

An abstract painting with vibrant colors and textures, featuring a central figure in a white and blue garment, surrounded by yellow, red, and blue brushstrokes. The background is a mix of these colors, creating a sense of movement and depth.

Migration,
Diasporas and
Citizenship

MIGRATION, MASCULINITIES AND REPRODUCTIVE LABOUR

Men of the Home

Ester Gallo and Francesca Scrinzi

With a foreword by Raewyn Connell



Migration, Diasporas and Citizenship

Series Editors

Robin Cohen

Department of International Development
University of Oxford
Oxford, United Kingdom

Zig Layton-Henry

Department of Politics and International
University of Warwick
Kenilworth, United Kingdom

Editorial Board: Rainer Baubock, European University Institute, Italy; James F. Hollifield, Southern Methodist University, USA; Daniele Joly, University of Warwick, UK; Jan Rath, University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands.

The Migration, Diasporas and Citizenship series covers three important aspects of the migration process: firstly, the determinants, dynamics and characteristics of international migration. Secondly, the continuing attachment of many contemporary migrants to their places of origin, signified by the word 'diaspora', and thirdly, the attempt, by contrast, to belong and gain acceptance in places of settlement, signified by the word 'citizenship'. The series publishes work that shows engagement with and a lively appreciation of the wider social and political issues that are influenced by international migration. This series develops from our Migration, Minorities and Citizenship series, which published leading figures in the field including Steven Vertovec, Daniele Joly, Adrian Favell, John Rex, Ewa Morawska and Jan Rath.

More information about this series at
<http://www.springer.com/series/14044>

Ester Gallo • Francesca Scrinzi

Migration, Masculinities and Reproductive Labour

Men of the Home

palgrave
macmillan

Ester Gallo
Department of Sociology
Gediz University
Menemen (Izmir), Turkey

Francesca Scrinzi
Department of Sociology
University of Glasgow, UK

Migration, Diasporas and Citizenship

ISBN 978-1-137-37977-1

ISBN 978-1-137-37978-8 (eBook)

DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-37978-8

Library of Congress Control Number: 2016936084

© The Editor(s) (if applicable) and The Author(s) 2016

The author(s) has/have asserted their right(s) to be identified as the author(s) of this work in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

This work is subject to copyright. All rights are solely and exclusively licensed by the Publisher, whether the whole or part of the material is concerned, specifically the rights of translation, reprinting, reuse of illustrations, recitation, broadcasting, reproduction on microfilms or in any other physical way, and transmission or information storage and retrieval, electronic adaptation, computer software, or by similar or dissimilar methodology now known or hereafter developed.

The use of general descriptive names, registered names, trademarks, service marks, etc. in this publication does not imply, even in the absence of a specific statement, that such names are exempt from the relevant protective laws and regulations and therefore free for general use.

The publisher, the authors and the editors are safe to assume that the advice and information in this book are believed to be true and accurate at the date of publication. Neither the publisher nor the authors or the editors give a warranty, express or implied, with respect to the material contained herein or for any errors or omissions that may have been made.

Cover illustration: © Zoonar GmbH / Alamy

Printed on acid-free paper

This Palgrave Macmillan imprint is published by Springer Nature
The registered company is Macmillan Publishers Ltd. London

Foreword

It's a cliché to say that we live in a globalised world. It's a fact that we live in a world of increasing global integration. But that does not mean a world that has been homogenised. Global economy and global communications transform and merge structures of social relations, often in intricate ways that produce new boundaries, changed selves, and troubled politics.

This is true for gender relations as for other dimensions of society. Scholarship is gradually coming to terms with the depth of gender's enmeshing, for the last 500 years, in global empire and its successor, the global neoliberal economy. Patterns of masculinity and femininity, gender divisions of labour, gendered state structures, patterns of desire and hatred are all shaped by this involvement. They are very directly shaped by one of the most conspicuous features of empire and the postcolonial economy, the long-distance movement of gendered bodies and populations. That is to say, by migration.

In this notable contribution to migration studies, Ester Gallo and Francesca Scrinzi offer a carefully theorised account of migrant masculinities that is based on a remarkable piece of research. They have studied the situations of migrant men and women in Italy for 16 years, accumulating a rich set of interviews and field observations. They have a detailed knowledge of the research literature on migration, as well as on gender. They have followed the politics of migration as it changed with the rise

and fall of parties in the post-Christian-Democrat era of Italian life. They have connected their fieldwork with the debates over economic strategy and European integration, and the panics over “Muslim terrorism” which have a sharp focus on migrant masculinities.

Gallo and Scrinzi observe that in migration studies, as in most fields of research, a concern with gender has usually meant a concern with women. There are historical reasons for this, in the feminist effort to redress the non-recognition of women and women’s experience. Yet gender is relational, as the authors emphasise. Indeed, gender involves a whole structure of relations. Men are as much embroiled in gender relations as women are. To understand the way the gender order works, understanding men’s situations is as vital as understanding women’s. Above all, we need to understand those situations *together*; and this is what *Migration, Masculinities and Reproductive Labour: Men of the Home* does.

The book does so effectively because it does not treat the situations of men and women in static or stereotyped ways. The authors are well aware of social stereotypes and their ambiguous power, but they are not taken in by them. The book is full of the evidence of diversity, variation, and invention in everyday life. The position of men is not understood as one of simple domination. Indeed, some of the most interesting passages concern migrant men’s *dependence*, short term or long term, on women, whether as breadwinning spouses or employers. The “moral debt” that men in care work or domestic work often owe to the women who created pathways for them and the humiliation of doing women’s work and working for women are pointers to major issues in changing masculinities.

This is to say that Gallo and Scrinzi consistently see gender relations as historically dynamic. These relations were constructed over time, and change through time. They change under the pressure of economic and political events—rising and falling labour demand, softening and hardening immigration regimes, the drama of the War on Terror, and so on.

And they change because of the agency of the migrants themselves, individually and collectively. Another intensely interesting topic of the book is the way immigrant men, from positions of cultural and economic weakness, may set about reasserting gender privilege in new forms. Patriarchy is not just “tradition”. As the history of the computer industry shows, it can be re-created in new shapes suited to new conditions.

The facts of large-scale labour migration require us to think about gender orders on a world scale. Labour migration from poorer countries to richer countries is shaped by the long-term history of empire, and its residues of industrialisation, wealth accumulation, resource politics, and the information economy. Gallo and Scrinzi are actually writing about postcolonial relations, not just in Italy—a modern imperial power though not one of the big empires—but also on a world scale. This is demanded by the super-diversity that is so striking a feature of contemporary migrant workforces. Among their research participants are migrants from Eastern Europe, South America, Africa, the Arab world, South Asia, and the Pacific.

They write about postcolonial relations in full awareness of the way race, religion, and postcoloniality have become inflamed issues in contemporary politics. Though the research was done before the Syrian civil war and the European refugee crisis of 2015, the book throws a strong light on the fear, confusion, and political toxicity that emerged during these events. This is social research that matters.

Gallo and Scrinzi are illuminating about large-scale social structures and historical dynamics. But they do not lose touch (as so much political economy does) with the personal and intimate. Their topic, reproductive labour, centrally concerns domestic life, human relations, emotions, and sexuality. A substantial part of the book addresses the way migrant men and women *negotiate* the situations in which the macro-history has placed them.

Here we see the re-working of masculinities, the re-interpretation of different kinds of labour, and the networks of relationships—including continuing links with families in home countries—that the workers build and sustain. Here we see the projects of social (as well as geographical) mobility in which many of the men are engaged; the hopes as well as the fears in their personal agendas.

The topic is paid reproductive work, and one of the most striking things about this study is that it also documents the experience of employers. The men and women who pay for this work, in whose households the care work and housework are done, are also part of the changing gender order. In many discussions of ‘care chains’ the employer is just an abstract middle-class white woman in the global metropole, benefiting

from third-world poverty.

Gallo and Scrinzi show the situation is much more complex and interesting than this. Ruling-class families are also involved, and some working-class families too; and different patterns of employment may result from the class dynamics. Faithful to their relational view of gender, Gallo and Scrinzi point to the involvement of men as employers of domestic labour. Chapter 5 provides rare, and extremely interesting, evidence on men's strategies and practices as domestic employers, and the ways they are nuanced by Italian men's constructions of masculinity.

This is a book that deals carefully with large, immensely complex issues; but also works at a human level and gives insight into emotion, hopes, and fears. It offers a national case study, but does that in a way that illuminates situations around the world. It is based on careful, thoughtful, long-term study; we can rightly call this "in-depth" research.

I hope its findings will be noted not just in a specialised field but widely among social scientists working to understand contemporary societies and their transformations. And I hope Gallo and Scrinzi's approach and findings will be appreciated by the policy-makers who have to steer a humane and informed course on migration issues, in an environment now heavy with fear, hatred, and misrepresentation. If social science really can help social policy, this is the kind of research that will do it.

