

FAMILY TRANSFORMATIONS CAUSED BY GLOBALISATION AND INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION: INTRODUCING GENDER PERSPECTIVE

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ABSTRACT

Several socio-cultural and economical factors have contributed to feminisation of the international migration. On one hand, developed countries face the so called "care crisis", or difficulties to balance productive and reproductive responsibilities. On other hand, people in developing countries suffer high levels of poverty. Consequently, there is increased demand and supply of female labour in the care sector. Globalisation also plays an important role in female migration. This paper studies the influence that the globalisation and female migration have on families in the country of origin and the country of destination. By introducing gender perspective and analysing certain aspects of female migration, this paper has the goal to identify family transformations and analyse their implications.

Key words: globalisation, international migration, female migration, care crisis, transnational families, gender

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Introduction

We live in an era of globalisation and of free market. Nowadays, information, capital and people are moving across national borders from one part of the globe to another with almost no restrictions. The process called “globalisation” tends to make the world a “global village” where people from different countries share ideas and experiences regardless of their race, national, ethnic, and religious background. Neoliberal theories have tried to prove that introducing the free market would enable convergence between countries through displacement of production, capital and labour force. However, the unregulated market failed to accomplish its goals. In fact, it even further widens the gap between developed and developing countries. Consequently, we have been witnessing phenomena that can be explained with the words “the rich are getting richer, the poor are getting poorer”

Certainly, globalisation also brings benefits for citizens of developed and developing countries. On the one hand, people have bigger opportunities to travel, educate themselves, expand their horizons and learn about other people and cultures. Nevertheless, there is still a very high level of intolerance and division between people who are different. On the other hand, people from developing countries have the chance to cross national borders and acquire paid jobs in high-income countries. The number of people who migrate from one country to another is increasing every year. It is estimated that the number of international migrants worldwide at mid-year in 2010 was 213 943 812.² Various reasons have contributed to the increase of international migration: “economic globalization and integration that has linked the economies of source and destination countries together; trade agreements that contain provisions for mobility of international personnel; the growth of multinational corporations that move their personnel across countries and across the globe; demographic trends, with many developed countries facing population stagnation and aging

² United Nations, Department of Economics and Social Affairs, Population Division (2009) Trends in International Migrant Stock Accessed at << <http://esa.un.org/migration/p2k0data.asp>>>

while developing countries continue to grow faster than their job markets can absorb new workers; the transportation revolution that has made migration affordable to millions of would-be migrants; the revolution in communications (internet, cellular phones) that informs would be migrants of opportunities outside of their home countries and allows them to keep in touch with families and communities left behind; the growth in transnational communities." (Martin, 2003:12)

One of the most significant trends in migration has been the entry of women into migration streams. Traditionally, migration fluxes have predominantly been male. In fact, the past migration was usually undertaken by the male members of the family (often head of the family) as part of their responsibility to provide for the family. Female migration used to be part of family reunification strategy. In other words, women migrated in their role of a wife or daughter in order to join the "head of the family" in the country of destination. Currently, there is significant emancipation of female migration. In fact, international female migration nowadays is undertaken by autonomous women, who are motivated by financial gains and migrate alone, leaving husbands and dependent members of the family in the country of origin.

UNFPA (2006) estimates that approximately 94,5 million or 49,6% of all international migrants are women. The proportion of legal immigrants who are women is particularly high in the traditional immigration countries (United States, Canada and Australia). In 2002, for example, 54 percent of legal immigrants to the United States were women.³ Escriva (2000) identifies the need for providing for the family as the major reason for the increase in female migration (since the economical crisis has significantly affected the male employment) and the desire to maintain a certain level of quality of individual and family life. As is the case with Latin America, where she mentions the high number of single parent families headed by women.

Social and cultural norms, attributes and expectations that are assigned to men and women have a huge impact on the migration experience. As result,

³ Office of Immigration Statistics 2002, USA.

the migration experience itself is highly gendered, particularly in relation to social and family relationships and employment experiences. It is essential to introduce gender perspectives when international migrations are being studied and discussed. Gender analysis of migration looks beyond simple differences in migration behaviour between men and women and examines the inequalities underlying those differences. It looks at how these are shaped by the social and cultural contexts of the individual, and the influence that memberships of social groups and economic and political conditions can have on decisions about migration. It is important to understand the causes and consequences of international migration from a gender perspective because hierarchical social relations related to gender, shape the migration experiences of migrants, whether male or female.

