on moving between two distant places and families, somehow ends with easement brought about by an imagined and /or real settlement with her own nuclear family in Vienna.

*Angela Tomenko**

I met Angela Tomenko, because a lawyer, whom I know, put me in touch with her. As a lawyer he specialises in asylum law and human rights and since I know him well, I thought he could probably help in setting up some contacts for a research project. At that time, however, I had a general interest in processes of migration and had not yet developed a specific interest in transnational migrants. To cut a long story short, Angela Tomenko is not a transnational migrant in the strict sense of the term. In fact, she and her son fled from the Ukraine in 2004 to Vienna, where she sought political asylum, which was however refused in the first instance. While she is currently appealing this judgement, her legal status in Austria remains unclear. Consequently, she has no work permission and her social, political and economic rights are severely restricted.

Nevertheless, at the moment Angela works as a babysitter and cleaning lady for several Austrian families in Vienna in order to provide for her and her son. As a single mother without legal work permission, she finds it particularly difficult to provide for the needs of her son and herself. Her son is 10 years old and attends elementary school in the second district in Vienna. Before she migrated to Vienna, she worked as an accountant and cosmetic in the Ukraine. In her opinion, her job and status deteriorated in the process of exile and migration. However, despite these difficulties, she still favours the current life-situation in Vienna. She is determined to fight her asylum case and her biggest dream is to be able to '*find a normal job, a normal life*'.

From the start, I had the feeling that Angela and I would develop a trustful relationship, which we actually did. That is why, despite the fact that she is an

asylum seeker and thus not a transnational migrant in the narrow sense of the term, I still wanted to record and present her narratives.

5. Empirical Material: Narratives of Lives in (E)motion

A concern with the particularities of individuals' lives need not imply disregard for forces and dynamics that are not locally based. On the contrary, the effects of extra-local and long-term processes are only manifested locally and specifically, produced in the actions of individuals living their particular lives, inscribed in their bodies and their words.

Abu-Lughod 1991:150 in Brettell 2003:23

In this chapter, I will present and comment on the empirical materials, which I gathered during the research process. The empirical material, the interview and narrative extracts, will be situated in the theoretical debates that were outlined in Part 1 of this thesis. The aim of Chapter 6 is to connect and relate the theoretical discussions with the empirically grounded narratives of six interviewees. The empirical materials, the narrative extracts, are divided into three main parts. The first part (6.1) focuses on the decision to migrate, highlighting the diversity of reasons and conditions for migration. It also looks at the familial circumstances of the interviewees and the ways in which these influence the decision and motivation for migration. This first section will also include my informant's perspectives on questions of home and belonging and their sense of agency.

In section 6.2 the emphasis will be on the gendered aspects of transnational experiences, relating some narratives to the theoretical discussions in Part 1 about the feminisation of migration and global care chains. A focus will be placed on working conditions and prospects, foregrounding the ways in which the interviewees themselves perceive their work and make sense of their career paths. Work-related topics, especially among female professionals, always require attention to be paid to the organization of care and work. This means that emphasis will also be placed on the ways in which individual women negotiate between economic, familial and care responsibilities.

Finally, in the last section, in 6.3, transnational family relationships will be central. The issues that will be discussed will range from practical aspects of 'staying in touch', including visits and communication practices, to more abstract notions of what it means and how it feels to live apart as a family. Also, tensions and obligations related to the ideals and practices of transnational care will be considered.

5.1 The Diversity of Reasons for Migration

The interviewees of this research project had very different and complex motives for migration and moved to Vienna for a diversity of reasons. The motivations and aims related to transnational migration and its associated strategies are numerous, so that it is difficult to single out unique and singular reasons for migration. Usually, structural circumstances, such as high unemployment, poverty, political instability and low prospects boost individual and personal motivations. The reasons and motivations for migration range from a broad spectrum of very personal and familial reasons to economic, and political circumstances that transform transnational mobility and migration into a promising and vital undertaking. In fact, personal, familial and economic reasons are often combined as Salika's case exemplifies:

So I wanted to take economic responsibilities too, to financially help my family at this time to complete the building. Because my husband has to help the mother and the sister also at that time, so I said yes that is right, the mother and the sister you can help, and I will send some money. And of course I had a babysitter and another one to take care of the house, because I helped them a lot before.

Migration is often motivated by a feeling of responsibility for family matters and a sense of having to look after the family (Zontini, 2010). For Salika, helping her family meant principally providing for them economically. That's why she decided to migrate, to take financial responsibility and to make sure that her children are supported:

My aim was to support my children. I want my daughters to have houses, it is very important to have a house. If a parent can give a house, a present, it is a nice thing. I knew how important it is to have a house. The boys get the house, my brother got the house, and my sister and me got the plantation. That is why my aim is to give a present to my daughters, a house. That is why my aim is to build two houses for my daughters, as a present. So I started the foundation, started the first floor, but then my husband's father passed away and he had other responsibilities. So okay, I said 'take care of your mother and sister', but I will not stop what I started. And my sister needed help too here. So I came here. I had everything organised in Sri Lanka, the babysitters, I looked after them very well, their payments, everything I send from here. Every month.

Women tend to have different and complex motives for migration, often tied to family migration strategies. They often migrate to improve financially their own situation and that of their families and to improve future prospects, such as education for their children (Kofman et al., 2000:22). Moreover family reasons possibly include material

and non-material help and support for family members, efforts to improve their families' standard of living and joining family members abroad. Salika explains that she migrated to Vienna because of three reasons. The reasons and motives she depicts include familial and economic considerations and strategies:

I came to Vienna because of three reasons, first is my sister had fought a divorce case, she had two children, because the husband was taking too much of alcohol and second I started building two houses, two units actually for my daughters and I got stuck with money to complete the second unit, because my husband's father passed away and he had the liability and responsibility of taking care of the mother and the sister. So I said okay your mother and your sister are really important in your life too, it is okay that part of your money you want to spend and give to them too, but I will go to Vienna, help my sister and send the money to complete the unit and of course I had a babysitter for the children. Now she is an old lady, she told me that she will take care of my children, my husband and everything, because I have helped her a lot. So she remembered that and her son remembered that.

For Salika, migration proved to be a strategy that enabled her to fulfil familial obligations and requirements and to pursue her own project of building her house in Sri Lanka. At some point during our conversation Salika says that due to her decision to migrate she managed to solve different problems at once.

If I stayed in Sri Lanka it would have been difficult to do all those things. My sister's marriage would have ended up in a divorce and then the difficulty of building my house. Then also I am there with my husband who has to look after this and that, everything was difficult, then only you have problems, you know. So because I came I took this decision all those problems were solved.

For Dana, transnational migration is also a strategy of adaptation and coping. However, Dana's case is primarily about coping with unemployment and the consequent lack of economic and social opportunities in the context of the post-communist transition of the Czech Republic.

Seit 1989 wirklich schwere Situation Arbeit zu finden. Ich war ohne Arbeit, die ganze Firma für die ich gearbeitet habe ging in Konkurs. Ich war 42 Jahre und für diese Leute war keine Chance für Arbeit im Büro. Dann war ich am Arbeitsamt und hatte keine Chance und später Kollegin hat ein Inserat gezeigt das man in Wien eine Arbeiterin für Restaurant sucht.

According to Morokvasic (2004:8) a large number of women are on the move due to the economic and social transformations and related insecurities, which are characteristic of most post-communist societies. These women are migrating in

search for better opportunities, thereby exploring new 'spaces of possibilities' (Morokvasic, 2004:9) and facing new market conditions abroad (Morokvasic, 2004:8). In this context, spatial and transnational mobility is used as a strategy for adaptation to changes brought about by post-communist transformations. In that sense transnational practices and transborder activities must be considered as employment-related and thus entrepreneurial strategies among women migrants (ibid.).

Da war eine Telefonnummer. Meine Kollegin hat ein bisschen Deutsch gesprochen, ich gar nicht, gar nichts. Aber es war tschechisches Restaurant mit einer tschechischen Chefin und tschechischem Personal. Okay wir haben es probiert, für einen Monat und dann sagt Chefin ja. Also ich und meine Kollegin haben probiert, sind nach Wien gefahren zu diesem Restaurant an der neuen Donau.

Morokvasic (2004) discloses that most transnational approaches in migration studies underline and accentuate the durability and sustainability of transnational links over time, thereby excluding phenomena which may be transient, while transnational in essence (Morokvasic 2004: 9). These transborder activities should also be emphasised, especially since short-term movements in the form of shuttles – regular or undocumented, for purposes of work have become major forms of European migrations in post-1989 societies (Wallace and Stola, 2001; Morawska, 2000 in Morokvasic 2004: 8). Dana, for example, oscillates between her home in Brno and Vienna on a regular basis for work purposes.

Ich pendle mit Linienbus, ich pendle Wien-Brünn. Da gibt es viele Frauen wie ich, ganz viele, sie sind schon Freundinnen. Sie arbeiten alle in Wien, als Heimhilfe, bei alten Menschen. Ich bin nur Putzfrau.

Borrowing the term from Morokvasic (2004), I consider Dana a woman who is 'settled within mobility' (Morokvasic, 2004: 7) and her transnational and cross-border movements thus as a strategy for coping with deskilling and sudden unemployment after the revolutions of 1989. In her particular situation, transnational mobility, although always short-lived and ephemeral, is employed as a means to maintain and improve her social status and welfare at home in Brno.

Ich habe keine Zeit, ich bin ein paar Tage in Tschechien, und dann fahre ich wieder nach Wien und hier arbeite ich von früh bis Abend, jeden Tag. In Tschechien arbeite ich nicht, es ist nur Zuhause.

Although, mobility can be an empowering resource and active investment in the future, it may also create and perpetuate precarious life circumstances. At some

point during our conversation, Dana highlights the precarious and difficult aspects of her 'mobile life'.

Das ist wirklich schweres Leben, aber ich habe keine andere Chance. In Tschechien sind zu viele Leute ohne Arbeit, Obdachlose, zu viel.