Raewyn Connell
Sydney
December 2015

Acknowledgements

The idea of this book originated in the middle of a cold and grey Scottish winter in 2009: over tea and cakes, we started to exchange our research experiences and ideas on gender, migration, and paid and unpaid care/domestic work and to plan future joint investigations on the under-researched topic of migrant masculinities. We thus owe a debt of gratitude to Katharine Charsley for putting us in contact, creating an occasion for collaboration and friendship. Since then, our work has greatly benefited from the insightful comments and generous support of many colleagues. Our first co-authored work on this topic was presented in 2012 at the conference organised by Helma Lutz, *Transforming Gender Orders: Intersections of Care, Family and Migration*, held at the Goethe-Universität, Frankfurt am Main. We are grateful to Rosie Cox, Pierrette Hondagneu-Sotelo, Eleonore Kofman, Sonya Michel, Mirjana Morokvasic, Fiona Williams, and other conference participants for involving us, over the years, in a stimulating debate on the future directions of studies of gender, migration, and reproductive labour and for their helpful feedback at different stages of the writing process. We would like to thank Paolo Boccagni, Rebecca Kay, Michael Kimmel, Elisabetta Ruspini, Raffaella Sarti, and Anna Triandafyllidou for their

x Acknowledgements

comments, support, and encouragement throughout the process and Raewyn Connell for her trust and interest in our work. The book has also benefited from the comments of two anonymous reviewers from Palgrave. Last but not least, Philippa Grand and Judith Allan have provided helpful guidance and have been very patient with the many delays in delivering the manuscript.

We dedicate this book to all the migrant women and men who live and work in Italy, challenging racism daily and making it a better place at these difficult times.

Endorsements

‘This pioneering monograph on migrant men and domestic work offers unique perspectives on a globally diverse set of migrant men cleaning, caring and tending to people in Italy. It is a must-read for anyone interested in men, migration and reproductive labor.’

—**Pierrette Hondagneu-Sotelo**,
University of Southern California, USA

‘The authors are to be congratulated for an incisive and innovative analysis of gender, migration and the international division of reproductive labour which challenges the dichotomy between hegemonic masculinity and subordinate forms of femininity. Based on rich ethnographic research extending over a decade, the book highlights the construction of masculinity in the private sphere and not just in public spaces and institutions, and the multiple roles of men as providers, carers, fathers and husbands.’

—**Eleonore Kofman**,
Middlesex University, UK

‘Globalized care work has long been considered a female domain, whether one is talking about the caregivers or the consumers. This original and important book opens up a new dimension in the study of contemporary migration and social reproduction by focusing on masculinities and the role of men. Drawing on ethnography, interviews and narratives over

time and using Italy as a case study, Gallo and Scrinzi challenge existing theories of masculinity as well as perceptions of care work. Through sensitive interpretations of their own data, they offer fresh insights into how gender, along with race, ethnicity and, especially in Italy, religion shape care labour, and how male migrants' negotiations of their situations affect family dynamics in both sending and receiving countries. *Migration, Masculinities and Reproductive Labour: Men of the Home* is bound to become an instant classic in the field'.

—**Sonya Alice Michel**,
University of Maryland, USA

'This book offers a highly original and critical contribution to the scholarly debate on reproductive labour, global care chains and gender. Francesca Scrinzi and Ester Gallo explore how migrant men enter the area of reproductive labour seeking for respectable and legal employment, how they thus address criminalisation and racialization discourses and seek to strategically turn them on their head. This book unpacks the many facets of masculinity in care work casting new light to our understanding of gendered migrations.'

—**Anna Triandafyllidou**,
European University Institute, Italy

Contents

1 Introduction: Men and Masculinities in the International Division of Reproductive Labour	1
Masculinities, Migration, and Globalisation	2
Men as Consumers and Providers of Reproductive Labour	9
Researching Migrant Men in Italy	18
Outline of the Book	25
Bibliography	30
2 Migrant Men in Europe and Beyond: Historical and Sociological Perspectives	37
Gendering Male Migration in a Global Context	39
Gendered Migration and Labour in Contemporary Europe	42
Migrant Women and Men in Contemporary Italy	45
Gendered Intersections of Care and Migration in Contemporary Italy	49
Masculinity, Care, and Domestic Labour	57
Economic Crisis and the Remasculinisation of Reproductive Labour in Italy	60
Gendered and Racialised Hierarchies in Domestic/Care Labour	64
Conclusion	69
Bibliography	70

3	Gender, Racism, and Migrant Reproductive Labour in Italy and Europe	85
	Racialisation and Migrant Labour in Contemporary Europe	86
	Gendered Processes of Racialisation	89
	Gender, Religion, and Multi-culturalism	93
	Party Politics and the Political Discourse on Immigration in Italy	97
	The Catholic Church and Immigration in Italy	104
	Religion and the Gendered Racialisation of Migrants in Italy	108
	The Role of the Catholic Church in the Organisation of Domestic/Care Services in Italy	111
	Migrant Masculinities and Domestic/Care Labour in Italy	115
	Conclusion	119
	Bibliography	120
4	Migrant Men Doing ‘Women’s Work’	131
	Men Seeking ‘Women’s Jobs’	133
	Strategies of Male Domestic/Care Workers	141
	Migrant Men Engaging in Emotional Labour	151
	Migrant Men’s Professional Mobility in Reproductive Labour	160
	Conclusion	164
	Bibliography	166
5	Masculinities and Work Relations in the Home	171
	Becoming Employers: Between Ideologies and Practices	174
	Masculinity and Household Security	180
	Masculinities, Personalism, and Class	188
	Masculinities, Religion, and Respectability in Work Relations	197
	Conclusion	200
	Bibliography	201
6	Masculinity, Reproductive Labour, and Transnational Families	205
	Waiting Husbands	207
	Masculinity, Illegality, and Domestic/Care Services	212

Deskilling, Gendered Networks, and Debt Repayment	218
Shifting Conjugal Relations and the Gendered Division of Work	226
Male Domestic/Care Workers and Changing Experiences of Fatherhood	234
Conclusion	239
Bibliography	241
7 Moving Out of ‘Women’s Work’	245
Migrant Porters: A Specialised Niche	247
Asian Porters in Rome and Milan: Changing Conjugal Relations	250
Porterage, Masculinity, and the Management of Social Relations	257
Moving Out of Household-Based Domestic/Care Services	263
Migrant Fathers Engaging in Associations and Political Activism	272
Conclusion	275
Bibliography	276
8 Conclusion: Migrant Men’s Strategies in the IDRL	279
Men, Masculinities, and the Feminisation of International Migration	281
Racialised Masculinities and Religion in Immigration Contexts	283
Migrant Masculinities, Social Mobility, and Occupational Cultures	285
Men, Masculinities, and Reproductive Labour at Local and Transnational Level	291
Bibliography	294
Bibliography	297
Index	305

1

Introduction: Men and Masculinities in the International Division of Reproductive Labour

In contemporary societies, reproductive labour has been increasingly recognised as an important context in which to map the gendered implications of global capitalism (Anderson 2000; Kofman and Raghuram 2015; Momsen 1999; Tyner 1999; Standing 1999; Williams 2010). In the Global North, the new demand for domestic/care services, supplied by cheap and flexible women labour from depressed non-Western economies, is linked to the restructuring of public care provision. This materialises in what scholars define as the ‘international division of reproductive labour’ (IDRL) (Parreñas 2001: 561), the ‘global nanny chain’ (Hochschild 2000: 33), or ‘the transnational political economy of care’ (Williams 2012: 364). In affluent immigration societies, privileged women purchase low-wage domestic/care services from migrant women, who, in turn, rely on lower-wage paid domestic/care work provided by more disadvantaged women who look after their families ‘left behind’ in their home countries. This ‘outsourcing’ of domestic/care tasks relies on migrant (mostly female) labour, which is made flexible and precarious by restrictive immigration policies.

This book explores the gendered experiences of migrant men and the social construction of racialised masculinities in the context of the

IDRL. It responds to the need to fully recognise the role gender plays in the relationship between globalisation, migration, and domestic/care labour by bringing men back into the analysis of how new patterns of consumption and provision of paid domestic/care work lead to forms of inequality across racial, ethnic, gender, and class lines (cf. Kilkey et al. 2013a). By bridging the established recent literature on international migration and paid domestic/care work with the emerging scholarship on migration and masculinity (Ryan and Webster 2008; Donaldson et al. 2009; Hearn et al. 2013; Kilkey et al. 2010; Sarti and Scrinzi 2010), the book innovatively explores the practices and experiences of migrant men employed as domestic/care workers. It highlights how migrant men's experiences of both paid domestic/care work and the family are shaped by global forces and structures, as well as by changing welfare systems and care and immigration regimes, and how men negotiate the changes and potential conflicts that their involvement in reproductive labour may entail. It does so by developing a comparative analysis between the working and family lives of migrant men and women engaged within the IDRL. It also analyses the impact of legal, religious, socio-economic, and political forces on migrants' lives as well as how they actively try to negotiate their identities, social relations, and prospects of mobility in the process.