International migration significantly changes the lives of the immigrants and their families. The prime motive for migration is usually financial gain. However, there can be political reasons for safety reasons such political persecution or war conflicts. When it comes to female migration, the reasons behind it can be gendered. Women may migrate to escape from abusive affective relationships, other kinds of gender violence, excessive control, and forced marriages. In cases such as human trafficking the migration is involuntary.

Nevertheless, this paper concentrates on the voluntary female international migrations motivated by financial gain. Furthermore, it examines the ties that globalisation, the crisis of care and international migration have created between developed and developing countries. The main goal of this paper is to identify the influence that globalisation and international female migration have on families in both sending and receiving countries. By introducing gender perspective, this paper tends to examine the changes in the relationships and roles within the families

Feminisation of international migration

Martin (2003) argues that many different factors, on individual, familial and societal level, influence whether women will migrate internationally. As individual factors she classifies age, birth order, race/ethnicity, urban/rural origins, marital status (single, married, divorced, widowed), reproductive status (children or no children), role in the family (wife, daughter, mother), position in the family (authoritative or subordinate), educational status, occupational skills/training, labour experience, and class position. Family factors include size, age/sex composition, life-cycle stage, structure (nuclear, extended, etc.), status (single parent, both parents, etc.), and class standing. Societal factors include those community norms and cultural values that determine whether or not women can migrate and, if they can, how (i.e., labour or family reunification) and with whom (alone or with family). (Boyd and Grieco 2003 cited in Martin, 2003).

Women's opportunities, constraints and choices vary depending on their socio-cultural origins. Consequently, high emigration of women would be more likely to occur in societies where there is a greater flexibility in gender roles. Oishi (2002) found that many Philippine and Sri Lankan women tend to make their own decision to migrate because they already enjoyed considerable autonomy and decision-making power within the family. On the contrary, women that are constrained by traditional, strict female roles in more patriarchal societies have restrained mobility and fewer possibilities for international migration. However, the restrictions, limited freedom, low status in the society, gender violence, forced marriages and poverty that women face in many countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America represent the main reasons that force women to migrate in search for a better life.

Gender inequality can permeate the decision, process and impacts of migration, as well as the networks and support systems that play a key role in all stages of migration. For both women and men, the economic and political context of the country of origin conditions how migration decisions are made and how migration occurs. When practices or policies in the country of origin discriminate against women by, for instance, limiting their access to resources

or educational opportunities or by hindering their political participation, the capacity of women to participate fully in society and contribute to it is reduced. Martin (2007) argues that gender inequality can be a powerful factor in precipitating migration, particularly when women have economic, political, and social expectations that actual opportunities at home do not meet.

Traditionally, most women have migrated internationally to join husbands or fathers who paved the way for them. As a result, their ability to remain in the destination country is often contingent on their familial relationship. When marriage to a citizen or permanent resident is the only, or principal, route to admission, marriage fraud may result. Further, when migrant women are dependent on their husbands or children from legal status, they may find it difficult to leave abusive situations. (Martin, 2007)

Today, increasing numbers of female migrants migrate on their own. They are the principal wage earners for themselves and their families. Their experience is gendered as well. They tend to take jobs in what are familiar female occupations. At the lower end of the skills spectrum, women migrants pick fruits and vegetables, manufacture garments and other items, process meat and poultry, work as nursing home and hospital aides, clean in restaurants and hotels, and provide myriad other services. Domestic service is a common occupation for migrant women. Women migrants from a wide range of countries provide domestic services in receiving countries in almost all parts of the globe.

Martin (2007) maintains that highly skilled women also migrate. Some are in traditional female occupations, such as the health professions, particularly nursing and physical therapy, and teaching. Others conduct research and provide expertise to industry and academia, design build, and program computers, or serve as managers and executives in multinational corporations, to name only a few activities. However, Escriva's (2000) study on Peruvian domestic workers in Barcelona shows that many women that enter the domestic service hold high level of education and experience in many different fields. Stereotypes, prejudice and fear of competition certainly contribute to the immigrant women's under qualification and segregation in the care and domestic service regardless of their skills and education. Due to the fact that

the immigrant women differ from the host population in terms of race, ethnicity, religion, etc they face additional multiple discriminations. (Gregorio Gil, 2009.a)