While Dana's migration is a strategy of coping with unemployment and lack of economic opportunities, Arianna's migration is also strategic, albeit in quite a different way. For her, migration was primarily about gaining personal autonomy and to escape parental control. Zontini (2010) and Kofman (et al. 2000) explain that a large number of women migrate because of unhappy relationships and marriages and perceive migration as a means of resisting and escaping at least some aspects of the restrictive and limiting structures in which they live their lives. Although, Dana and Arianna's migration strategies, their reasons for migration and the conditions under which they migrate differ tremendously, they also have something in common. For both women transnational mobility is a means to stay connected with their homes and families, because their '*leaving home and going away*' is, however, '*paradoxically a strategy of staying at home*' (Morokvasic, 2004:7) Arianna explains that she had to migrate and leave her family in order to be able to handle her life and gain independence from her family, yet stay connected with them from a distance.

In a way being away is also a way of being able to stay with them. I think if I had stayed at home I would have had to confront a lot of issues and they would have been confronting me all the time. It would have been a very close situation- my mom loves me so much and would not have allowed for me to be living in New York and not see her often. It would not happen and I think by going away I have kind of run away from these problems, but I don't think it is the worst thing, I think it is one way of handling the situation.

Other so-called familial reasons for migration include marriage and the creation of a new family. Maria came to Vienna out of curiosity before she got pregnant.

Ich wollte hier herkommen um es kennenzulernen hier, aber das war bevor ich schwanger war, und als ich schwanger war, ging es nicht mehr nur ums kennenlernen, sondern ums hier leben. Dann habe ich meine Arbeit gekündigt, meine Familie verabschiedet und bin hier her gekommen. Deswegen habe ich am Anfang gesagt es war ein Null-anfang, ohne nichts, kein Deutsch, zwei Kinder geboren und sehr, sehr gute Freundinnen.

The women, whose narratives are emphasised here, have different educational levels, legal statuses and socio-cultural backgrounds. Due to these socio-cultural differences and other particular biographical circumstances, they have

different reasons and motivations for migration and pursue different strategies for combining work, self-fulfilment and family responsibilities. In this sense, the diversity of women on the move reflects the multiple rationalities and strategies that are pursued in the context of transnational migration.

Families' perspective on migration

It is assumed that the ways in which family members judge and evaluate the decision to migrate by another family member affects the migration experiences of migrants and also their sense of duty and familial responsibility. The opinions and perspectives of family members, whether actually articulated or imagined by the migrant, influence the ways in which mobile subjects feel and think about their mobility, their strategies and family obligations. Thus, the perspectives and evaluation of family members also influence the ways in which migrants justify and make sense of their decision to migrate and their transnational lives. Salika, for example, makes a link between her families' approval of her decision to migrate and the good commitments and reasons of this decision. According to Salika, the good and virtuous rationale underlying her decisions and the organization and management of the steps to be taken, justify her migration trajectory to her family and herself.

My family was okay with my decision to migrate because I had good purposes. And I was not leaving anybody alone or anything, I had a very good babysitter, and she grew up with us and I have helped her a lot with her financial situation, she had a land and it was mortgaged and she could not pay back, so I helped her and gave her the land. So she said in this situation, okay, you go and I will take care of your family, the children, the husband and the house. So she was taking care of everything.

Salika underlines that she was not leaving anybody alone and that she had organised a setting in which her children are cared for, thereby enabling her to leave and pursue other endeavours with good conscience. She also highlights her organisation skills and the fact that she actively and diligently takes care of matters in her life.

I was the main organiser! I talked with my husband, but everything was organised by me.

Salika mentions that she was supported both by her husband and a family, with whom she is not directly related to, but whom she has assisted in the past.

When I decided to come here, her son came and told us they would give us all our support, because you saved the land for us. My mother will take care of your children, go abroad! And build your house.

Significantly, Salika was supported by her husband, who relieved her of some of the familial and practical responsibilities that she had before she moved to Vienna.

I have a very good father for the children. So when I came here it was not that difficult, because the babysitter is there and the father is very close to them. He is the one who dropped them, picked them.

My impression is that Salika's decision to migrate was facilitated and supported by her family and close social network and that this support felt comforting and reassuring. Thus, this support together with the underlying perspectives of her family on migration might have been crucial in alleviating Salika's migration trajectory and her subjective impressions and feelings about it. Usually, however, family members develop different and sometimes even conflicting views on the migration experience and on the decision of relatives to migrate (Baldassar *et al.*, 2007:7). Salika's daughter, Ashiya, who was very young when her mother left for work in Vienna, seems to be at ease with her mother's decision to migrate.

I don't know why we did not migrate as a family, why she went alone, but I think this is very personal, I think we were too small, we were kids and we were sent to school and somebody had to look after us, while she was working abroad, therefore she decided that our father takes care of us. And my father was really a good father; he really looked after us well. When he dropped us to school, took us, came back, fed us, he did everything, we had all the comforts

Maria emphasises that it was her autonomous decision to move to Vienna and that she also has to cope with the consequences on her own. In fact, in some families migration is essentially valued and evaluated as an important part of growing up (Chamberlain and Leydesdorff, 2004). Maria says that she always felt that her family welcomed her warmly whenever she returned.

Es war nicht ihre Entscheidung, es war mein Leben. Sie waren mit mir, sie haben mich unterstützt, sie haben mich geliebt, sie haben mich immer wieder, wirklich immer wieder gut willkommen, als ich dort war, drei Monate, zwei Monate, jedes Jahr als die Kinder klein waren.

In some familial contexts, however, different ideas and evaluations about migration and transnational mobility can cause tensions and conflicts between family member and relatives. In cases where the decision to migrate is not wholly supported and

accepted by other family members, some degree of resentment towards the migrant becomes apparent. An explanation for this could be that migration and the subsequent distance from family is interpreted and evaluated negatively as an abandonment of family duties and responsibilities. Individuals, on the other hand, with a so-called 'licence to leave' are likely to enjoy less fractious family relationships than those individuals whose migration meets with disapproval (Baldassar *et al.*, 2007:11). In Arianna's case, the relationship with her brother deteriorated due to the fact that she left home and went to Vienna, while he stayed with their parents back home.

The weird thing in the whole situation is that my brother judges me much more than my parents. I think my brother sees me as being a little traitor and just having abandoned everybody in general by being here. My parents don't see it that way and they don't make me feel that way. My mom's feeling is more an emotional one that she truly just misses me and my dad actually supports me completely. I think he does not have any big problems with it. And my brother gives me that guilt for it. I don't know why, I think, my feeling about my brother is that I am living out parts of himself, that he wishes he could live out, this free side, this leaving and starting your own thing and he is a bit stuck in the life we grew up with and the life that he has problems with. And I think he resents me for doing what he did not do actually. And also I think he feels left alone with all that responsibility for our parents, this I can understand, might be a bit heavy.

Arianna addresses questions and feelings of guilt, rivalry and jealousy among siblings and finally also the inequity in parent care among siblings. It seems that at the core of Arianna's brother's resentments is the idea that Arianna's migration implies her abandonment of familial responsibilities for shared caregiving and mutual support. This also exemplifies that concepts and ideas of morality, including a sense of indebtedness to one's family and parents, shape emotional dynamics (Abu-Lughod in Svasek, 2008:222). Arianna's story illustrates that individuals, whose migration decision is not appreciated and supported and who lack a so-called 'license to leave', often feel or are made to feel guilty.

Every year I get this, I feel this guilt trip that I have to come home, if I don't go home once a year I am a bad daughter, I have to do this and then every time I come home I feel like I am gonna get slammed and until the last time I was home, every time I got slammed. For my mother, for my father, for my brother, guilt trips, guilt trips.

It is not like that my mom is fully okay with me being away, and my father neither. They say they are okay with it, but when I get home and right before I get home, these guilt trips come about me being away. I can feel it. But I also know I could not survive if I stayed.

Despite the fact that Arianna clearly has to tolerate and deal with negative and uncomfortable feelings, accusations and demands from her family, she still does not regret her decisions. The opinions and concerns of her family do not fully determine how she feels about her life trajectory and the related decisions she made and is going to make in the future. Obviously, however, her families' attitudes towards her mobile life-style do have an impact and complicate the relationship dynamics between them. Nevertheless, she is certain that she could not cope with the narrowness of the situation at home, being constantly surrounded by her family. Thus, 'being away' and the adoption of mobile strategies satisfy her individual and subjective needs at the best.

Home and Belonging

Being grounded is not necessarily about being fixed, being mobile is not necessarily about being detached (Ahmed and Fortier et al., 2003:4)

Home and belonging are strong words that usually mean a lot of different things to different people. It is commonly assumed that migration and transnational mobility impact and change the meanings of home and belonging and that migration involves complex and affective processes of leaving, returning to and making new homes. Ahmed (1999), for instance, points to the fact that home actually gains affective significance through mobility and movement away from home (Ahmed, 1999:331). Also, Ahmed and Fortier (*et al.*, 2003) use the concept of 'uprootings/regroundings' to challenge the idea of homes as natural origins and as contrary to migration and change (Ahmed and Fortier *et al.*, 2003:1). Despite the indisputably quite affective qualities of homes for most people, Salika accentuates the practicability of having two homes. At least, for her having multiple homes seems okay and unexceptional, something that she is used to in her life.

I will be there and here, both places. Some months here, some months there. My life was always like that. I can do two things; have two jobs, two homes. It has always been that way for me.

Salika is simultaneously attached to and involved in multiple localities and she says she feels at home in two places. In fact, she feels she belongs to these two distant places, Vienna and Colombo and feels attached to people from these two localities. For her belonging connotes primarily issues of responsibility and well-being.

I belong here and there, both now. Because I think I am doing very well here too and there are a lot of people waiting for me here too, especially the children. So I stand responsibility. And I am happy to be here too.