Masculinities, Migration, and Globalisation

Migrant domestic labour represents an important object of enquiry in understanding racism, as the IDRL 'provides a critical example of the structural arrangement of resources based on racism, ethnicity and citizenship status' (Moras 2008: 245). In the last decade, scholars writing in both feminist and masculinity studies have increasingly recognised the need for a more relational analysis of how gender is involved in globalisation, and have argued that the understanding of femininities cannot be disentangled from the analysis of their relation to masculinities (Ward 1993; Connell 1998; Fernandez-Kelly and Wolf 2011; Poster 2002). The move beyond a unitary and essentialist view of gender has required not only the recognition of the co-existence of a plurality of femininities and masculinities in specific social contexts, but also the understanding of the

hierarchies that structure relations between different groups of men and of women (Connell 1987; Collins 1999).

The almost exclusive focus on women that accompanied pioneering studies of gender in global factories (Fuentes and Ehrenreich 1984; Ong 1983; Hsiung 1996; Sassen 1998; Lee 1998) and pink-collar sectors (Freeman 2000) has prompted scholars to interrogate what models of hegemonic hyper-masculinity underpin the expansion of corporate capitalism and global institutions (Jackall 1988; Hacker 1989; Reed 1996; Woodward 1996; Beneria 1999). In this line of research, ethnographies of men and masculinities in business corporations and supranational institutions have importantly questioned the persistent gender-neutral approach of research on men, work, and the economy (Acker 2004). They have also mapped similarities and differences between colonial masculinities, largely based on violence and domination, and models of globalising hegemonic masculinities centred upon claims of expertise and professional status (Connell 1998). By connecting the analysis of the feminisation of labour—and the resulting affirmation of subordinated models of femininities—with the understanding of hegemonic models of hyper-masculinity, these studies have jointly mapped the working of patriarchal power within the global economy. This book, however, questions the persistent tendency to assume that masculinity is forged in the ‘outsider’ domain of institutionalised work settings as opposed to the ‘private’ sphere of the home. Indeed, two important reviewers of gender in the global workplace (Aker 2004; Poster 2002) seem to build their analysis in a dual manner. Firstly, they point out the importance of racialisation and sexuality in global domestic labour. Secondly, they consider masculinities in the context of globalisation. However, while both these studies advocate intersectional analysis of masculinity, sexuality, and racialisation (albeit in different ways), these issues are not brought directly into the questioning of gender in domestic labour and occupational culture. Instead, recent work has pointed to the relevance of the home and of reproductive labour as sites where hegemonic masculinities are produced and negotiated at the interplay of multiple social relations (Sarti and Scrinzi 2010; Kilkey 2010). Furthermore, pioneering work on masculinity and migrant domestic work in the UK and the USA has shown that middle-class men often come to play a direct and agentic role

in driving demand for commodified domestic/care services. The analysis developed by Kilkey, Perrons, and Plomien shows how men play an important role in the reproduction of gendered and racialised stereotypes within the domestic/care sector and how the construction of middle-class identity as professionals and also as fathers increasingly relies on the outsourcing of reproductive labour (Kilkey et al. 2013a).

Overall, it is important to remark here how 'women are not assigned to positions in processes of production and reproduction entirely by the imperatives of an all-powerful patriarchy, nor do men freely choose the nature, content and extent of the domestic production they engage by virtue of their gender' (Jackson 2001: 5). Indeed, it should be noted that men do not only participate in the exploitation and marginalisation of women in the global economy, but are also subject to the pressures of globalisation. Indeed, as Connell has noted, globalising forms of hegemonic masculinity also gives rise to the emergence of subordinated models of manhood, a fact that compels scholars to adopt a 'more holistic understanding of gender hierarchies by also recognising the agency of subordinate groups' (Connell 2005: 848). A better understanding of gender hierarchies and of the historical interplay between femininities and masculinities necessitates the analysis of masculinities among marginalised ethnic groups, alongside the consideration of how middle-class women 'may appropriate aspects of hegemonic masculinity in constructing corporate or professional careers' (ibid: 847–48).

In this context, international migration has only recently started to be recognised as an area of enquiry of subordinated masculinities. As studies of Asian men in Gulf and Western countries show, migration for men implies experiences of deskilling and loss of status, which undermine their ability to act as men both in the receiving context and back in their homeland (Margold 1995; George 2005; Gamburd 2000). Importantly, these studies have pointed out the need to consider downward mobility not only in terms of class but also in its implications for gender (Ryan and Webster 2008). Migration challenges men's public status and their roles as husbands, fathers, and householders, and increasingly pressures them to live up to new family and social expectations (Osella and Osella 2000; Charsley 2005; Gallo 2006). As for women, the global labour market, as well as women's reinsertion into migration national policies,

favours the deskilling and hard-working docility of migrant men and makes women more vulnerable in social, legal, and health terms (Herbert 2008; Walter et al. 2004; Haggis and Schech 2009). In many receiving contexts, migrants have increasingly become objects of securitising and racialising discourses, which construct migrant masculinity as a source of dangerous and hyper-sexual behaviour and as a threat to national well-being and identity. While the scholarship focusing on racialised masculinity and migration is growing, it, however, remains limited (Donaldson et al. 2009; Charsley 2005; George 2005; Ahmad 2011; Pasura 2008; Batnitzky et al. 2009).

Overall, and partly as the result of primary attention being paid to hegemonic forms of masculinities, the impact of migration on men's experiences and on the hierarchical pluralisation of masculinities has been largely undertheorised (Hibbins and Pease 2009; Messner 1997). There is a pressing need to fully acknowledge migrant men as gendered social actors¹ in order to unravel how migration underpins the social construction of masculinities (Datta et al. 2009; Willis and Yeoh 2000) and to recognise the complex and multi-layered experiences of migrant men beyond their assumed role as exclusively economic subjects (Kofman and Raghuram 2015). The lack of gendered analysis of men's migration can be partly explained by referring to the gender-blind theories that have long dominated migration studies (Kofman 1999). While neoclassical economic theories have been centred on individual interest-based decisions and the push–pull factor, Marxist-inspired structuralist approaches have, to a large extent, focused on capital and labour dynamics (Castles and Kosack 1973; Harzing 2001; Peach 1968; Phizacklea and Miles 1980). Migration scholars have wrestled between 'overly optimistic renditions of the agency of male migrants and their ability to act rationally in response

¹We consider gender as relational and centrally defined by the social hierarchy between men and women. Ethnicity, interplaying with class and gender, constitutes a primary dimension of social stratification in contemporary societies; class, gender, and ethnicity are based on and reproduce both symbolic hierarchies and material inequalities in the allocation and consumption of resources (Anthias 2001). We also consider the gendered division of work to be a crucial site for investigating gender relations in a way that avoids conflating the notion of gender with the category of women. Men are gendered social actors who develop strategies to maintain their material and symbolic privileges and to accommodate changing relations of gender, thus contributing to the transformation of models of masculinity (and femininity) (Connell 1987).

to economic motivations', as in 'push-pull' explanations, and other renditions negating 'any such agency in favour of more structuralist explanations of migration', as in studies within the Marxist political economy approach (Datta et al. 2009: 855). There has indeed been a persistent dualism in the conceptualisation of 'men's migration' and 'women's migration'.² While labour migration has usually been conceptualised as a male economic endeavour and explained in relation to structural forces, female migration has been traditionally explained in terms of personal motives, such as those related to family reunion, and less in terms of structural forces. Economic and 'public' factors are more often used to explain male migration than female migration, and therefore male migration has not been conceptualised in relation to 'private' events and motives related to the family (Donato et al. 2006; Morokvasic 1983). The breadwinning role of migrant men and men's experiences and understanding of family relations have, to a large extent, been taken for granted. Tellingly, studies in transnational household practices and emotional labour have mainly focused on migrant women (Baldassar 2008; Baldassar and Merla 2013; Maehara 2010; Hall 2008), with scholars highlighting how gender is constituted through acts of transnational communication in 'mother-away families' (Parreñas 2005: 319; Boccagni 2009a), how migrant mothers try to compensate for physical and emotional distance through transnational kin work (Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila 2004; Asis et al. 2004; Pessar and Mahler 2003), how women cope with the fear of losing control of their children's lives but also the latter's trust and attachment, and how women face the challenge of rebuilding conjugal and parental relations after family reunion (Mason 2004; Boccagni 2012; Zontini 2004). Pioneering scholarship has, however, highlighted the need to include migrant men's shifting personal and family-related practices, emotions, and expectations in the analysis of international mobility. This work has explored how the tensions between the *ordinary* and the *extraordinary* in family relations, and between ideals and realities, are deeply affecting men's lives (Dreby 2010; Gutmann 1997), and how migrant men's involvement in migration goes well beyond their role as economic providers, and generates dilemmas, suffering, and emotional contradictions in

² See also the analysis developed in Chap. 2 for a more detailed discussion of the literature.

their lives as husbands, fathers, and elderly care providers (Schmalzbauer 2015; Adhikari 2013; Sinatti 2013; Kilkey et al. 2013b; Fresnoza-Flot 2014; Kilkey 2014).