Globalization, with its emphasis on communications, trade, and investment, has increased the number of options within and outside of home countries, and it has opened up a range of new opportunities for women outside of their own homes. However, globalization has also failed to live up to its potential, leaving women throughout the world in poverty and without economic, social, or political rights. (Martin, 2007)

Neoliberal theories were created with the intention to develop countries through internationalisation of production and its transference to the poorest countries with the cheapest labour. (Beneria, 2004) The neoliberal theoretician supposed that the free market would be the solution that would lead to convergence between the rich and the poor countries. Unfortunately, the free market did not achieve the predicted results. In fact, we are witnessing a large deterrence of poor countries, especially in Africa and Latin America. Thanks to the highly unregulated global market, rich countries are getting richer and poor countries are getting poorer.

Economic disparities between developing and developed countries certainly represent the key motivation for women (and men) to cross the national borders in search for better paid jobs in the high income countries. In fact, big income disparities between the destination country and the country of origin are the key determinants which not only encourage the migration, but also serve as driving force to endure bad and abusive conditions women may encounter in the destination country.

The globalisation of economies has created an increasing demand for female labour in low paying service sectors. Among the factors that have contributed to the major demand for female labour several demographic factors can be mentioned, such as the increasing aging of the population in the developed countries, major female participation in the labour force and cuts in social services for child and aged people care. In fact, Ehrenreich and Hochschild (2003) say that rich countries depend on the care offered by people from poor

countries. Beneria (2006) states the “care crisis” in the developed countries makes it easier for women to find job in this sector.

Emancipation of women and the erosion of male “bread winning” family model in both developed and developing countries offer some key concepts to understand the feminisation of international migration. In the past few decades, women in developed countries have actively been participating in the society’s and family’s economy by doing productive work at the labour market. Due to their incorporation in the labour market, they are no longer able to dedicate themselves unitarily to domestic work and care for the children and the elderly members. This vital part of the work that women have traditionally been doing in the family is called “social reproduction”, which has created considerable difficulties in balancing productive and reproductive work. However, there has not been an attempt to counterbalance these difficulties by reallocation of the reproductive work among household members nor help by the State and public institutions. (Santamaria, 2008) This is one of the reasons that have lead to the so called “care crisis”. It has created job offers in the highly feminised, unregulated and socially unrecognised field of reproductive work. As a result, many women from developing countries have decided to cross national borders and migrate to developed countries with the objective to find job in the service of care. In fact, a very high portion of female migrants is concentrated in this sector creating what Ehrenreich and Hochschild call “transfer of women’s traditional services from rich to poor parts of the world” (2003:180)

Valle Rodrigues (2006) points out that the demand for female labour is also due to the fact that women are considered low wage workers, quiet, flexible and with less ties established in the country of destination. She also says that in the globalised world and in the labour market that seeks intense labour force, these qualities make women more attractive than men. However, Valle Rodrigues (2006) also identifies a dominant tendency to associate women migration with reproductive and undervalued labours, mostly in the service sector (personal service, domestic service or care for dependent persons)

Deregulation of the labour market created a gap between two types of labour force. One of them is basic, formal, stable and qualified labour force that

is generally male. The other type is informal and marginal usually female labour force, that concentrates on jobs that are precarious, very often home based, part-time, without social protection and with lower income (Valle Rodrigues, 2006) Immigrants often occupy the lowest paid jobs in difficult, unstable, seasonal and insecure conditions. Due to the increasing social mobility in developed countries, in the present immigrants are contracted for jobs that nationals are no longer willing to do.

Nevertheless, the poverty and the desire to provide and offer a better life for the family pushes millions of men and women to leave their home countries and to look for better opportunities abroad. As earlier mentioned, the increasing demand for labour force in the developed countries, and especially the huge demand in the sector care is a big incentive for many women. The globalisation, economic integration and interdependency between the high income and low income countries in terms of labour demand and supply is certainly shaping not only the lives of the immigrants and their family, but it is also shaping the whole socio-cultural environment in the sending and the receiving countries.

The "care crisis" and the transformation of "western" families"

There have been several factors that have transformed the ideas regarding gender roles and women's autonomy such as: emancipation of women; women's education; the decrease in fertility rates in many countries; increased participation of women in the labour force; the erosion of the "male breadwinner" model of family; the influence of women's movements and so on. There is no doubt that women's life in the western societies has changed.