Salika is a transnational migrant par excellence. She takes action, makes decisions and assumes social positions that simultaneously connect her to two distant localities and social fields. Her simultaneous embeddedness in multiple and distant networks of relationships supersedes national and cultural boundaries and her subjectivity and identity are configured in relationship to more than one nation-state and society (Glick Schiller *et al.*, 1995). The multiplicity of involvements in multiple social spaces and the subsequent attachments that link together her society of origin and settlement are an essential element of transnationalism (Basch, Glick Schiller and Szanton Blanc, 1994:7).

I am active here and I have a lot of friends here, I am doing a lot of things here. Still I have contacts to my Sri Lankan relations, with people in Sri Lanka too. From here I am in contact with them and I go to Sri Lanka regularly and when I go now to Sri Lanka I take my students, my friends to Sri Lanka and they stay with me and I show them around and they meet my family. And we are together and I am very happy about that.

Salika maintains multiple social relations that connect her to different localities and she is embedded in different and distant social fields. Nevertheless, Salika engaged in transnational ways of being, but not really in transnational ways of belonging. Glick Schiller and Levitt (2004) make a distinction between ways of being and ways of belonging in transnational social fields. Accordingly, they differentiate between the existence of transnational social worlds and the consciousness and implicitness of engaging in these worlds (Glick Schiller and Levitt, 2004:1006). Transnational arrangements and activity does not necessarily involve identification with or sympathy for the values and politics associated with it. Salika engages in transnational ways of being and practices, but she does not emphasise a conscious identity as a result of this being. Therefore, according to these criteria she is not explicitly engaging in transnational ways of belonging, although she expresses a sense of transnational awareness.

During our discussions and talks, Salika suddenly addressed her citizenship status. She told me that she has Austrian citizenship, but emphasises that she perceives it as a pragmatic solution and status, thereby seemingly negating the relationship between formal citizenship and issues of belonging. Thus, for Salika belonging signifies an affective state of mind, or rather an affair of the heart, which implies that one *feels* to belong.

This is only theoretically, but practically I am just Sri Lankan and all my friend's relations are there. And when I am there, the moment I step on that land I have the feeling that I am part of there. And it is the same thing, these are just theoretical things, the only thing I have to take visa, pay some money, it does not matter.

Whereas Salika seems to feel at ease with her transnational way of life and rarely mentions difficulties and worries related to it, other migrants experience emotional ambivalences and sorrow as a result of transnational mobility.

Ich kenne Leute, die haben Wohnung dort und hier und leben dort sechs Monate und die anderen sechs Monate hier und es gibt für diese Menschen eine große Problematik, weil die Gefühle kommen und gehen in zwei Wegen, es ist wirklich, wirklich sehr hart. Zum Beispiel diese Freunde haben hier, bessere Versorgung für Gesundheit, und sie fühlen sich hier, also vom Arzt und Kosten haben sie viel mehr Möglichkeiten als dort, aber dort werden sie nicht krank, dort einfach sind sie lebendiger und brauchen überhaupt keinen Arzt. Sie kommen hier her und es beginnt mit Verkühlungen und Schmerzen.

In most cases transnational migration is an emotional journey that involves complex and ambivalent emotional dynamics (Ryan, 2008), in which affect and emotion make up a significant portion of transnational experiences (Conradson and McKay, 2007; Skrbis and Svasek, 2007). Maria's story illustrates that feelings and actual physical presence in a specific locality must not always coincide, which is, however, sometimes described as problematic.

In meinen Gefühlen bin ich sozusagen bis 2005 dort gewesen, meine Wohnung, mein Zuhause, mein Haus war in Kali, mit meinen Beziehungen und alles. Jetzt ist es aber das Haus meiner Mutter und ich komme gerne auf Besuch, aber früher konnte ich das nicht wechseln. Mein Haus war nicht in Wien, im dritten Bezirk, mein Haus war dort.

Maria says quite clearly that feelings and emotions are essential and indispensable for her sense of home. In fact, for Maria home is not primarily about a place, a locality, but essentially about being one with herself and others. Thus, the idea of home generates positive feelings and reflects the security and comfort of finding one's place within the world. In this respect Maria confirms Rapport and Dawson's approach to understanding home in non-spatialised ways as where one best knows oneself (Rapport and Dawson, 1998:27).

Als ich mich ein bisschen besser kannte, als ich mich mit mir selbst konfrontiert habe, als ich mit mir als Mensch, als Individuum eine gute Beziehung gegründet und gebaut habe, dann war ich hier zuhause. Es war

spät, ich war 49, nein 50, genau, Jahre alt. Also, in dem Moment als ich mehr mit mir konnte, also mehr Dinge in mir akzeptiert habe, mehr genießen konnte, habe ich das andere Zuhause nicht mehr als Zuhause beschrieben. Für mich war immer mein Haus dort und nicht hier. Das war dann anders.

While locality and place still play a role in the imagination and memories of home, Maria nevertheless, emphasises that 'her home' is always with her, wherever and whenever she moves. In this instance we are reminded that people are not necessarily at home in a place, but 'in a life being lived in movement' (Berger, 1984:64 in Dawson and Rapport, 1998:27).

Du denkst nicht immer wieder wo ist mein Zuhause, sondern das Zuhause ist, dein Zuhause geht mit dir wohin du gehst. In meinem Hintergrund aber, in meinen Gefühlen 'Mia casa, mein Zuhause war dort', aber das waren keine Gespräche, so jammern oder so. Nein, ich konnte es, ich habe es geschafft. Also diesen guten Job habe ich schon länger. Siebzehn Jahre. Ich hatte Glück diesen Job zu finden, großes Glück. Aber ich bin schon fast in Pension. Ich bin schon so weit, gut mit mir selbst organisiert, sodass ich keine Probleme habe, ich könnte hier und dort weiterleben, weil meine Familie in Österreich ist, aber ich könnte auch zurück und auch dort gut leben, aber es wird nicht sein, ohne meine Familie, weil ich hier meine Familie gegründet habe.

In another moment, Maria underlines the role of her family in determining her 'homely' feelings, thereby reinforcing the assumption that family and familiarity are substantial for a sense of home.

Für mich ist keine religiöse Bedingung oder gar nichts, sondern privat, persönlich, von meiner Seele, von mir aus, das wichtigste in meinem Leben ist meine Familie die ich hier gegründet habe. Und deswegen habe ich hier mein Zuhause. Der Rest meiner Familie ist meine Verwandtschaft, die ich liebe, die ich in meiner Erinnerung bearbeite, jede Minute wenn ich Zeit übrig habe, aber die Familie ist die da, diese Familie hier, meine zwei Kinder und mein Mann.

The idea of home-as-familiarity is also reflected in Ashiya's account, in which home is 'sentimentalized as a space of belonging' (Ahmed 1999:341) and love.

Home for me is where your heart belongs. Heart in the sense of where your friends, where your family is and whom you love I think. Maybe it changes, I don't know. So home must not always be a place, but wherever you feel well with your loved ones.

Home often evokes positive associations related to rootedness, protection and heartiness. Despite Ashiya's positive connotation of home as an ideal place, some people experience home as a sites for conflict, transformation and ferocity (Ahmed and Fortier *et al.*, 2003:1). Arianna, for example, has mixed feelings about home.

I don't know why, but I don't enjoy home like other people do. I mean, of course, it is good, but really, I have mixed feelings about it.

Although Arianna has mixed feelings about home, what it means to her and what she considers home, it becomes clear that she associates home with her parent's home in the U.S.

At this point, I mean I know I have changed by being here for ten years, I mean I have been here for a third of my life, which is crazy. But I accept this now, but I think back then it was, when I first started going home, I kind of resented the differences. I was also kind of critical of America, probably also as a way of validating for myself why I choose to be here. Especially, because I am from New York, so often I feel like I have to prove to people and explain why I have done this, why I decided to move away. At this point of time tough, I have kind of relaxed into the situation and I think both places are great. There are specific things that I don't want to have in my life that would be part of my life if I lived in America.

Still, I feel at home in New York, but it has a touch of the past, which Vienna does not have for me. Vienna, for me personally, has to do more with my future, I think.

Arianna admits that she often balances the reasons, makes comparisons between New York and Vienna and concludes that both places have their advantages and disadvantages. She feels well connected to both places, but she associated Vienna more with future-oriented activities and processes.

5.2 Women on the Move

Women were sometimes assumed to migrate primarily to reunite with and accompany their breadwinner migrant husbands, rather than as active, strategic and mobile subjects in their respective lives and as global players in the labour market (Mahler and Pessar, 2006: 26-27; Phizacklea, 2003:82). In this sense, migrant women are mostly considered as dependent and passive followers of men and women's mobility and movement is thus often subsumed under the category of family reunification and issues (Brettell, 2003:139). In the conversations with my interviewees, however, I got the impression that most of these women were eager to present themselves as active and resourceful migrants. This self-assessment actually reflects an increasingly popular view in the social sciences, which conceives individual subjects no longer necessarily as determined victims, but as people with the innate agency to modify, change, interact with and respond to social situations. Salika is a good example for someone who stresses her agency over a lack of power and capacity to act. Salika appears to be a very self-confident woman, who strongly believes in her abilities and her strength of character, including her ability to achieve and her assertiveness. She evaluates past achievements and her sense of agency and comes to the following conclusion:

If I want to achieve something I achieve somehow. I was building two houses for my daughters, two of them, in Colombo. And in the middle of it my husband's father passed away and he had the responsibility of looking after the mother and the sister. That is the reason why I came.

Although Salika seems very determined and resolute in reflecting on her accomplishments and the successes she has made so far during her life course, she also allows herself to identify the shortcomings and speaks also about doubts and missed chances.

If I were unhappy I would not have stayed, because back home life is okay also. But that is also karma, what has to happen happens. But I am always thinking now about my achievements, of course I have made a career here, bought an apartment, but what does it mean if my husband is not here now. I feel without having bought the apartment, okay, I had the career, I have the plantation also, if I'd gone back at least he would be there. I have this feeling sometimes.

Salika stresses her autonomy and self-responsibility and guarantees that she makes her own assessments and decisions.