A gendered theorisation of migration started to emerge in the 1980s, although this then frequently translated into an empirical focus on women (Chant and Radcliffe 1992; Donato et al. 2006; Morokvasic 1983). This has been evidenced by feminist theoretical contributions, which, from the 1990s, have revealed the complexity of migration patterns and motivations beyond the labour–family migration dualism. This important work highlighted the complex and often tense relations underpinning the meso-level dimension of household dynamics within international migration as well as the active role of migrant women not only in contributing to the household economy but also in gaining personal independence (Pessar 1986; Mahler and Pessar 2006; Kibria 1993; Thangarajah 2003; Gamburd 2000; Mills 1999). We should note that the achievement of an active role within the household is only one aspect of women’s expectations related to emigration. This is paralleled by their personal projects of transformation outside the household as independent women, a development that often causes conflicts within their family (Gallo 2005). The ground-breaking work of Mary Beth Mills (1999, 1997) on Thai migrant women unravels how migration for Thai women implies a complex mixture of household duties and personal desires, which bring them to actively contest prescriptive family-gendered roles and to pursue personal projects of autonomy, while simultaneously trying to maintain and refashion kinship ties and obligations under a new light. Yet, Mahler and Pessar note that in studies highlighting the enhanced role of women as active agents of international migration, there are ‘sufficient countervailing ethnographic accounts that describe the intensification of men’s control over women as well as instances of emotional and physical abuse’ (2006: 34–5; see also for instance Abdulrahim 1993), necessitating caution as well as further comparative research. Crucially, Mahler and Pessar stress the need to ‘probe further how changes in females’ status as a result of migration affect masculine privilege and how this interrelates with other challenges to males’ self-esteem that are caused by racism, classism, religion and legal status’ (ibid). This important recognition speaks to the wider need to avoid the dichotomisation of women’s and men’s

experiences in the social sciences (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005). Indeed, if feminist studies have concentrated on the relationship between gender and migration by focusing on women, men's studies have tended to analyse masculinities by looking at men in relation to other men (cf. Brod 1994). To date, very few studies systematically compare men's and women's gendered experiences of migration. Limited exceptions have mainly engaged with Asian migrants in Asia and the USA (Gamburd 2000; George 2000, 2005; Ye 2014), but are rare in the European context, where studies of gender and migration have largely remained concerned with women.

Over the past few years, however, scholarship on migrants' experiences of fatherhood is starting to challenge the construction of male migration as independent and labour-oriented rather than related to family issues (Kilkey et al. 2013b; Brannen et al. 2013). Indeed, family and economic reasons, as well as individual aspirations, affect decisions about migrating for both men and women (Kofman et al. 2000: 44). Some studies are also starting to explore the migration of male sex workers, still largely invisible in the literature on migrant sex workers, and present them as active agents in control of their lives, as often victimising rather than victimised (Dennis 2008). Nicola Mai's research (2004) on minor and young adult migrant male sex workers indicates that migration is not only an inroad to legitimate kinship roles but is also aimed at a desire to experience 'more modern' and hedonistic individualised lifestyles. This literature too shows that male migration should be understood as driven by a more complex range of motives that are beyond the economic and the breadwinning role undertaken by male migrants, as a 'rite of passage' into adulthood and the search for (sexual) freedom.

Overall, and despite these important pioneering studies, the need to challenge the gendered distinction and clear separation between labour migration and family migration (considered as secondary) persists today. More specifically, we need to understand male migration as a gendered process beyond the economic lens and not simply view it as labour migration driven by structural forces or self-interested motives related to gains based on wage differentials, to the survival of their family, or to conforming to their breadwinner role. Very little is known about how marginalised and subordinated masculinities are changing in different national

locations as a result of global forces, and about the connections between ethnicity and masculinity in specific occupational settings (Hibbins and Pease 2009; see also Poster 2002: 144). There is an increasing need to unravel how the complex interaction between men and women, between and within migrant groups, and between migrants and indigenous groups, informs masculine as well as feminine identities (Ryan and Webster 2008).

Men as Consumers and Providers of Reproductive Labour

Some of the scholars intervening in the debates on migrant domestic/care labour have expressed dissatisfaction with the notion of 'care', privileging 'reproductive labour'. Care work is deemed to have a relational nature which requires personal interactions and face-to-face communication, and produces changes in the recipient of the service (England et al. 2002). Different theoretical approaches to care have important implications for our understanding of intersecting social relations of gender, ethnicity, and class. In line with Glenn (1992), who first stressed the wide spectrum of activities and resulting social relationships constructed through reproductive labour, Parreñas notes (2012: 270) how this 'entails a wider array of activities than care work; it includes purchasing household goods, preparing food, laundering clothes, dusting furniture, sweeping floors, maintaining community ties, caring for adults and children, socializing children, and providing emotional support'. As Mignon Duffy (2005: 79) observes, 'a theoretical focus on [care] privileges the experiences of white women and excludes large numbers of very-low-wage-workers'. Duffy draws a distinction between 'nurturant' versus 'non-nurturant' care work. In the USA, the 'racial division of care work' (ibid: 71) involves white women being over-represented in nurturant care jobs involving emotional labour such as elderly care and childcare, while racialised women are largely employed in both nurturant and non-nurturant care jobs such as cleaning and cooking. Racialised hierarchies indeed distinguish different groups of women. In contrast to the notion of care, the concept of reproductive labour enables us to consider better the racial inequalities

among care providers and care recipients (Parreñas 2012). Much of the work done by migrant women in contemporary European societies is actually non-relational, which suggests that focusing on the notion of 'care' can lead to ignoring the bulk of the 'dirty work' performed by these women. According to Parreñas (2012), a focus on reproductive labour allows us to juxtapose the role of the working-class employees with the role of middle-class employers and to map how racial, gender, and ethnic inequalities are reproduced by the consumption of these services within the household. A similar line is followed by Eleanor Kofman (2012), who rightly stresses that the category of social reproduction has the advantage of going beyond the exclusive focalisation on providing care to dependent people, and of including the complex binding of professionally active and dependent populations at global level. We follow Parreñas (2001, 2012) and Kofman (2012) here and understand 'reproductive labour' as encompassing moral, emotional, and material care, addressing the needs of dependent individuals (children and adults) as well as those of the active population. This labour is key to social reproduction, defined as 'the array of activities and relationships in maintaining people both on a daily basis and inter-generationally' (Glenn, 1992: 1). The notion of reproduction emerged in the 1970s in feminist debates over the relationship between capitalism and patriarchy. It refers to both biological and social reproduction sustaining people's lives that is needed by all production systems (Truong 1996). At the same time, we contextually refer to 'care' and/or 'domestic' work throughout the book to delve into migrants' engagement within multiple tasks that can be differently gendered. These range from the 'feminine' tasks of cleaning, caring for the elderly people, cooking, or shopping, to the more 'masculine' tasks performed by janitors, gardeners, or handymen. We nevertheless note how, in different national or local contexts, specific tasks like janitor duties, cooking, or shopping can be differently constructed as 'masculine' or 'feminine' or as a nuanced combination of both (see the analysis developed in Chaps. 4, 6, and 7).

As different authors have noted, the IDRL provides a relevant context in which to understand contemporary forms of racism based on essentialist definitions of cultural difference, and the interplay between gender and ethnicity (Lutz et al. 1995; Miles 1993; McGovern 1997; Anderson 2000; Lan 2006; Moras 2010). Racialisation is 'inherent to the global

uses of women's labour' (Poster 2002: 132), and in the construction of the desirable worker that moulds the hiring process, managerial control in the workplace and women's lives in general. Paid domestic/care work also entails 'a distinctive type of transnational racism and development of racial hierarchies, as this occupation has become especially globalised in the past decade through the immigration of third world domestic workers to the first world' (Poster 2002: 133). Despite the global relevance of a racialising tendency within domestic/care labour, racialised relations are nevertheless constructed in many and often unpredictable ways. In different national contexts, the racialising process draws in diverse ways from local politics of ethnicity, religion, and nationality, and witnesses 'novel forms of cultural racism' (Poster 2002; Anderson 2000). Racialising attitudes intertwine with politics of discipline usually imposed on domestic/care workers' sexuality and intimate relations, as the body becomes a target of labour control (Constable 1997; Anderson 2003; Ehrenreich and Hochschild 2003).