Women are more and more visible in the public sphere; they are successful executives, excelling academics and great politicians. Women are seen always on the move, always full of ideas and goals to accomplish. Despite all the prejudice, stereotypes and discriminations that even "western" women still face almost every day of their lives, we can undeniably say that there have

been significant improvements in women's position and status in the society. A few decades ago, the image of the "perfect" woman was presented in the kitchen with an apron and a baby in her hands. Today, the "perfect" woman is situated in a multinational company, with impeccable latest fashion clothes, make up and high heels; working twelve hours a day and making huge contributions for the company and the society. Happy and well maintained children, content husband and perfectly set up and cleaned house are also inevitable part of that image. In addition, she has to do it all with a smile on her face. The truth is, people see, meet and look up to this kind of successful women all the time. What people do not see is that a great majority of them have another woman behind them, as their shadow, to do all the things that they do not find time or energy to do. Or simply do not like doing. That invisible extra helping hand is usually a woman that crosses many countries and borders to become that special element that helps "perfect" western families function.

"Thanks to the process we loosely call "globalisation" women are on the move as never before in the history. In images familiar to the West from television commercials for credit cards, cell phones, and airlines, female executives' jet about the world, phoning from luxury hotels and reuniting with eager children in airports. But we hear much less about a far more prodigious flow of female labour and energy: the increasing migration of millions of women from poor countries to rich ones, where they serve as nannies, maids and sometimes sex workers." (Ehrenreich and Hochschild, 2003: 176)

As previously mentioned, several transformations that have occurred in the western, capitalist, globalised society have caused the so called "care crisis". Most of the active population has dedicated their time to productive work. Beneria (2010) provides the background for understanding the "crisis of care" or the tensions created by the difficulties that families encounter in caring for children, the sick, the aging family members, particularly in high income countries such as in Western Europe, the United States and Japan. She states that on one side, the increase in women's participation in paid work in many countries has intensified familial and social tensions around balancing family and labour market work. On the other hand, declining fertility rates, smaller

family size and increasing life expectancy in many countries create demographic changes that challenge the family balance in terms of social reproduction.

Referring to the Spanish society, Gregorio Gil (2009.b) argues that the growing consumer society, the ever so flexible labour market with the consequent loss of social rights, conformation of a welfare system that relies on family in the South European countries, and the increasing incorporation of Spanish women in the labour market, put a spotlight on the unpaid and strongly naturalised work that women were doing as mothers, wives, daughters or neighbours.

The cuts in care services and social rights in many countries, and the disaggregation of the big family networks that could provide care for the children and the elderly intensify the "crisis of care". Since western capitalist societies rely on the notion that everything can be bought except for time, it seems like the easiest and the most commonly applied solution to solve this "problem" is to use a market logic and strategy: offer money for service. Many families hire low cost immigrants in order to receive help and alleviation for the always present and pressing "care problems". As a result, as Grigorio Gil (2009.b) points out, the work of care, in all its effective, material, social and even sexual dimensions, are becoming objects of financial gain in the capitalist market.

This exchange is gendered as well. The market of care requires female labour force to do informal reproductive work and substitute other women that are no longer available to do it because of their overload with productive work. In other words, in order to do full-time productive work, women hire other women to do full-time reproductive work. Simultaneously, immigrant women that leave their families in the home countries are forced to find someone else to take care of their own children and older relatives. That "someone" is again a woman. This phenomenon is known as "global chain of care and assistance" and it refers to "series of personal ties between people from the entire World, based on paid and unpaid labour of assistance and care. However, "strictly speaking, the presence of immigrant nannies does not enable affluent women to enter the workforce; it enables affluent men to continue avoiding the second shift" (Ehrenreich and Hochschild, 2003: 181)

As previously mentioned, the strategy of the affluent families to fight against the challenges and the tensions between the productive and unproductive work is to hire somebody to take care of the children, the older family members and to do the housework. Due to the low cost, the most convenient option is to hire migrant women from some developing country. Another convenient option is that person to be available 24/7 which is usually achieved by offering a live-in possibility. As a matter of fact, despite the fact that it limits their free time, many immigrant women prefer that option because it helps them save more money and send more money to their families. Having in mind that taking care for the children, preparing food, keeping the house clean and warm has direct effect on the wellbeing of the family and its members, nannies and domestic workers play a role in the family that goes beyond market exchange. "The wealthy countries also seek to extract something harder to measure and quantify something that can look very much like love. Nannies bring the distant families that employ them real maternal affection, no doubt enchanted by the heartbreaking absence of their own children in the poor countries they leave behind. Similarly, women who migrate from country to country to work as maids bring not only their muscle power but attentiveness to detail and to the human relationships in the household that might otherwise been invested in their own families" (Ehrenreich and Hochschild, 2003: 177)