Some nights I think a lot and get up early in the morning, think what to do, how to handle the situation, mediate a little bit and then it comes to my mind what to do and what not to do. There is nobody who can give me advices, I take my own decisions.

At this point, however, it is important to keep in mind that Salika comes from a relatively wealthy family and that she probably has internalised her class-consciousness, which may explain why she emphasises autonomy and responsibility over constraints, powerlessness and the inability to act.

I had my own plantation so I could go whenever I want. I had always this one for this, this one for that and with the phone I control 'Are you doing this, are you doing that?'

While Salika seems more confident regarding her situations and about meeting her challenges, Angela is more afraid and presents herself less confident. She also faces greater challenges and encounters limiting structures, institutional barriers and social hurdles.

Mein Wunsch ist das Papier. Der erste Wunsch Papier, dann normal arbeiten, normales Leben.

During the period in which Angela and I met frequently in order to engage in conversations, she was appealing against the state's refusal to grant her asylum in Austria. She was also without a legal permission to work. Her situation was thus obviously quite problematic and she was compelled to look for work in the informal sector of the economy.

Ich arbeite schwarz, aber wie soll ich leben ohne Arbeit und mit Kind? Ich brauche Geld, Wohnung kostet, Essen kostet, alles kostet. Ich habe keine Arbeitsbewilligung, aber wie soll ich leben. Die Caritas zahlt mir 210 Euro pro Monat für Wohnen und alles zusammen 480 Euro. Das ist für mich und Kind und Wohnung. Aber meine Wohnung kostet. Wie glauben die, dass man davon leben kann?

Angela's story exemplifies that the intersectionality of class, gender, ethnicity and age and the multiple and overlapping inequalities must be recognised in order to comprehend how social statuses and positioning influence the ways in which individuals experience, express and act in the world.

Seeking Employment and Labour Market Incorporation

Looking for work abroad, usually in an unfamiliar and novel environment, can be a challenging undertaking. Often these processes require a new orientation, strategic positioning and demonstration of one's ability.

It was a challenge. It is also how you present yourself. Coming to Austria as a woman you can start as a babysitter, for a start. It is a sin for me to ask my husband to take a bad job. I am born to a rich family, but I am very capable. He is highly qualified, but I am very capable.

Salika already addresses the gendered niches in the labour market, in which migrant women are traditionally relegated to low-paid and lower-status jobs in the service and care sectors (Kofman, 2004). Due to the reduced role of the family in providing care and cutbacks in welfare services in post-industrialised societies the demand for migrant labour is steadily increasing (Anderson, 2000; Anthias and Lazaridis, 2000 in Kofman, 2004:651).

Alle Leute arbeiten, das ist ganz normal. Freundinnen aus Ukraine und Russland haben mir gesagt es gibt Arbeit. Ich habe Arbeit als Kindermädchen bei einer österreichischen Familie und die haben mir dann andere Kontakte vermittelt, Mutter und Bruder haben auch Hilfe gebraucht. Und dann habe ich für die ganze Familie gearbeitet, auf Kinder aufpassen und putzen. Sechs mal pro Woche.

Similarly, Dana reassures that there is a steady demand for housekeeping jobs and thereby confirms Sassen's observation that we are witnessing a return of the so-called 'serving classes in globalized cities around the world, composed largely of immigrant and migrant women' (Sassen, 2000:510).

Meine Kollegin hatte einen Bekannten in Wien, ein Tscheche, aber schon dritte Generation in Österreich, aber er spricht noch ein bisschen Tschechisch. Sie hat gefragt für Arbeit und er hat gesagt es gibt zwei Familien die brauchen Putzfrauen. Ich bin eine Familie und Kollegin andere Familie. Aber das war nur ein Tag, aber später, später kommen andere dazu und zur Zeit habe ich zu viele.

Salika explains how she advertised for employment and how she emphasised her English-skills and teaching experience.

I put an advertisement on the paper, in which I was looking for a situation for English teaching, and I have very good references, and to pick and drop kids or something like this. And then Gabi saw this and called me. She was expecting Mario, you know, Dominik and Consti were there, going to the Kindergarten at that time. Gabi liked me so much. I told her that I am not

used to looking after children, I always had babysitters myself in the house. And she said she just wants me to drop and pick the children from Kindergarden and bring them home. This is all I want, nothing more, she said.

Demand for migrant labour makes the transformations within the welfare states and the division of work within families perceptible (Zontini, 2010). Dana says that she works for very diverse families, in which both women and men engage in full-time employment. The families she works for seem to be from middle-class backgrounds and occupy good positions in their respective careers.

Ich arbeite für ganz unterschiedliche Familien. Eine Familie, da ist sie Lehrerin und er ist Ingenieur, eine andere auch, er ist Ingenieur und sie ist Lehrerin, eine junge Familie, dann sind auch alte Leute für die ich putze. Ich arbeite auch für einen Regisseur, einen Kabarettist und für Irene, sie ist Doktor, aber nicht Doktor, sie arbeitet im ORF für Kultur und macht Konzerte und so. Und Barbara ist auch Doktor, im Spital, Onkologie, aber ich weiß nicht in welchem Spital.

Interestingly, Salika points to the similarities in her and her employer's lifestyle, emphasising mobility and the organisation and struggles to combine family, childcare and career.

It is like Gabi's life, Gabi is the same, used to be the same, we have similar kind of life patterns. I was there and she was working a lot, always on call, going to other countries, seminars, conferences, you know, working, she also did the best to the children.

Three sons, two daughters and also working hard, our life patterns, she comes from Paris and goes to another country, it is like that her life, she is on call, she comes and goes, she is so busy. And then she did everything to the children, this and that holiday, she had me and Babi and a French girl downstairs babysitter. She gave the best to the children, she saw everything provided.

Salika tells me about very emotional moments, in which she felt appreciated and dignified for her efforts and which she says she will not easily forget.

I never forget the day Gabi became a professor, there was an announcement at that time, and all the doctors and all her friends went to AKH. I was invited too and took flowers. She had to give a speech and she came down the stage, she came to me and took my hand and went up the stage and said 'If not for this Sali I would not be in this place today'. Those were the words she used. The tears were running down her eyes and mine, it was a beautiful moment, I will never forget, Laura. She is strong and inside she is nice. And

*I am a strong person too, so we had a very good understanding, you see.
And the life patterns were similar too.*

Contrary to Salika, Angela stresses the difficulties and disadvantages related to her housekeeping and care-profession.

*Wenn die Leute für die ich arbeite Urlaub machen, dann muss ich auch.
Also wenn die anderen Urlaub machen, dann ich auch, auch wenn ich nicht
will. Ich werde nicht nach meiner Meinung gefragt. Und auch wenn ich
krank bin. Wenn ich krank bin für mich nicht zahlen Medizin und ich kann
nicht arbeiten und ich krieg kein Geld.*

Angela narrates one particular incidence, which best illustrates the precariousness of her situation and dependency as an illegal worker without a work permit.

*Ich hatte kein Problem mit Arbeit. Ich habe nur für österreichische Familien
gearbeitet, die meisten sind sehr nett. Eine Ausnahme nur, ein sehr
schlechter Mann. Zu viel Geld und ohne Familie, große Wohnung im ersten
Bezirk, keine Frau, keine Kinder, vielleicht 60 Jahre alt. Er hat gesagt ich
muss morgen kommen putzen und ich sage nein, weil Wochenende und ich
habe Kind, ich nicht springen wenn du willst. Er hat geantwortet 'nein, du
musst, wenn du morgen nicht kommst, dann geh' ich zur Polizei und zeig
dich an'. Das war großes Problem. Ich habe gesagt, nein, ich komme nicht,
geh Polizei. Nachher habe ich nicht mehr gearbeitet für diesen Mann.*

Social Status and Mobility

Social status and mobility can change during the process of transnational migration. On the one hand, women probably improve financially their situation for themselves and their families when they work abroad, on the other hand, however, their social status can deteriorate because they land a low-status job in the domestic and caring sector. Parreñas, (2001b) speaks in this context of a contradictory class mobility (Parreñas, 2001b). In fact, many female migrants with high school diplomas and even university degrees experience de-skilling and disqualification in the context of transnational migration (Frieze, 1995; Andall, 2000; Zontini, 2001 in Kofman, 2004:651). Salika, however, seems to confirm that migration did not impact her status position.

*No, I am high there; I kept up the same standard here. I never took up any
bad job here, I never wanted to. I did also the Cambridge exams here.*

Similarly, Kofman (2000) challenges the dominant focus on poorly skilled female workers from rural backgrounds in scholarly debates on women migrants and argues

that an increasing number of women in fact take up skilled employment in feminised sectors, such as the health and education sector (Kofman, 2000 in Kofman, 2004:650). Salika explains in this context that class matters and that class status and belonging determine what kind of job you will do.

It is like this: it depends on the class of people, so if you are educated you come here and get a job as a teacher, as an educated person.

However, we have to keep in mind, that still a large number of women with a high status in their countries of origin, do face de-classing and disqualification in their country of work (Metz-Göckel *et al.*, 2008:17-18). So even though transnational mobility can secure a family's status and can be used by individuals as a strategy to resist the decline of their social condition at home (Metz-Göckel *et al.*, 2008:17-18), it may also involve de-skilling and disempowerment. Moreover, the migrant women and care providers are often themselves middle class, academics or professionals in their countries of origin (Metz-Göckel *et al.*, 2008:17).

The maids are like cooking and cleaning and you know things like that. So the educated person I think will not do something like this, it is hard for them to do a babysitting job, I have never done, because I had babysitters myself and I have never done things like that. But what I can do, with big children, bring them to school, drop them, pick them up, I can do some English with them, I can sleep over.

Erel (2007) reminds us that migrant women life stories often produce accounts of their selves that challenge the ways in which dominant discourses position them. Salika, for example, often seems to refuse an inclusion on the basis of similarity to other migrants and highlights her exceptional transnational experiences. She emphasises that her story is different and unique.