However, despite the complex relational nature usually assigned to employment relations within the IDRL, current studies have seldom transcended an exclusive focus on women in their conceptualisation of global relationships of paid domestic/care work. Such relationships are mainly conceived in terms of 'female employer–female employee' (Ehrenreich 2003; Rerrich 1993; Lutz 2002; Hondagneu-Sotelo 1997; Andall 2000; Escrivá 2000; Anderson 2000). As has been recently pointed out, the focus of these studies is narrow, and we need a more complex definition of the IDRL (Kofman and Raghuram 2006). Yeates (2009) suggests that a better relational understanding of reproductive labour should include other social actors beyond women and explore the role of men as care providers. The possible inclusion of men within the analysis of the IDRL has been questioned by some scholars on the premise that few men are actually found in reproductive labour and that an emphasis on men's presence would lead to romanticising the limited presence of those men who engage in this work (Parreñas 2012: 272). Duffy (2005) shows how in the USA racialised men engage in non-nurturant care jobs in the public sphere, unlike racialised women who are more often found in household-based jobs. Nevertheless, Duffy argues that 'instead of calling for studies on the care work of men, perhaps we need to formulate

ways of documenting how the labour of migrant women relieves not only other women but also provides “benefits to men, other family members, and society as a whole” (2005: 80). Parreñas (2012) concurs with Duffy in minimising the role of men in reproductive labour, which is deemed to be confined to non-nurturant and non-emotional tasks.

In this book we acknowledge the concerns of authors like Parreñas and Duffy insofar as we agree that men remain a minority in the provision of paid and unpaid reproductive labour when compared to their female counterparts. However, we also argue for the need to include men as consumers of reproductive services as well as actors who are engaged in household dynamics concerning the presence of a male migrant employee. We also have concerns about dismissing the presence of migrant men within nurturant care occupations based on the assumption that they remain an insignificant minority or that they are practically or ideologically detached from nurturing (and thus feminising) occupations, while at the same time conceptualising as exclusively ‘masculine’ other forms of reproductive labour such as janitorial tasks or food preparation. Our ethnographic research, in fact, shows that many migrant men are engaged not only in masculine niches of the sector (as porters, drivers, handymen, etc.) but also in feminised occupations such as cleaning and elderly care. Our study highlights how men’s engagement with this wide array of tasks leads them, at times, to challenge essentialist-gendered constructions of specific tasks as well as the distinction between feminised and masculinised occupations, and to contextually highlight how both domains—‘feminine/nurturing’ versus ‘masculine/non-nurturing’—might require the enactment of sometimes blurred gendered subjectivities and skills. Migrant men in nurturing care jobs constitute a significant group to the extent to which they enable us to better understand the gendered nature of migration, the racialised and gendered division of work, the processes through which paid care work is constructed as feminine non-skilled work, and how the gendering of jobs can be challenged.

Indeed, the scholarship on masculinity has shown that care is crucial in nuancing men’s experiences in contemporary societies (Russell 2007; Calasanti and King 2007; Thompson 2002). Although women in the family still perform a significantly higher share of care work (Saraceno 2010), men are increasingly more involved in unpaid (and paid, we suggest) family care, according to class differences. While upper-middle

and middle-class families are characterised by more liberal gender ideologies than working-class households, the gendered division of work tends to be more egalitarian in the latter case, where it is associated with lower education levels, economic precariousness, and the lack of opportunities of outsourcing domestic/care work which are available to better-off families (Shows and Gerstel 2009). In Europe, working-class individuals (men and women) are more likely to be personally involved in providing care to their elderly relatives than those with higher education levels (Saraceno 2010). As Hanlon (2012: 6) notes, care relations are a 'source of tensions and contradictions in men's lives', as they require men to negotiate between 'hegemonic dictates of masculinity' and the practices, knowledge, and emotions involved in engaging with care. We argue that the assumption that migrant men do not engage in paid nurturing care work or that they remain ideologically and emotionally detached from care provision, reaffirming their masculinity as a way to keep feminised 'dirty work' at a distance, does not adequately capture the transformative effects of the working experience of those migrant men who enter such feminised occupations because of legal constraints, family expectations, emotional insecurity and fear, or personal choices (see Chaps. 4, 6, and 7 in this book), and does not allow us to map the unpredictable ways in which men make sense of these experiences and of their shifting masculinities. We know very little about the role played by men in the IDRL, both as providers and recipients of domestic/care service. As we have analysed in our previous work (Gallo and Scrinzi 2015), men's involvement as consumers of paid domestic/care services may result in the taking up of responsibilities of hiring, supervising, and supporting domestic/care worker as a way to participate in intergenerational care and in family well-being, and to comply with gendered model of responsible husband or nurturing son. Men's practical and ideological attitude as employers of migrant domestic workers also highly varies according to class, kin role, and working status. While in this context we will mainly focus on middle-class Italian male employers, in another context we have shown how working-class men, while being able to outsource paid care to migrant men on an hourly basis, also struggle with the need to combine different care requirements across generations, and are not fully exempted from their role as informal care providers and engagement with 'dirty' non-nurturing and/or nurturing work (Gallo and Scrinzi 2015).

We move on from these considerations by arguing that we also need to include the analysis of men's experiences and plural masculinities in order to achieve a more relational understanding of gender within the IDRL. In noting how the presence of men in social reproduction still needs to be addressed, Kofman and Raghuram (2015: 7) offer a synthesis, and a point of departure for future studies, of the relational dimension of reproductive labour:

The presence of women and men in migration streams is always intimately related. Social reproduction involves both men and women as providers and recipients of this labour. Gender relations influence the nature of social reproduction, how it is divided and performed and who pays for it and where. These relations are contingent not only upon the social norms of sending and destination countries, but also on the process of transit and the immigration regulations, which influence who is available to do what and the sectors of labour market demands. Moreover, these relations are dynamic and change not only individually but also in relation to each other. For instance, a growth in demand for a certain kind of male labour will also lead to a growth in female migration. [...] Thus female reproductive migrant labour within families accompanies male migrant productive labour, *and the reverse is also true.*

In keeping with this, and as this book also indicates, any analysis of the involvement of women and men in reproductive labour should take into account different socio-economic, institutional, legal, and cultural factors which operate in a gendered way at global as well as national level. As the analysis developed in this book shows, migrant men gain a degree of familiarity with both paid and unpaid care labour through the migration of their wives or other kinwomen, by following the latter in their migrant journeys, as well as by entering migration individually and then confronting a limited labour market and gendered occupational and legal requirements. In the process, migrant men are often, willingly or unwillingly, led to question dominant models of hegemonic masculinity usually associated with non-nurturant, unemotional, and dispassionate conduct and values (Montes 2013) and reconsider their affective and reproductive lives within the family and beyond it.

We argue that we need to integrate in the same frame of analysis how, on the one hand, subordinate men experience globalising pressures by being involved in the feminisation of labour through their migrant wives, daughters, or sisters, and, on the other hand, how hegemonic masculinities are forged through men's consumption of domestic/care services. As we have discussed, on the one hand, the existing research bypasses the political domain of the home as an important site where global hegemonic masculinities are forged through the enactment of family and working relations. On the other hand, it overlooks how subordinate men and masculinities become harnessed in the feminisation of labour, and the importance of paid domestic/care work as a site where masculinities are made and unmade through complex social interactions and where sexuality, intimate relations, and family roles are reworked (Gallo 2006; Chopra 2006; Näre 2010). Indeed, domestic/care services appear as an important site for the construction of racialised and subaltern masculinities across time and space, from the late nineteenth century to the present day, in contexts as diverse as northern, western, and southern Europe, India, and Africa (Sarti and Scrinzi 2010). Importantly, scholars researching men's engagement with occupations traditionally seen as 'women's work' have pointed out that each occupational culture is framed around stereotypical understandings of femininities and masculinities that ask men to comply with, or conform to, public expectations of bodily behaviour that constrain their embodied experience of work. However, the same literature has highlighted how men's engagement with feminised representations of male workers also opens (sometimes limited) spaces of subversion in which gender is actively undone by subjects in order to challenge current representations and to enhance their social positions (Hall et al. 2007; Robinson et al. 2009; Simpson 2004; Williams 1995; Simpson 2004).