The presence of women from different origin and socio-cultural background certainly changes the dynamic of the families in the receiving countries. The fact that the family trusts the immigrant women with their children or that they rely on her to satisfy the most basic material needs such as food, makes her a very important part of the family. Very often children spend more time during the day with their nannies than with their parents. In that sense, nannies educate children and transmit part of their own values and culture. It is quite common for children to learn the language of their nannies. In fact, Latin American nannies are often contracted with the purpose of teaching children Spanish, among all other things. When the nanny or the domestic worker does not speak the language of the receiving country, the employers are struggling to find ways to communicate with her, often learning

words in the immigrant's native language. Furthermore, to avoid cultural misunderstandings or just because of being exposed to the immigrant's way of being, people in the developed countries learn more about other people and other countries.

Parents would rather hide the nannies and maids in the invisibility of the spare room in the back of the house, and taking all the credits for having a beautifully arranged house, well maintained, well behaved, educated children and extremely successful careers on top of that. Yet, children are lot more honest. Ehrenreich and Hochschild, (2003) tell the story about Isadora who says she has "two mommies".

The truth is, in this fast moving and fast growing capitalistic society, everything, including love and care can be bought with money. The allocation of care has many negative aspects. There are many, many children in the high income countries that grow up feeling they have two mothers, or at least one extra member of the family that is always there and that makes everything works. Due to the absence of the parents and the great amount of time that children spend with their care givers they create stronger affective ties and better communication with their nannies then with their parents. This widens the gap and distance between family members and creates problems in communications and in exercising parent authority. Some of the most severe consequences of these problems with balancing family life and parenting are adolescent and children delinquency, behaviour problems, use of drugs and alcohol, violence and so on.

Transnational families, transnational mothers and transnational lives

International migration in the present days is very different than it was in the past. Before the era of the internet, fast delivery, money transfer services and cheap air tickets, the decision to migrate meant very restricted possibilities for communication with the home countries. Thanks to the globalisation, the development of the technology and all the communication options, the distances

seem lot shorter than they used to. Many immigrants maintain everyday contacts with their families, living their lives through building bridges between the receiving country and the country of origin, crossing geographic, cultural and political borders. Therefore, they are now called “transmigrants”- which has the meaning of “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” (Glich-Schiller et al., 1995:48 cited in Parreñas, 2001:28)

Actually, many immigrants maintain the relationships and links with the family in the home country and negotiate and participate in the family decisions and strategies. According to Parella (2007) the ways in which families are being transformed as consequence of the migration, in terms of dynamics and interactions, create affective and care ties of transnational character. This is part of transnational collective strategy in order to meet the needs for survival, in times when the psychological, emotional and physical attention to the persons in being alternated and modified. Thus, we can not only talk about the economic, politic or socio-cultural ties that connect the immigrant with the country of origin. We have to pay closer attention to the very strong affective and emotional ties that immigrants have with their family and community. The decision to migrate has a very high psychological cost for the immigrant and the family that is left behind. Migration forces families to redefine family relations and transform into the so called “transnational family”. Those transnational families preserve as institution as they adapt to the new reality and seek for new ways to maintain and reinforce the family ties.

Parella (2007) argues that the decision to migrate corresponds to a calculated family strategy where all members cooperate together in order to maximise the incomes and avoid unemployment and losing income. According to this logic, it is not the individual that elaborates the migration strategies, but the family unit. Gender relations within the family determine who migrates on their own, women or men. Many times, regardless of the women’s opinion, men are the ones that decide that the women should migrate due to the female job offer in developed countries. However, there have been many cases where

women have decided to migrate despite the opinions of the members of the family. Finally, many women from single parent families migrate and leave their children in the home country in the care of other family members or paid caregivers. Parreñas (2001) says that the difference between the transnational families in the past and in the present is that now there are many transitional homes where women are main economical providers.