My story is different. Actually what I did for Gabi is at seven o'clock in the morning I took them to the Kindergarten, dropped them and then I went to the Vienna International School, I was a substitute teacher and then I pick them from school at three o'clock and brought them home and I went back, then the babysitter or Babi the cleaning woman was here and then I came back at seven o'clock in the evening. When I came I read the English books for them, stories, and we had dinner together and we went to bed. That is it. So that was like my own children, what I did as a mother, so that was very good and I was very comfortable. And Gabi was so nice; she never asked me to do any cleaning or any other thing. I have never done those things. So I was part of the family, you see, at a different level.

Salika tells about experiences in which she had the feeling that she had to prove to others that she is not poor and uneducated, but that she is generous and broad-

minded. She also highlights her feelings and her display of belonging through civil participation and charitable activities.

Once a week I went to Caritas to work with a group of young people, handicapped people. I was teaching English, music and a combination with mediation, they really loved me. I took money for this at the beginning and then I came home thinking and thinking and thinking, but these people are very nice, but not normal, so not nice, so I said I am coming every Friday, but I am doing it for free, I don't want any money. So from Caritas they interviewed me and asked me why I am doing it for free; 'Why don't you want money, you come from a third world country, why don't you take money?' and I said 'money is not everything, I come from a third world country, this is right, but for me money is not everything! They are handicapped people and I am in Austria and I earn my money and I have some kind of patriotism and responsibility to your country too.

Civil participation is clearly important for a sense of belonging, self-consciousness and agency. Likewise, labour participation abroad often enhances the power and status of women migrants within their respective families and transnational social fields (Brettell, 2003:146). For example, women suddenly take on the role of the main breadwinner, thereby reversing traditional gendered divisions of labour.

From here I used to control everything. From here I am controlling the plantation, from here I am controlling the house. I have done everything, I had done the setting, everything, I trained the boy from young age, he knows it, I trained this woman, every week or twice a week I call and find out if everything is in order.

Gender relations, including the division of parental responsibilities, change as a consequence of new living and working arrangements in the process of migration (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2000:116). Salika emphasises that her husband, who is also the father of her two children, facilitated and assisted her migration by taking on child-care responsibilities. However, interestingly, Salika ascribes his support and caring attitudes to his Tamil ethnic identity.

The Sinhalese boys are spoiled, because of the money and all that, they try to have fun, they take little responsibility, but Tamil boys are responsible and very good to the mother and the wife. My husband was very good. So it was easy for me to leave the children and come here, he was a very good father to the children.

Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila (1997) demonstrate that transnational mothers are improvising new mothering arrangements to fit transnational migration and

employment and transform the meaning of motherhood to accommodate spatial and temporal separations:

Transnational mothers seek to mesh caregiving and guidance with breadwinning. While breadwinning may require long-term and long-distance separations from their children, they attempt to sustain family connections by showing emotional ties through letters, phone calls and money sent home. They maintain their mothering responsibilities not only by earning money for their children's livelihood but also by communicating and advising across national borders (Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila, 1997:564)

5.3 Transnational Families: Tensions and Obligations

Transnational families are families that live some or most of the time separated, but still maintain a sense of collective unity and welfare (Brycseon and Vuorela, 2002:3). In families that live together most of the time as well as in transnational families, emotions play a central and significant role. In fact, transnational family members, despite living apart, develop and negotiate bonds of emotion in transnational social and intimate spheres (Baldassar et al., 2007). Arianna describes complicated and somehow negative feelings about going home.

When I go to New York I can't just purely enjoy New York City the way that other people do, you know, I sit there and I feel the pressure from my family and I feel all the negative experiences that I grew up with that I don't want to see all the time, I don't want to face it constantly. I wanted a new start, obviously, and I found it and I think it is okay.

Arianna exemplifies that transnational family relations are not always supportive and amiable, but that they can be conflict-ridden.

It is not always the easiest to go home, it is not just an uncomplicated situation, I don't try to do it too often. My mom comes and visits me also about once a year, so that is how we see each other enough, twice a year.

However, even though Arianna speaks about the difficulties of being close to home and her family, she also says that she misses something. When she visits home, she is always reminded of that longing.

When I go home then that feeling, that feeling of longing that I am missing something by being here, comes up. When I am here not at all. It is really only a week before I get home and then the time I am home and then a week after I am home and it kind of goes away again.

Thus, despite the tensions, disagreements and difficulties that some transnational family members experience, migration and the subsequent occasional absence from family, can also generate positive changes in the emotional connection within transnational families (Mckay,2007:180). Arianna experiences distance from familiar environments and family as increased freedom for self-development and fulfilment.

Actually, the reality is I feel much better being away than being with my family. This is the conclusion I have come to. When I came here I never had the conscious decision like 'I need to leave my family, this is why I am here', but I have been here now for almost ten years and I am able now to reflect a

bit more and I realise this was a way of escaping my family, for sure. And if I had a closer family, then I certainly would not have been able to do this, because I see the shock in people's eyes like 'how could you be so far away from your family? I could not do that'. And I am envious of those people, because I wish I had this feeling, but I don't.

Salika's priorities and needs are quite different and even contrary to Arianna's ones. She states that she always wanted to have regular contact and telecommunication with her family abroad. At the same time, however, she announces her contentedness and luck of having trusted people, including other family members, to take care of her children. In a way, Salika's story also highlights that as a consequence of transnational mobility the transfer of familial and caring responsibilities to other family members is crucial. In that sense, Salika confirms Zontini's (2010) and Al-Ali's (2002) assumption that in the context of transnational migration traditional gender roles within families are transformed.

Almost every day I talked to them. My husband was so good they never felt it, he did so much for the children. And my babysitter never went home, she went home after I went only, she never went home. Everything was done and my husband did so many extra things to make them happy. And they were very happy. My relations were also often in the house. And they did a lot of extra activity, you see.

Mobility and distance do not necessarily dissolve intimate relations (Sorenson, 2005 in McKay, 2007:180). Following Goulbourne and Chamberlain (2001) Salika approves that geographical distance is no barrier to being a 'close' family and that in transnational relationships the 'tightness' of emotional bonds', and the levels of 'trust' expected and experienced between family members' is also given (Goulbourne and Chamberlain, 2001:42 in Zontini, 2010:533).

We used telephones, everything was there and organised, and my husband is a very good person, wonderful person and we had a very good relationship, a very strong love marriage. Difficult love marriage also, I mean a difficult situation to get permission, but we managed to get our parents blessings and had a very good understanding, although we were in two different places, we trusted each other and talked with each other often.

For most transnational migrants communication and 'staying in touch' with distant family member is very important. Moreover, the desire and efforts to 'stay in touch' is usually not only about maintaining open means of communication, but also about maintaining emotional connection and support (Baldassar, 2007:387). Significantly, emotions and relationships can alter and develop in unforeseen directions. Maria emphasises that the feelings for her family have changed over time and that they consequently also changed her need and willingness regarding frequent contact and

communication with them. She emphasises that at the moment she does not need to be in contact with her distant family as much as she used to be in past periods of her life.

Nach 25 Jahren in Österreich kann ich bestätigen, dass die Gefühle anders sind, aber nicht geändert. Die Gefühle über meine Familie, meine Wurzeln sind geändert. Immer im Kopf, aber nicht im Handeln. Ich brauche den Kontakt jetzt nicht mehr so wie am Anfang, telefonisch, Briefe, wissen wie es geht. Es ist ruhiger geworden.

Angela also communicates with her family – preferably via telephone and Skype and says that this kind of communication works well for her. However, she also expresses a sense of longing.

Mit meiner Familie ich habe Kontakt, wir telefonieren und skypen. Es ist kein Problem. Aber ich habe meine Tochter leider schon lange nicht gesehen und auch schon drei Jahre habe ich meinen Mann nicht mehr gesehen. Das ist ein großes Problem für mich.

Transnational family members may also consider visiting family members, both for special celebrations and for more general occasions. Arianna, however, calls attention to the fact that visits can also involve some form of disappointment.

The imagination of a visit, of seeing each other again is always better than the reality. It is so disappointing every time, and I really prepare myself, I really get ready. Smile, be positive, and then it is just not.

Family care is a significant part of transnational families and therefore also an essential aspect of the everyday practices of transnational family members (Baldassar, 2007:388), encompassing economic, practical, emotional and moral support. Transnational family care is usually influenced by the capacity of individual members and their culturally informed sense of duty to provide care, as well as individual family commitments and negotiations thereof (Baldassar *et al.*, 2007:204). The capacity to engage in transnational care can be limited severely by policies, such as visa restrictions, access to travel and mobility and migration policies.

Meine Tochter und meine Mutter haben drei Mal versucht nach Österreich zu kommen, aber sie wurden immer an der Grenze gestoppt. Sie haben es nicht nach Wien geschafft, leider, ich hab sie leider nicht gesehen. Einmal gab es Probleme mit dem Visum in Tschechien und dann mussten sie zurück, die anderen Male ich weiß nicht, es hat leider alle drei Male nicht geklappt. Und jetzt hat meine Tochter Familie, verheiratet und hat kleine Tochter, sechs Monate alt. Ich habe das Mädchen nicht gesehen, meine Enkeltochter,

nur auf Skype gesehen. Tochter und Enkeltochter sehe ich nur auf Skype. Und jetzt wo Tochter neue Familie hat, jetzt will sie nicht mehr fahren. Später vielleicht.

The provision and organization of transnational care can involve processes of conflict, disagreement and negotiations between family members. Baldassar (*et al.*, 2007) coined the term negotiated commitment in order to highlight that family caring responsibilities are an outcome of negotiations and compromises between family members, rather than fixed rules and obligations. Although values about appropriate care do exist and individuals do to some extent also internalise these normative norms, they nevertheless modify, contextualise and adjust them to their personal history and circumstances. For Arianna transnational family care is somehow a difficult topic. She addresses her complicated relationship with her brother, which according to her is related to issues of family care.