Recent work has also demonstrated the heterogeneity of tasks taken up by migrant men within the more general sphere of reproductive labour, ranging from more feminised activities (cooking, cleaning, caring) to traditionally male tasks like gardening or driving (Kilkey et al. 2013a). This heterogeneity is coterminous with the proliferation of paid tasks within the new gendered economies of household services (cleaning, caring, tending, selling, fixing, and serving) that prevail in the new global

cities like Dubai, Los Angeles, London, New York, or Berlin (Sassen 1991). In this line, Ramirez and Hondagneu-Sotelo have shown that in Los Angeles the proliferation of Latino migrant workers has ‘activated an expanding demand for gendered household work’, which is now seen less as a privilege of the rich and more as a resource for a wider range of classes (2009: 72). In turn, they argue, the internal segmentation of employment related to home maintenance allows migrant men a certain degree of social mobility, enabling them to move from positions as unskilled workers to entrepreneurs. Engagement with different aspects of reproductive labour may impact the way men perceive their gendered selves, as well as their experiences of deskilling or, alternatively, of limited social mobility in the receiving context. For example, employment in catering brought Ecuadorian migrant men in New York into the heart of what was, prior to migration, conceived as women’s work. Yet, migrant men also progressively came to view changes in their working lives as part ‘of a larger adherence to the discipline needed to be successful abroad’ and to achieve mature status as adult men (Pribilsky 2004: 319).

Beyond this work, however, very little has been done to explore how men’s gendered practices are changing in different national contexts as a result of international migration and immigration policies. A contextualised analysis of the growing commodification of masculinised domestic/care labour is timely and necessary (Williams 2010; Búriková and Miller 2010). This book draws from the consideration that the prevailing ‘immigrant-women-only approach’ has significantly ‘retarded our understanding of how gender as a social system contextualises migration processes for all migrants’. At the same time, we note that while women’s experiences of international migration in the context of the IDRL have been studied for about 20 years, men’s agency in such global arrangements has not. This is a significant oversight. The increasing presence of migrant workers in reproductive labour jobs requires scholars to achieve a more relational understanding of how gender operates at the interplay between macro-level forces (globalisation and the nation state), the meso-level of social networks and organisations (households, and non-institutional actors such as NGOs trade unions and churches), and the micro-level of the individual workers, their employers, and their families (Kilkey et al. 2010, 2013a; Williams 2012). From this perspective, the book proposes

a ground-breaking analysis of how men become involved in the gendered network of relations underpinning reproductive labour as a result of global forces as well as of shifting migration and care regimes. It adopts a relational perspective on gender by also considering the social network of relationships established by migrant men with female and male employers, female domestic workers, and their female family members, and how these inform their experience and agency as individuals and household members.

Our book, therefore, responds to recent criticisms and debates in the fields of feminist studies, migration studies, and masculinity studies by addressing four sets of issues:

1. *Gender at the interplay between care and migration regimes.* The book addresses the need to analyse how migration regimes in different European states intertwine with care regimes to produce specific gendered configurations of employment. By placing Italy within a wider international framework of analysis, the book contributes to the understanding of how the interplay between global, national, and local forces shapes the gender, ethnic, and class dimension of contemporary social reproduction. By focusing on the progressive enrolment of men in both traditionally male tasks and feminised occupations of reproductive labour, the book achieves a more relational understanding of the gender dynamics underpinning the consumption and provision of such household-based services.
2. *Gendered racism and the social construction of migrant/racialised masculinities.* The book explores the various sites and actors (states, the media, the labour market, the Catholic church, NGOs) contributing to the construction of migrant/racialised masculinities. Through their practices in the public and private spheres, migrant men negotiate and contest dominant models of ‘criminal’ and ‘respectable’ racialised masculinity. In doing so, they contribute to the gendered construction and negotiation of ethnicity and ideas of cultural difference (both between migrants and Italians, and among different groups of migrants).
3. *The reconfiguration of gender across the public/private divide, in the context of international migration.* In immigration societies, migrant men develop strategies to accommodate their own understandings of

masculinity, to resist the demeaning of their masculinity, and to maintain their privileges, both at work and within their families. For these men, the destabilising of patriarchal privileges and downgrading of social mobility due to migration combine with the gendered implications of entering a feminised job in the domestic sphere, often under female authority. At the same time, migrant men can reaffirm patriarchal hierarchies and values at home, and some can also withdraw from domestic/care services in search of better job opportunities.

4. *The plurality of men's practices and masculinities in the IDRL*. Migrant men working as domestic/care workers participate in the gendered and racialised division of work in Italy, within which different constructions of masculinity and femininity are embedded, reproduced, and challenged. Drawing additionally on interviews with male and female employers, the book sheds light on shifting masculinities and men's practices in both migrant and Italian households, whose arrangements concerning the gendered division of work are connected through the 'outsourcing' of domestic tasks. In so doing, and by comparing the trajectories and experiences of migrant men of different nationality, age, and social background, the book explores the plurality of models and experiences of masculinity and the interplay of social relations of gender, class, ethnicity, and racism across the public/private divide.

Researching Migrant Men in Italy

In Italy, a country combining a traditionally familial welfare state with one of the highest rates of inhabitants aged more than 65 years in Europe, the demand for elderly care services is met by migrant workers who often work as live-in domestics. As in other European countries, the USA, or Asia, Italy has witnessed an increasing '*migrantisation*' of paid domestic/care work (Kilkey et al. 2010: 380), that is, the increasing presence of unskilled migrants of different nationalities. Importantly, in the process, migrant labour has come to function as an alternative to the direct provision of these services by the state (Huang et al. 2012; Ramirez 2011; Hondagneu-Sotelo 2001). Otherwise, restrictive Italian immigration policies are positive towards domestic workers, relying on massive regularisations of illegal care-givers.

In Italy, household-based domestic/care services offer migrant men one of the few opportunities to access (albeit insecure) legal juridical status. Further, one of the consequences of increased unemployment among migrants following the global financial crisis of 2008—rising from 12.1 % in 2008 to 16.7 % in 2011—has been the growing number of migrant men accepting low-skilled jobs such as paid domestic/care work as a primary or secondary part-time occupation (Caritas Dossier Statistico Immigrazione 2012). Furthermore, undocumented migrant men tend to enter domestic/care jobs temporarily in order to regularise their juridical position, leaving these occupations after a few years (Sarti 2010). Thus, Italy constitutes a significant case study of the cross-national trend of the ‘re-masculinisation’ of paid reproductive labour. The Italian context thus allows for an analysis of subordinate masculinities in the context of the IDRL and the impact of migration on the gendered division of work, both in migrant and non-migrant families, which is relevant to the global context.

The book is based on ethnographic data collected by the authors (both of whom are native Italian speakers) over a period of 16 years (1996–2012). The research involved a total of 250 interviews (biographical and semi-structured) with male and female informants (migrant workers employed in household-based domestic/care services, their families, employers, training and recruitment workers, representatives of NGOs, trade unions, Catholic parishes, government bodies, and migrants’ associations) as well as participant observation in houses, parishes, associations, and other significant contexts. Out of 250 interviews, 170 were conducted with migrant workers—96 women and 74 men—of different nationalities. Of the 74 men, 18 came from Latin America (Peru and Ecuador), 28 from Southeast and South Asia (the Philippines, India, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, and Pakistan), 13 from Africa (Senegal, Morocco, Ghana, and Cameroon), 6 from Eastern Europe (Poland and Romania), and 9 from Albania. Men from Sri Lanka, India, Morocco, the Philippines, and Peru account for the most significant share of migrant men’s participation in paid domestic/care work in Italy (ISTAT 2009). Nevertheless, important differences exist, at least in the context of our research. In some cases (such as for men from South India, the Philippines, Sri Lanka, and Latin America), men’s entry into unpaid and paid reproductive labour is the result of pioneer and long-term female migration to Italy. In this situation,

migrant men may more often enter the sector as a result of family pressure and also because paid reproductive labour is increasingly becoming an integral part of shifting cultures of migration at home and in the diaspora. As our analysis will show, migrant men may enter into paid domestic/care work in search of stability, safety, or a more rewarding experience (as opposed to riskier occupations or jobs where exposure to racism is felt to be greater). Among migrant men who came to Italy in the 1970s and 1980s, these jobs also offered them an inroad to more professional and better-paid employment in nursing. However, the crossover to nursing from paid domestic/care work in Italy has decreased considerably since the mid-1990s (Gallo 2005, 2006). Among these communities, the role of women as agents of family reunion was particularly heightened, and the migration of husbands, children, or other male kin was actively promoted by pioneer women. In other cases (such as for men from Albania, Morocco, Senegal, Pakistan, and Bangladesh), men's entry into paid reproductive labour is more frequently, although not exclusively, conceptualised in terms of a strategy aimed at securing regularisation, or as a way to regain stability after traumatic journeys as clandestine immigrants or periods of prolonged unemployment. Men from these communities more frequently reached Italy alone; either they were unmarried or had left their spouses behind in the home country. In many of the cases, however, the migrant men we spoke with actively reflected upon their involvement in feminised and masculinised occupations within the IDRL, and on the changes this had produced in their lives and self-perception.

Across different migrant communities, a higher percentage of men than women had previous experiences of internal migration within their own country or abroad. Higher levels of literacy were usually present among South Indian, Sri Lankan, Filipino, and Latin American migrants than among men coming from other countries. For 68 % of the women in our sample, Italy was their first migrant destination; for many of them, domestic/care labour was their first form of employment after migration, and only 28 % had held a previous job in the sending country. Among this 28 %, a total of 11 % had skilled or semi-skilled jobs as teachers, computer technicians, or low-level government employees, or unskilled jobs in factories or the service sector. The others were mainly employed in agriculture, manual factory labour, petty business, or the service sector.