Although migration causes physical separation from the children that are left in the home countries, that does not break the affective dependence between the mothers and their children. Beneria (2010) states that although subject to changes in time and space, there is evidence that emigrant women's care of their children does not stop when they physically leave them. Their daily and long calls to their children, for example, have been widely reported by researchers. Women try to maintain close ties with their children and to continue to actively exercise their role of mother despite the distances.

The "transnational motherhood" is a phenomenon that has appeared with the feminisation of the migration. Ironically, while a woman's role in the western families is to provide care and affection for the children she takes care of, her own children suffer due to her absence. In fact, researches have shown very ambiguous results regarding the effects of "transitional motherhood" on families. Some studies associate migration with certain crisis of family values and lack of authority that leads to drug addiction, juvenile delinquency, rebellion and school abandon. The geographic separation and the lack of daily interaction with the parents can also cause emotional and psychological problems for the children that are left in the home country (Salazar, 2001 cited in Parella, 2007) However, constant communication through phone calls and chats help maintain strong family connection despite the distance. Besides, the remittances and the prospects for better future encourage both immigrants and their children to endure. In many cases, women are pioneers in the migration chain and they eventually help their children, husbands or relatives to join them in the destination country.

Transnational families certainly face many risks and challenges upon the relationships between the immigrant women and their male partners. In fact,

the distance often destroys marriages. Gregorio Gil's study (1998) on Dominican immigrant women in Madrid shows that the control over women is even stronger when they leave their countries. According to the patriarchal ideologies present among the population of this Caribbean Island, even when women are far away from their husbands, they have to be very careful how they dress and are not supposed to talk to other men. Immigrant men from the same community closely follow everything they do and report to the husbands. That leaves space for circulation of many false information and rumours that often destroy marriages. Nevertheless, Gregorio Gil also demonstrated many examples that show that the freedom that women experience with migration, make them have different view of themselves and the world around them which contributes in changes in the ways the present themselves and their sexuality.

Due to migration women's roles experience contradictory changes. On the one hand, there are role reversals, symbolized by their decision to migrate and to find employment abroad, regardless of what the men in their families do. Likewise, their new role in family maintenance takes place through their contributions to family income through remittances and other means. Both processes represent an increase in women's individual and financial autonomy and a shift toward their economic empowerment. (Beneria, 2010)

However, if we look at the case of the Dominican women studied by Gregorio Gil (1998) we see that great gender inequalities are constant element of their migration experience. On one hand, according to what men and part of the women interviewed by Gregorio Gil said, men *send* women to work in Spain. So, women have rather passive role in the decision regarding their own migration. On the other hand, only women are being blamed for all the problems that appear in their absence. They are being socially castigated for jeopardising the "gender order" by leaving her reproductive role and taking the role of a provider for the family. Furthermore, even when she is the only one who economically maintains the whole family, her income is considered "secondary" or "help" for the family economy.

According to Martin (2003) international migration profoundly affects gender relations, particularly the role of women in households and communities.

It is a fact that by undertaking an autonomous migration with the purpose of providing for the family, women assumes role that has been traditionally considered to be masculine. That way, female migration challenges previously established "gender order". Transnational families assume characteristics that make them different than "traditional" families. Nevertheless, there has not been enough evidence that prove that there have been any significant changes when it comes to distribution of the reproductive work. Transitional families still rely mostly on the labour of other women that replace migrant women in doing domestic work and care related tasks. These women are usually as mothers, sisters, mothers and sisters in law, aunts, neighbour etc.

Still, in many ways migration does improve the autonomy and power of women. When women from traditional societies migrate to advanced industrial societies, they become familiar with new norms regarding women's rights and opportunities. (Martin, 2003) Migration also enables transfer of knowledge regarding health care and education. Women get to decide where they want to invest the money they sent and have a significant role in the lives of their children and relatives. They contribute to the economic development of their countries of destination through their competencies and skills, and to that of their countries of origin through their remittances and their increased experience when they return to those countries

Conclusion

Allocation of care is certainly not a new occurrence. For centuries rich and aristocratic families have used people from lower socio-economical level to take care of the children and elderly and do domestic work for them. Even though most of the women in the past were limited to the private sphere and did not have a paid job, having maids, nannies and governess was considered status symbol and very important component of every affluent family. Since domesticity was traditionally considered as universal and "natural" attribute to women, paid domestic work was gendered, hierarchised and radicalized.