You know, I am my mother's only child, when she got breast cancer a few years ago this was a pretty strong moment in my life for many reasons, but also in regards to this, that I am actually so far away and how I deal with this now. And this created a lot of conflicts within my family. My brother kind of assumed that I should just come home, move home completely, but I was in the middle of my studies, in the middle of my life here, and so of course I did go home immediately to support her, but I did not have in mind that I would move back home. And she also did not have this in mind. She said come home now for the surgery, but you don't need to move home. But my brother put a lot of guilt on me and pressure and basically said I have to come home and this became a big issue in our family. This was actually the beginning of the big problems that started with me and my brother, which are still going on now.

Commonly, in situations of personal or familial crisis, issues of family care and relationships come to the fore. In Arianna's case her mother's disease forced her to start thinking and reflecting on her duties, feelings, familial responsibilities and the transnational management thereof.

It certainly opened my eyes to the fact that my parents are not getting younger and how I deal with that when they start to get a lot of physical problems and they need support and they want to see me. How will I manage this being so far away? And I still have not figured it out. I have no idea. If one of them had another major disease or if one of them really needs to be taken care of and they need me, I have no idea how I deal with that.

Conclusion

Consequently, anthropology is only a collection of traveller's tales.

A.R Louch, 1966 in Dawson and Rapport, 1998:19

The narrative extracts reflect the great diversity of reasons for and strategies of migration and document the variety of emotions that are involved in transnational processes. They also reveal that the individuals concerned develop unique emotional coping mechanisms and negotiate responsibilities, options and feelings according to their personal resources and backgrounds. The narrative material illustrates that different trajectories, circumstances and perspectives add up to quite diverse and distinct emotional experiences.

In the women's narratives of transnational mobility a wide range of emotions is expressed. The emotions that were described and articulated by the women range from positively defined emotions such as pride, hope and excitement to more negatively defined ones such as sadness, guilt, anger and emotional insecurity. Eventually, emotions are not only the result and consequence of transnational mobility and experiences, but are constitutive of these processes (Skrbis, 2008 in Boehm and Swank, 2011:2).

The women disclosed and confirmed that most of their migratory experiences and evaluations involve emotional dynamics. The decision to migrate is often associated with a new beginning, novel opportunities and challenges and therefore also with feelings of hope, confidence or fear. Likewise, negotiations of home and belonging, processes of 'home-making' in unfamiliar environments and adaptation to new social surroundings demand high emotional engagement.

For most women 'belonging' or 'feeling at home' is not necessarily about steady rootedness in a physical place, but is conceptualised as a cognitive and emotional process of identification with particular experiences and a feeling of familiarity with specific people and places (Svasek, 2008:215). Emotions are also central to the idea of 'family' as such and play a significant role in the functioning of transnational families. Despite living in different localities, transnational families develop, maintain and negotiate bonds of emotions in transnational social and intimate spheres (Baldassar *et al.*, 2007).

The women concerned here express different emotional discourses of love, loyalty and longing and engage in different long-distance communicative practices. They also confirm that despite the changes and challenges of transnational mobility for family life, migration does not necessarily lead to family fragmentation and break-up.

Quite to the contrary, most women expressed strong concerns about staying in touch and maintaining some level of emotional connection, support and security across distances (Baldassar, 2007:387).

Transnational mobility involves both the regular crossing of national and geographical borders and the crossing of emotional and socio-cultural boundaries. Mobile subjects are confronted with diverse values, emotions rules and life-styles in new localities, which may initiate processes of self-reflection, transition and transformation (Espin, 1997). Arianna highlights that migration has changed her personality and led to a positive transformation in the emotional connection and relationship with her family. She also emphasised feelings of independence, freedom and autonomy due to the distance from close family. For Arianna, transnational experiences are thus primarily associated with positive feelings. Nevertheless, she also highlights feelings of guilt and her relative's allegations of negligence, which frequently also generate feelings of unease and guilt.

Emotions are central to transnational family relationships, because *'our emotional attitudes to one another are part of the continual redefinition of ongoing relationships'* (Parkinson, 1995:179 in Svasek, 2010:866). The form and content of emotional feelings and relations are particularly visible with regards to the negotiations of and commitments to transnational care arrangements. Transnational family care is a significant aspect of the daily practices of transnational families, in which family members exchange all kinds of moral and emotional support across distances (Baldassar, 2007:388).

Some women indicate that care arrangements for distant kin pose a challenge to them, because they feel morally and emotionally pulled in different directions. Consequently, they confer, if possible, some of the responsibilities and duties for care to other family members and individuals. Salika, for example, frequently highlighted that her husband and acquaintances relieved her of the responsibility of childcare, thereby enabling her to move to Vienna without having to worry about her family and children's welfare. This also exemplifies the ways in which transnational migration potentially changes family arrangements and alters traditional gender rules within families and households.

Transnational family care is not always about emotional fostering, but also takes on practical and economic forms (Mckay, 2007:191). Care, intimacy and commitments are often expressed in economic terms and economic support can convey and communicate a sense of solicitousness, love, sympathy and power to transnational family members (Mckay, 2007:188). Migrant remittances should therefore not be

recognised only as significant material assets, but also as a means to communicate values and emotional endorsements.

Remittances can also be interpreted as a statement about success and upward social mobility and as a demand for the recognition of the individual's efforts that are involved in the process. This in turn usually enhances individual's self-esteem. Salika asserts that she considers the capacity to care financially for her children as a confirmation of the fact that she has made the right decisions and is a 'strong woman', which clearly creates a sense of pride and self-consciousness in her.

The emotional implications of transnational experiences that are disclosed by the women in the empirical part of this thesis points to the fact that the ways in which their respective relatives interpret and evaluate their migration strategies significantly affects their own feelings and perspectives on their mobility and transnational lives. Thus, the opinions and positions of family members, whether actually expressed by someone or simply imagined by the migrant, influences the ways in which mobile subjects feel and think about their transnational mobility, strategies and family obligations. Both Salika and Maria subscribe to the fact that family support and appreciation of an individual's decision to migrate has positive effects on the relationship between family members. Having 'a license to leave' thus alleviates some of the difficulties that migrants experience and allows them to make sense of their own decisions.

Individuals within families probably develop different and sometimes conflicting perceptions of migration experiences and on appropriate family roles (Baldassar, 2007:7). Arianna describes at length how differences in respect to the perceptions and perspectives on her physical non-presence as a main family carer caused tensions and conflicts in the relationship with her brother. While Arianna addresses feelings of guilt, jealousy and her brother's resentments towards her transnational lifestyle, Salika and Maria accentuate the positive and encouraging support they received from family and friends in the context of their transnational lives.

Last but not least, according to Sartre (1948) emotions are '*magical transformations of the world*' and emotional experiences can create a feeling of strength rather than weakness in the individual (Sartre, 1948 in Lutz, 1986:294). This strength and potency is reflected in the narratives of lives in (e)motion, in which six highly diverse women migrants come to terms with their transnational experiences, family relationships and life trajectories.

Bibliography

- Abu-Lughod, L. (1986) *Veiled Sentiments: Honour and poetry in a Bedouin Society*. Berkely: University of California Press.
- Abu-Lughod, L., Lutz, C. (eds.) (1990) *Language and the Politics of Emotion*. Cambridge University Press.
- Ahmed, S. (2010) *The Promise of Happiness*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.
- Ahmed, S. and Fortier, A.M. (ed.) (2003) *Uprootings/Regroundings. Questions of Home and Migration*. Berg Publishers, New York, Oxford.
- Ahmed, S. (2004) Affective Economies. *Social Text* 79, 22 (2): 117-139.
- Ahmed, S. (1999) Home and away. Narratives of migration and estrangement. *International Journal of Cultural Studies* Vol. 2 (3): 319-347.
- Al-Ali, N. and Koser, K. (ed.) (2002) *New Approaches to Migration? Transnational Communities and the Transformations of Home*. London and New York, Routledge.
- Al-Ali, N. (2002) Loss of Status or New Opportunities? Gender Relations and Transnational Ties among Bosnian Refugees. In Bryceson, D. and Vuorela, U (eds.) (2002) *The Transnational Family: Global European Networks and Global Frontiers*. Berg: Oxford and New York.
- Appadurai, A. (1996) *Modernity at Large. Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*. University of Minnesota Press.
- Apitzsch, U. and Siouti, I. (2007) Biographical Analysis as an Interdisciplinary Research Perspective in the Field of Migration Studies. *Working Paper, Johann Wolfgang Goethe Universität, Frankfurt am Main*.
- Atkinson, R. (1998) *The Life Story Interview*. Sage Publications. Thousand Oaks.
- Avila, E. and Hondagneu-Sotelo, P. (1997) I'm here, but I'm there. The Meaning of Latina Transnational Motherhood. *Gender and Society* 11 p.548-571.
- Bamberg, M. (2006) Biographic-Narrative Research, Quo Vadis? A Critical Review of 'Big Stories' from the Perspective of 'Small Stories'. In: Narrative, Memory and Knowledge: Representations, Aesthetics, Contexts. University of Huddersfield, Huddersfield.
- Baldassar, L., Baldock, C. and Wilding, R. (2007) *Families Caring Across Borders: Migration, Aging and Transnational Caregiving*. London: PalgraveMacMillan.
- Baldassar (2007) Transnational Families and the provision of moral and emotional support: The relationship between truth and distance. *Identities*, 14:4, 385-409.