Among the 32 % of women who had previous (internal and/or international) emigration experience, 15 % were employed in domestic/care labour, 7 % in agricultural labour, 9 % in unskilled jobs in the service sector or in petty business, and only 1 % had semi-skilled jobs (mainly as secretaries or kindergarten workers). In contrast, 58 % of the migrant men in our sample had previous (internal or international) emigration experience. Among them, 6 % worked in the paid domestic/care sector, 11 % in agriculture, 9 % in ethnic businesses, 11 % had semi-skilled jobs as computer technicians, accountants, or secretaries, 12 % had technical jobs as carpenters, electricians, or tailors, and 9 % had worked in the tourism or service sectors (e.g., in restaurants or hotels). For the 42 % who had no previous migration experience, nearly 34 % had had previous occupations, although many had experienced periods of unemployment, and 8 % had no previous working experience, mainly including young migrants who had higher educational degrees and who had migrated after completing their school or university diplomas. Within this 34 %, a total of 11 % were employed in agriculture, 13 % held skilled or semi-skilled jobs as teachers, computer technicians, government employees, or accountants, 5 % had technical jobs, 3 % ran small businesses, and 2 % were in the army. The majority of the migrant men we interviewed self-identified as Christian (mainly Catholic, but also Protestant or Greek-Orthodox), with the exception of all the men from Bangladesh and Pakistan and some informants from Africa. The specific composition of our sample partly reflects our predominant interest in analysing the role of Christian religion and institutions, and of Catholicism in particular, in promoting forms of international mobility within the IDRL and in shaping the gendered experience of migrant men in Italy.

The data were collected in two large and two smaller cities: Milan and Genoa in Northern Italy, and Rome and Perugia in Central Italy. Milan and Genoa, despite their difference in size, are both important post-industrial cities. Rome is the capital city, with an economy largely dominated by services. Perugia is a small city whose economy has been mainly driven by the surrounding small-scale firms and food industry. The four chosen cities mirror current tendencies in national immigration trends: a fast-growing migrant population (in 2008 Eurostat estimated that the immigrant population in Italy had grown at a rate of 240 % over the

previous decade), a high level of diversity in terms of the nationalities represented, and the importance of domestic/care services as a source of employment for migrants (Rapporto Immigrazione per Lavoro in Italia 2011). Migrants are mainly concentrated in the Central and Northern areas of the country where they constitute between 7.2 and 10 % of the total population, respectively. The number of migrant domestic/care workers employed in Southern Italy is estimated to be lower than that in the rest of the country (Pasquinelli and Rusmini 2008). While Southern Italy appears to be an area of transit for international migrants, the wealthier Central and Northern Italy offer greater opportunities for social mobility in terms of employment (Rapporto Immigrazione per Lavoro in Italia 2011). A great number of migrant domestic/care workers are employed in two of the areas where the research was conducted: 16 % of all migrant domestic workers in Italy are employed in Rome and Milan alone (ISTAT 2009). The chosen methodology also allowed us to analyse the gendered social construction of the racialised Other at different levels. The book takes domestic/care services as a site to explore how gendered 'cultural differences' are constructed across the private/public divide to create hierarchies among different groups of migrants, and how migrant men negotiate this racialised stratification. The choice of focusing on migrants of different nationalities reflects the highly heterogeneous ethnic composition of migrants in Italy, where more than 130 nationalities are represented (ISTAT 2010; Pittau 2011). As this heterogeneity represents a growing defining feature of many urban contexts of other immigration countries in Europe (Vertovec 2007), the Italian context provides a site that is relevant to the European situation, where the gendered politics of recognition and difference are variously enacted and negotiated by the state and by different groups of migrants (Grillo and Pratt 2002; Zontini 2010). As in other European contexts, the diversity in terms of the migrants' nationalities is associated with processes of racialisation based on the construction of positive- and negative-gendered stereotypes that pit various national groups against one another (Gallo 2006, 2013; Scrinzi 2013), targeting Muslim migrants in particular. 'Ethnic diversity' is constructed by political actors and civil society to fuel essentialist assumptions around the 'cultural difference' of each 'community'.

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with all participants, and were combined with more informal conversations as well ethnographic participant observation in migrants' working and daily lives. We also sometimes visited the families where migrant men were employed and could subsequently discuss with both employers and employees some of the observed dynamics. We shared leisure time with workers, visiting their flats, their parishes, or other significant social places where they spent their free time. The long timeframe of the research—spanning the late 1990s to the present—allows us to trace two important and inter-related processes. On the one hand, the book analyses the social and occupational mobility of male migrant domestic workers and delineates how, in individual trajectories, entering or leaving paid care and domestic work informs shifting models of gender identification across time. We were able to meet migrant men on multiple occasions and see how their engagement with the IDRL changed over time and according to shifting socio-economic and legal situations. Among the men who came to Italy in the last decade, a high degree of diffidence towards our role as researchers was shown (greater than we saw among their female counterparts or among compared to men who came before the late 1990s). Men were concerned about our possible intentions to investigate their legal status, and the uncertain and time-consuming nature of their jobs did not allow much time to engage in long conversations, at least in our initial encounters. This diffidence usually diminished during subsequent meeting, sometimes, thanks to the word of mouth of some other informants who guaranteed our 'good' intentions.

We also met (male and female) Italian employers several times. This allowed an understanding of how family relationships and experiences of (unpaid and paid) reproductive labour changed over time in our informants' lives, and also of their changing attitudes towards us as researchers. As women from the same majority group, we were at once insiders—in terms of our Italian nationality—and outsiders, in so far as we were interviewing men on the subject of 'women's work'. Men's attitudes during preliminary interviews were sometimes oriented towards 'saving face' in front of perceived possible criticism for being careless about domestic responsibilities. Articulating his initial embarrassment, one informant ironically stated that not only his wife and sister were demanding more

involvement, but also women's academics were checking that he was doing his homework! Upper-class men approached us by emphasising their virtue as responsible kin. Middle-class, and especially working-class men, stressed that their involvement was motivated by financial constraints. Yet, subsequent interviews offered space for more relaxed conversations. Talking with the informants about common problems in arranging elderly care in our respective families made gender differences less salient. Men adopted less defensive stances and more openly reflected on how their attitudes towards care were changing with time and experience.

In addition, the long timeframe of the study enabled us to assess the changeability of ethnic categorisations across time, thus investigating their historical and socially constructed nature. For instance, the book addresses the shift from the stigmatising representations of Eastern European men, which were dominant in the 1990s in Italy, to current media and political discourses, focusing on Muslim male migrants as patriarchal and violent men.

Beyond the use of interviews and ethnographic participation, we also oriented our research towards narrative analysis in order to grasp how men's self-perceptions and subjectivities were constructed in relation to different moments of migration, their life-cycle, and shifting working experiences within reproductive labour. As Gardner (2002a: 29) suggests, 'narratives can be powerful tools in indicating the diverse elements that constitute identity, and the ways in which identities shift and are contested within the same individual'. In our context, narratives were important sources for the conceptualisation of the migrants' ambivalent and often emotionally charged experiences of deskilling, the downgrading of mobility, and separation from their families that resulted from their direct or indirect involvement with the IDRL. Narratives offered insights into male migrants' dilemmas in being seen as good fathers providing good care while their partners were absent. They also offered insights into the constraints involved in finding a good balance between caring for the families of others and caring for their own families. Finally, they demonstrated how both Italian and migrant men's engagement with reproductive labour was far more complex than a model of 'circumstantial acceptance-with-ideological distancing' would suggest, and touched upon their understanding of themselves and of their place in the world.

Outline of the Book

In seven chapters and a conclusion, the book threads the analysis of shifting welfare, gender, and migration regimes, together with an analysis of the transformation in men and women's engagement with migration and specifically with the IDRL, which has occurred in recent decades.