Due to the care crisis, currently having external help with the reproductive work is not only a status symbol, but also a necessity. Yet, it is still a “privilege” that only “economically comfortable” families can have. It is important to stress that care crisis is not only present in developed countries. Women’s paid job; lack of co-responsibility within the family and lack of care services provided by the state create care problems in almost every country. In the same time, the exchange of money for care and domestic service is not only an exchange between developed and developing countries. It is very common within national borders as well. This exchange is also gendered, hierarchised and radicalized.

Globalization and international female migration are relatively recent occurrence. In many ways, they shape the relationships between developed and developing countries. For immigrant women, families that contract them and their families in the country of origin, the above mentioned exchange goes beyond simple money and service transfer. There is also an everyday exchange of different cultural values and norms, beliefs, ways of being and doing things, languages and so on. Immigrant women transfer traits of their own culture in the family and the country that receives them. In the same time, they transfer to their country of origin new ideas, values, qualities and awareness that they acquire in the country of destination. There are many changes and transformations in the families, both in sending and receiving countries. Immigrant women are main agents of those changes and transformations.

By assuming the role of main provider for the family, millions of women cross national borders and undertake paid jobs far away from homes and families. They tend to build bridges between families in sending and receiving countries and try to provide wellbeing for both. This “global women” or “transnational women” are in constant state of mobility and transformation. Despite the emotional, psychological and physical cost of migration, it also brings benefits for women. They gain more independence and higher level of power and authority within the family.

However, even with the evident transformations within the families in both sending and receiving countries and the apparent changes in traditional

gender roles, some things remain the same. Although, women from sending and receiving countries fully participate in paid work there is almost no reciprocity from their male partners when it comes to reproductive work. Reproductive work is still considered female responsibility, and the exchange money for service is considered to be exchange between women. As previously explained, that creates a long care chain that starts with the affluent western women that contracts low wage immigrant women to do reproductive work, and ends with very poor women in some developing country that is being paid even less to take care of the family that the immigrant left behind. Very often, it is the only income source available for women. However, it makes gender segregation even more profound and segregates women in highly unregulated, unvalued and invisible sector of care.

As consequence of international female migration in the era of globalization, families go through transformations that have some positive effects, but also many negative ones. In this globalised world, where information travel from one side of the world to another in a matter of second, there is a huge gap between developed and developing countries. So this kind of modern families, still with obvious hierarchy and gender division, work as little cells where all the positive and negative effects of globalisation are being constantly produced and reproduced.

Relocation of care and female migration can lead to family conflicts, divorces, and communication problems, psychological and emotional difficulties. Contracting immigrant women to ease the tensions might bring temporary solution to the care crisis, but it does not solve the problem. In fact, it only helps the state and men to avoid their responsibilities in solving problems with social reproduction. If there wasn't for that exchange and hierarchised alliance between women, would men still be so comfortable doing exclusively valued and visible productive work in the labor market? Would companies still be so comfortable exploiting men and women labor in order to maximize gains while basic society cells, families, are unable to sustain? Or families would inevitable have to transform in direction of deconstruction traditional gender roles and

equal and sustainable distribution of productive and reproductive between adult male and female members of the family?

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ТРАНСФРОМАЦИЈА НА СЕМЕЈСТВОТОТ ПОД ВЛИЈАНИЕ НА ГЛОБАЛИЗАЦИЈАТА И МЕЃУНАРОДНИТЕ МИГРАЦИИ: РОДОВА ПЕРСПЕКТИВА

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АПСТРАКТ

Различни социо-културни и економски фактори предонесуваат за феминизација на интернационалната миграција. Од една страна, развиените земји се соочуваат со таканаречената „care crises“ (криза на грижата), односно тешкотии во балансирањето на продуктивните и репродуктивните обврски. Од друга страна, луѓето во земјите во развој страдаат од високо ниво на сиромаштија. Па така, се зголемува побарувачката и понудата на женски труд во секторот на грижа. Глобализацијата исто така игра важна улога во женската миграција. Овој труд се осврнува на влијанието на глобализацијата и женската миграција врз семејствата, како во земјата на потекло, така и во таа на доселување. Преку анализа на одредени аспекти од женската миграција, овој труд има цел да ги идентификува трансформациите во семејствата и нивните импликации, вклучувајќи ја родовата перспектива.

Клучни зборови: глобализација, интернационална миграција, женска миграција, „криза на грижата“, транснационални семејства, род