- Barnard, A. (2000) *History and Theory in Anthropology*. Cambridge University Press.
- Barcus, H. and Werner, C. (2009) Mobility and Immobility in a Transnational Context: Changing View of Migration among the Kazakh Diaspora in Mongolia. *Migration Letters*, Volume 6, No. 1, p-49-62.
- Basch, L., Glick Schiller, N. and Blanc-Szanton, C. (1994) *Nations Unbound: Transnational Projects, Postcolonial Predicaments and Deterritorialized Nation-States*. Reading, Gordon and Breach.
- Basch, L., Glick Schiller, N. and Blanc-Szanton, C. (eds) (1992) *Towards a Transnational Perspective on Migration. Race, Class, Ethnicity, and Nationalism Reconsidered*. Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences Vol. 645.
- Basch, L., Glick Schiller, N. and Blanc-Szanton, C. (1995) From Immigrant to Transmigrant: Theorizing Transnational Migration. *Anthropological Quarterly* Vol. 68, No. 1.
- Beck, U. (1992) *Risk Society: Towards a New Modernity*. Sage Publications.
- Bertaux, D. and Kohli, M (1984) The Life Story Approach: A Continental View. *Annual Review of Sociology*, Volume 10:215-37.
- Bhabha, H.K. (ed) (1990) *Nation and Narration*. New York/London: Routledge.
- Boehm, D.A. and Swank, H. (2011) Affecting Global Movement: The Emotional Terrain of Transnationality. *International Migration* Vol. 49 (6).
- Boellstorff, T. and Lindquist, J. (2004) Bodies of Emotion: Rethinking Culture and Emotion through Southeast Asia. *Ethnos. Journal of Anthropology*. Vol.69:4.
- Braidotti, R. (1993) Embodiment, Sexual Difference, and the Nomadic Subject. *Hypatia*, Vol. 8, No. 1:-13
- Brettell, C. B. (2003), *Anthropology and Migration. Essays on Transnationalism, Ethnicity, and Identity*. AltaMira Press.
- Brettell, Caroline B. and Hollifield, James F. (eds), (2008) *Migration Theory. Talking across Disciplines*. New York/ London: Routledge.
- Brickell, K. and Datta, A. (eds) (2011) *Translocal Geographies: Spaces, places, connections*. Ashgate, Aldershot UK.
- Bryceson, D. and Vuorela, U. (2002) *The Transnational Family: Global European Networks and Global Frontiers*. Berg: Oxford and New York.
- Çağlar, A. (2007) Rescaling cities, cultural diversity and transnationalism: migrants of Mardin and Essen. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* Vol. 30(6).

- Carsten, J. (2000) *Cultures of Relatedness. New Approaches to the Study of Kinship*. Cambridge University Press.
- Chamberlain, M. and Leydesdorff, S. (2004) Transnational Families: Memories and Narratives. *Global Networks*, Vol. 4, No. 3., p. 227-241.
- Chamberlayne, P., Bornat, J., Wengraf, T. (eds.) (2000) *The Turn to Biographical Methods in the Social Sciences: Comparative Issues and Examples*. London: Routledge
- Conradson, D. and McKay, D. (2007) Translocal Subjectivities: Mobility, Connection and Emotion. *Mobilities Volume 2 No. 2*:167-174.
- Davidson, J. and Milligan, C. (2004) Embodying emotion sensing space: introducing emotional geographies. *Social and Cultural Geography*, Volume 5., No. 4.
- Eastmond, M. (2007) 'Stories as Lived Experience: Narratives in Forced Migration Research'. *Journal of Refugee Studies Volume 20, Number. 2*.
- England, P. (2003) 'Separative and Soluble Selves: Dichotomous Thinking in Economics'. In Ferber, M. and Julie, A. (2003) *Feminist Economics Today: Beyond Economic Man*. The University of Chicago Press.
- Erel, U., Morokvasic, M., Shinozaki, K. (eds) (2003) *Crossing Border and Shifting Boundaries. Vol. 1: Gender on the Move*. Leske + Budrich, Opladen.
- Erel, U. (2002) Reconceptualising Motherhood: Experiences of Migrant Women from Turkey Living in Germany' in Bryceson, D. and Vuorela, U. (2002) *The Transnational Family: Global European Networks and Global Frontiers*. Berg.
- Erel, U. (2007) Constructing Meaningful Lives: Biographical Methods in Research on Migrant Women. *Sociological Research Online*, Volume 2, Issue 4.
- Espin, O.M. (1997) The role of gender and emotion in women's experience of migration. *Innovation: The European Journal of Social Science Research*, Volume 10 No.4.
- Faier, L. (2011) Theorizing the Intimacies of Migration: Commentary on the Emotional Formations of Transnational Worlds. *International Migration Vol. 49 (6)*.
- Friedman, J. (2002) From roots to routes. Tropes for trippers. *Anthropological Theory Vol. 2 (1)*: 21-36.
- Glick Schiller, N. and Çağlar, A. (2009) Towards a comparative theory of locality in migration studies, migrant incorporation and city scale. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies 35*, p.177-202.
- Glick Schiller, N. and Levitt, P. (2004) Conceptualizing Simultaneity: A Transnational Social Field Perspective on Society. *International Migration Review Vol. 38, Nr. 3*.

- Glick Schiller, N. and Wimmer, A. (2002) Methodological Nationalism and beyond: nation-state building, migration and the social sciences. *Global Networks* 2, 4. p. 301-334.
- Gray, B. (2008) Putting Emotion and Reflexivity to Work in Researching Migration. *Sociology Volume 42 No. 5*:935-52.
- Harding, J. and Pribram, D.E. (2002) The power of feeling: Locating emotions in culture. *European Journal of Cultural Studies* 5:407.
- Hochschild, A. R. (1979) Emotion work, Feeling Rules and Social Structure. *American Journal of Sociology* 85(3):551-75.
- Hochschild, A. R. (1983) *The Managed Heart. Commercialization of Human Feeling*. University of California Press.
- Hochschild, A. R. (2000) 'Global Care Chains and the Emotional Surplus Value' in Hutton, W. and Giddens, A. (2000) *On the Edge: Living with Global Capitalism*. London: Jonathan Cape.
- Hondagneu-Sotelo, P. (2000) Feminism and Migration. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 571, Feminist Views of the Social Science*.
- Hondagneu-Sotelo, P. and Avila, E. (1997) I'm here but I'm there. The Meanings of Latina Transnational Motherhood. *Gender and Society, Vol. 11, No. 5, p. 548-571*.
- Illouz, E. (2007) *Cold Intimacies: The Making of Emotional Capitalism*. Polity Press.
- Jenkins, Kleinman and Good (1991) Cross-Cultural Studies in Depression. In Becker, J. and Kleinman, A. (eds.) (1991) *Psychosocial Aspects of Depression*. Lawrence Erlbaum associates.
- Kazmierska, K. (2003) Migration Experience and Changes of Identity. The Analysis of a Narrative. *Forum: Qualitative Research, 4(3), Art. 21*.
- Kearney, M. (1986) From the Invisible Hand to Visible Feet: Anthropological Studies of Migration and Development. *The Annual Review of Anthropology Vol. 15, p. 331-361*.
- Kleinman, A & Good, B. (eds.) (1985) *Culture and Depression: Studies in the anthropology and cross-cultural psychiatry of affect and disorder*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Kofman, E. (2004) Gendered Global Migrations. *International Feminist Journal of Politics, 6:4, p. 643-665*.
- Kofman, E., Phizacklea, A., Raghuram, P., Sales, R. (eds) (2000) *Gender and International Migration in Europe. Employment, Welfare and Politics*. Routledge.

- Kofman, E. and Raghuram, P. (2009) 'The Implications of Migration for Gender and Care Regimes in the South'. *Social Policy and Development Programme Paper Nr. 41. United Nations Research Institute for Social Development*.
- Kristeva, J. (1989) *Black Sun. Depression and Melancholia*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Leavitt, J. (1996) Meaning and Feeling in the Anthropology of Emotion. *American Ethnologist*, 23 (3): 514-35.
- Lutz, C. and White, G.M (1986) The Anthropology of Emotions. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 15:405-36.
- Lutz, C. (1986) Emotion, Thought, and Estrangement: Emotion as a Cultural Category. *Cultural Anthropology* 1:287-309.
- Lyon, M.L. (1995) Missing Emotion: The Limitations of Cultural Constructionism in the Study of Emotion. *Cultural Anthropology* 10(2): 244-263.
- Mahler, S.J. and Pessar, P.R. (2006) Gender Matters: Ethnographers Bring Gender from the Periphery toward the Core of Migration Studies. *International Migration Review*, Vol. 40 No. 1
- Mahler, S.J. and Pessar, P.R (2001) Gendered Geographies of Power: Analyzing Gender Across Transnational Spaces. *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power*, Vol. 7, Issue 4.
- Massumi, B. (2005) Fear (The Spectrum Said). *positions: east asia cultures critique*, Vol. 13, 1:31-48.
- Massumi, B. (1995) The Autonomy of Affect. *Cultural Critique*. No. 31. *The Politics of Systems and Environments Part 2*, p. 83-109.
- Mazzarella, W. (2009) Affect: What is it good for? In S. Dube, ed., *Enchantments of Modernity: Empire, Nation, Globalization*. Routledge.
- Mckay, D. (2007) 'Sending Dollars Shows Feelings – Emotions and Economies in Filipino Migration. *Mobilities* 2:2, 175-194.
- Metz-Göckel, S., Morokvasic, M. and Münst, S.A. (eds) (2008) *Migration and mobility in an enlarged Europe. A gender perspective*. Barbara Budrich Publishers, Opladen & Farmington Hills
- Miller, R.L. (2000) *Researching Life Stories and Family Histories*. Sage Publications, London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi.
- Milton, K. and Svašek, M. (eds.) (2005) *Mixed Emotions. Anthropological Studies of Feeling*. Oxford, New York: Berg Publishers.
- Morokvasic, M. (2004) 'Settled in Mobility': Engendering Post-Wall Migration in Europe. *Feminist Review* No. 77

- Olwig, K.F A (2002) wedding in the family: home making in a global kin network. *Global Networks*, Vol. 2, No.3, p. 205-218.
- Ong, A. (1999) *Flexible Citizenship. The Cultural Logics of Transnationality*. Duke University Press.
- Papoulias, C. and Callard, F. (2010) Biology's Gift: Interrogating the Turn to Affect. *Body and Society* 16:29.
- Parreñas, (2001a) Mothering from a Distance: Emotions, Gender and International Relations in Filipino Transnational Families. *Feminist Studies*, Vol. 27, No. 2, p. 361-390.
- Parreñas, (2001b) *Servants of Globalization. Women, Migration and Domestic Work*. Stanford University Press.
- Phizacklea, A. (2003) 'Transnationalism, Gender and Global Workers' in Morokvasic, Erel and Shinozaki (eds) *Cross Borders and Shifting Boundaries*, 79-101
- Plummer, K. (1983) *Documents of Life: An Introduction to the Problems and Literature of a Humanistic Method*. London: George Allen and Unwin.
- Plummer, K. (2001) *Documents of Life 2: An Invitation to Critical Humanism*. Sage Publications.
- Portes, A., Guarnizo, Luis E. and Landolt, P. (1999) The Study of transnationalism: Pitfalls and promise of an emergent research field. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* Vol. 22, Nr. 2.
- Rapport, N. and Dawson, A. (1998) *Migrants of Identity. Perceptions of Home in a World of Movement*. Berg Publishers.
- Reddy, W. (1997) Against Constructionism: The Historical Ethnography of Emotions. *Current Anthropology* Volume 38 Nr. 3:327-351.
- Roberts, B. (2002) *Biographical Research*. Open University Press: Buckingham, Philadelphia.
- Rosaldo, M. (1984) Towards An Anthropology of Self and Feeling. In Sweder & Levine (eds.) *Culture Theory: Essays on Mind, Self and Emotion*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Rosenthal, G. (2003) The Healing Effects of Storytelling. On the Conditions of Curative Storytelling in the Context of Research and Counselling. *Qualitative Inquiry*, Volume 9, Number 6.
- Ryan, L. (2004) Family Matters: (e)migration, familial networks and Irish women in Britain. *The Sociological Review*.

- Ryan, L. (2008) Navigating the emotional terrain of families 'here' and 'there': women, migration and the management of emotions. *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, 29:3, 299-313.
- Sassen, S. (2000) Women's Burden: Counter-geographies of Globalization and the Feminization of Survival. *Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 53, No. 2
- Schupp, J. (2012) Angst und Ärger: Zur Relevanz emotionaler Dimensionen sozialer Ungleichheit. *Zeitschrift für Soziologie* 41:392-409. In *Psychologie heute*, Heft 5 2013, Seite 13, *Status und Gefühl von Thivissen, P.*
- Seyfert, R. (2012) Beyond Personal Feelings and Collective Emotions: Toward a Theory of Social Affect. *Theory, Culture and Society* 29 (6) 27-46.
- Senge, K., Schützteichel, R. (Hrsg.) (2013) *Hauptwerke der Emotionssoziologie*. Springer Fachmedien Wiesbaden.
- Silverstein, Paul A. (2005) Immigrant Racialization and the New Savage Slot: Race, Migration and Immigration in the New Europe. *The Annual Review of Anthropology* Vol. 34.
- Six-Hohenbalken, M. and Tosic, J. (eds) (2009) *Anthropologie der Migration. Theoretische Grundlagen und interdisziplinäre Aspekte*. Facultas Verlag.
- Skrbis, Z. and Svašek, M. (2007) Passions and Powers: Emotions and Globalisation. *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power* No.14.
- Skrbis, Z. (2008) Transnational Families: Theorising Migration, Emotions and Belonging. *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, 29:3, 231-246.
- Skrbis, Z. Baldassar, L. and Poynting, S. (2007) Introduction – Negotiating Belonging: Migration and Generations. *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, 28:3, 261-269.
- Smith, M. P. and Guarnizo, L.E (eds) (1998) *Transnationalism from below: comparative urban and community research*, Volume 6, New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers.
- Svašek, M. (2006) *Postsocialism. Politics and Emotions in Central and Eastern Europe*. Berghahn Books.
- Svašek, M. (2008) Who cares? Families and Feelings in Movement. *Journal of Intercultural Studies* 29:3, 23-230.
- Svašek, M. (2009) On the Move: Emotions and Human Mobility. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 36(6).
- Thadden, E. von (2012) Alles eine Frage des Gefühls. Ein Gespräch mit der Historikerin Ute Frevert und der Soziologin Eva Illouz. *Die Zeit*, 6. September 2012, Nr. 37, Seite 55.

- Thien, D. (2005) After or beyond feeling? A consideration of affect and emotion in geography. *Area* Volume 37 No. 4: 450-456
- Thrift, N. (2004) Intensities of Feeling: Towards a Spatial Politics of Affect. *Geografiska Annaler, Series B, Human Geography, Volume 86, Issue 1*:57-78.
- Vertovec, S. (2007) Introduction: New directions in the anthropology of migration and multiculturalism. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* Vol. 30 No. 6, p. 961-978.
- Wilding, R. (2007) Transnational Ethnographies and Anthropological Imaginings of Migrancy. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* Vol. 33, No.2, p. 331-348.
- Wilding, R. (2006) Virtual Intimacies? Families communicating across transnational contexts. *Global Networks* Vol. 6 No.2.
- Wise, A. and Chapman, A. (2005) Introduction: migration, affect and the senses. *Journal of Intercultural Studies* 26 (1): 1
- Wulff, H. (ed.) (2007) *The Emotions. A Cultural Reader*. Oxford, New York: Berg Publishers.
- Žižek, Slavoj, and Glyn Daly (2004). *Conversations with Zizek*. Oxford: Polity, 2004. Print.
- Zontini, E (2004) Immigrant Women in Barcelona: Coping with the Consequences of Transnational Lives. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, Vol. 30, No. 6
- Zontini, E. (2010) *Transnational Families, Migration and Gender: Moroccan and Filipino Women in Bologna and Barcelona*. Berghahn Books.

Abstract auf Deutsch

Diese Masterarbeit untersucht die emotionalen und affektiven Dynamiken im Kontext von transnationaler Migration und Mobilität. Die Gefühle, persönlichen Erfahrungen und subjektiven Wahrnehmungen, die in den biographischen Erzählungen über transnationale Migrationserfahrungen von sechs unterschiedlichen Frauen zum Ausdruck kommen, bilden die empirische Grundlage dieser Arbeit. Anhand dieser persönlichen Lebensgeschichten werden unterschiedliche Strategien und Bewältigungsmechanismen im Bezug auf transnationale Lebensentwürfe nachgezeichnet. Ein besonderes Augenmerk liegt hierbei auf den individuellen und relationalen Aushandlungen von Familiarität und Arbeit in transnationalen sozialen Räumen.

Der theoretische Rahmen dieser Arbeit umfasst einerseits transnationale Ansätze zu Migration und andererseits anthropologische Forschung über Emotionen. Diese beiden Forschungsgebiete werden miteinander verbunden und bilden somit die theoretische Grundlage zur Erforschung emotionaler Aspekte von transnationaler Migration. Verschiedene Erfahrungen mit Mobilität und die Hintergründe diverser, transnationaler Strategien und Praktiken werden dargelegt und deren emotionale und persönliche Konsequenzen beleuchtet.

Im ersten Teil der theoretischen Abhandlungen werden kultur- und sozialanthropologische Ansätze der Migrationsforschung vorgestellt. Ein besonderer Fokus wird dabei auf transnationale Perspektiven gelegt. Transnationale Ansätze in der Migrationsforschung propagieren ein Bild von Migrantinnen als aktive Subjekte, deren Entscheidungen, soziale und familiäre Beziehungen und Praktiken in mehreren Staaten und Lokalitäten verankert sind. Transnationale Perspektiven können daher auch als eine Kritik an eindimensionalen und strukturellen Migrationstheorien betrachtet werden, die in der Vergangenheit häufig den Blick auf mehrfache, grenzüberschreitende und komplexe Zugehörigkeiten und Aktivitäten verstellt haben.

Ein weiterer theoretischer Schwerpunkt dieser Masterarbeit fokussiert – aus einer kultur- und sozialanthropologischen Perspektive heraus – die emotionalen und affektiven Aspekte transnationaler Mobilität mit dem Ziel, Einblick in die Rolle von Emotionen in den Strategien und Entscheidungsprozessen transnationaler Migrantinnen zu erhalten. Auf Basis der biographischen Erzählungen über Gefühle und transnationale Erfahrungen wird der Frage nachgegangen, welche Gefühle und emotionalen Erfahrungen diese Frauen zum Ausdruck bringen und ob sie individuelle Strategien und Praktiken entwickeln, die zur Aufrechterhaltung transnationaler, familiärer Gefühlsstrukturen dienen.

Laura Antonia Soyer, BA

Address: Gärtnergasse 4/23, 1030 Wien

Phone: +43/ (0) 680 127 20 54

Email: laura.antonia.soyer@gmail.com

Date of Birth: 14.10.1986

Place of Birth: Oberpullendorf

Education

2010-2011	<i>Department of Sociology, Middle East Technical University (METU)</i> Erasmus Programme
since 2009	<i>Universität Wien</i> MA Kultur- und Sozialanthropologie
2005-2008	<i>School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), University of London</i> BA Law and Social Anthropology
2005	<i>Gymnasium Draschestraße, Vienna Bilingual Schooling (VBS)</i> Matura
2002-2003	<i>Dripping Spring High School, Texas, United States of America</i> Student Exchange Programme

Work Experience

since 9/2013	<i>Stand129, Caritas Wien</i> Urban Community Research, Project Assistance for 'Sheherazade – 1001 stories for adult learning'
03/2012-04/2013	<i>Bauhaus-Universität Weimar</i> Voluntary Collaboration in a Participatory Design-Workshop – 'Future Workshop Weimar-West for an intergenerational use of a district park'
04-05/2010	<i>Dak'Art 2010 Biennale of Contemporary African Art, Senegal</i> Field Research and Qualitative Interviewing
02-07/2010	<i>Austrian Academy of Science, Institute for Social Anthropology</i> Internship
08-12/2008	<i>UN Special Court for Sierra Leone, Freetown</i> Internship in Chambers, Legal Research and Analysis, Document and File Management, Preparation for Hearings

Languages

German – native language

English – fluent in both spoken and written form; *Cambridge
Advanced Certificate and IELTS*

Turkish and Italian – basic skills