Chapter 2 reviews and discusses existing studies and data on the employment of migrant men in Europe and compares this context with other relevant geopolitical areas such as the USA and Asian countries. It places the analysis of the Italian case within a wider comparative perspective and highlights how the analysis of a specific state context is able to illuminate wider tendencies in the way contemporary changes in welfare and migration regimes intertwine with the gendered globalisation of domestic/care workers. The chapter also locates the analysis of migrant men within the literature on the 'global care chain' and discusses existing studies on the employment of men in feminised jobs and, more specifically, of migrant men in paid domestic/care work in European and Asian countries and the USA, including other forms of employment beyond traditional household-based domestic/care services, such as residential care.³ Historical perspectives on domestic service are used to show that in the nineteenth century, some occupations within domestic/care work have, in many national contexts, undergone a progressive process of *feminisation*. Conversely, in the last two decades, a certain degree of *re-masculinisation* has occurred as a result of international migration, particularly (but not exclusively) from Asian and South American countries. The analysis also takes into account the fact that some tasks taken up by migrant men within reproductive labour are traditionally conceived as 'masculine' in different sending and

³ While most studies of the IDRL focus on traditional forms of domestic service, based on the relationship between a private employer and an employee and carried out in the private sphere (Anderson 2000; Andall 2000; Parreñas 2001), migrants are also employed in institutional and public settings. Recent scholarship has contributed to broadening our definition of the IDRL, by incorporating into the analysis other agents of social reproduction besides the household—such as the non-profit sector, the market, and the state (Kofman and Raghuram 2006, 2015; Yeates 2009; Williams 2010, 2012; Triandafyllidou and Marchetti 2014a; Mayer-Ahuja 2004). The studies highlighting the similarities between home-based domestic service, formal and institutional care, and state care provision and employment in health and care services in the public sector reveal what Fiona Williams (2014: 20) calls a 'continuum in migrant care labour' between these different worlds and forms of organisation of care.

receiving countries. This, we suggest, demonstrates the necessity to adopt a more nuanced understanding of the gendered characterisation of reproductive labour as traditionally and exclusively *female* and *feminised*.

Chapter 3 locates the issues of racism, masculinities, and the IDRL in the specifics of the Italian cultural–political context, connecting its national features to European tendencies. This chapter discusses how ethnicity, gender, and religion/secularism operate in Europe and Italy to construct social hierarchies and forms of exploitation and discrimination in specific occupational settings. Restrictive immigration policies are associated with public and political debates that serve to construct racialised hierarchies based on ideas of gender, sexuality, and religion. The ‘good’ migrants, subservient and easy to integrate, are opposed to the ‘bad’ migrants, lazy and deviant. Men of different nationalities are constructed as effeminate or, in contrast, are associated with hyper-masculinity, criminal activity, and sexual violence. After having discussed Italian party politics on immigration as well as the role played by the Catholic Church in public debates on multi-culturalism and its action in mediating the entry of foreign workers in this sector, the chapter moves to consider how gendered immigration policies and representations of migration materialise in the domain of reproductive labour in this country. Immigration policies confer on both migrant women and men in this sector the respectability they would otherwise lack, while working in jobs that make them visible in the public sphere. In dominant representations of migrant domestic/care labour, the Italian nation is assimilated to a domestic community, while the private sphere—the domestic workers’ workplace—is constructed as a space providing an opportunity for cultural integration of the racialised Other. Here, (Christian) migrant men employed in the home emerge as the opposite and complementary figure to the threatening (Muslim) masculine Others who are hyper-visible in the public space.

Chapter 4 explores the social networks and agencies that mediate the entrance of migrant men (and women) into domestic service in Italy, as well as the men’s trajectories and experiences in this feminised job. Catholic institutions play an important role in mediating the entry of migrant women and men into the job by providing informal services including training, recruitment, and administrative support for the regularisation of these workers. Migrant men also enter reproductive labour through women-centred networks, as their wives or mothers are already employed

in domestic/care services. Practices among these ‘gate-keepers’ of domestic/care services contribute to establishing a gendered and racialised division of work, by reproducing the construction of the migrants’ respectable ‘domestic masculinity’. The chapter then analyses the strategies of male domestic/care workers in dealing with processes of criminalisation as well as the demeaning of their masculinity in a feminised job. The presence of these men in the job serves to shift the sex-typing of work, and the idea of a ‘natural’ hierarchy between men and women is challenged in the process. Male domestic/care workers renegotiated their gendered identities and engaged with emotional labour in the workplace, based on age and life-cycle differences. Yet, gender segregation and the overall gendered division of work in the sector seemed to be reproduced: migrant men were able to access a wider range of occupations than women, and while they entered the job as ‘newcomers’ in the lowest echelons, over time, they experienced greater internal upward mobility than women within the sector.

Chapter 5 explores the social construction of hegemonic and subordinate masculinities in the home by considering work relations between migrant male workers and their employers in cleaning and elderly care services. The chapter considers the practices and experiences of male and female employers of different class backgrounds to provide insight into the shifting of dominant models of gender in Italian families. It does so, firstly, by tackling the subjective dimension of engaging with the emotional implications of outsourcing reproductive tasks to a (male) foreign worker. We refer here to the work of self-transformation experienced by male employers forced to reconsider their ‘ways of being and acting’—as one male employer told us—within the home. Secondly, the chapter analyses the dynamics through which the acceptance of a male migrant workers into the domestic space is acquired across time and is proved against the backdrop of the employers’ family’s suspicion and the public representation of (specific groups of) migrant men as threatening. Further, the chapter compares work relations and personalistic attitudes vis-à-vis their employees of male employers of middle-class and working-class background. Although the former helping the employee in this respect serves to reassert their own status as Italian householders, the latter’s withdrawal from personalistic work relations is often underpinned by a sense of real or imagined competition for resources with the migrants. Finally, the chapter considers whether and how religion is mobilised by employers as

a criterion for recruitment and in the construction of the proximity or distance between them and their male employees.

Chapter 6 investigates migrant men's experiences of conjugality and fatherhood and their narratives of love, sacrifice, and independence. The chapter analyses the experiences of men who are inserted into a wider (and female-centred) migrant kinship network, who have reached Italy through legal family reunion and also who have arrived individually through legal or illegal means, showing how international migration and men's employment in paid domestic/care work can simultaneously challenge and reinforce gender hierarchies in migrant families. First, the chapter analyses the men's narratives of illegality and immobility and 'being stuck' during the 'waiting time' between marriage and family reunion, unravelling men's fragility. The role of the moral and material debt contracted with wives and kin women plays a significant role in men's acceptance of working in the domestic/care sector in the first months following their arrival. Men stressed their anxieties in meeting the expectations of their wives and relatives in order to maintain good kinship relations and gain acceptance in the new context. Second, changes related to migration and the socialisation of men into (unpaid as well as paid) care tasks may have a considerable impact on the gendered division of work in the household and on the allocation of economic responsibilities. Men are explicit about rethinking their gendered roles within the family, including fatherhood, by drawing from their experiences of paid domestic/care work. However, a more equal gendered division of work within the migrant family cannot be generalised; based on our sample, these changes are often conditioned upon differences related to the generation and life-cycle stage of migrant men, as well as their class background and previous migration and working experiences.

Chapter 7 delves into migrant men's occupational and social mobility outside live-in reproductive labour jobs; these men strategically use the values of 'connectedness' and 'respectability', which mould understandings and practices of domestic/care services, in order to reassert their economic power in the household and gain residential autonomy. In this chapter, the analysis engages with a twofold process of social mobility as enacted by migrant men and their families. The first refers to an 'internal' move within reproductive labour opportunities from feminised occupations towards niches traditionally conceived as 'specialised' and mascu-

line, such as porter and concierge work for upper middle-class families. Accessing concierge work is key to migrant men's engagement with a model of respectable masculinity, which comes to be partly dissociated from the emasculating stigma attached to household-based paid domestic/care work. Complementing existing analyses of female domestic workers and their female employers, the chapter also explores the ways in which migrant porters negotiate class relations at work, claiming for themselves a moral superiority and the role of advisor in the matter of family relations and sexuality, which is usually enacted by their upper-class male employers. In doing so, migrant men also position themselves in relation to dominant representations of immoral and threatening hyper-masculinity of other migrant groups. Second, the chapter analyses the trajectories of migrant men searching for public visibility and different routes of social mobility beyond reproductive labour, by engaging with different occupational settings and also with associational activities including in Catholic organisations. Through these activities in the public sphere, men construct wider (masculine) networks of sociability outside women-centred and kin networks. This allows men to question, or at least to complement the 'traditional' role of pioneer women as a referent for their community and as mentors for newly arrived migrants. In so doing, men negotiate alternative models of masculinity and fatherhood both in the public and the private spheres, as opposed to both the unmanning and criminalisation on which racism is based in contemporary Italy.

In the Conclusion we provide a summary of the main points of the analysis developed in the book and we discuss its main contributions to the literature. First, the analysis developed in this book fills a gap both in the feminist literature on the IDRL and in masculinity studies; it moves beyond a predominant understanding of the 'global nanny chain' as a 'women's business' and beyond a focus on processes of social constructions of masculinity in the public sphere as opposed to the home. Second, the book contributes to gendering our understanding of migration as it goes beyond unsatisfactory conceptualisations of international mobility based on gendered dualisms associating male migration with economic interests and female migration with personal and family motives, and casting men as 'individual migrants' and women as 'following subjects'. Third, the book provides insight into the wider and undertheorised

domain of migrant/racialised men in feminised occupations. We argue how, if compared with other feminised sectors, the positive effects of masculinity benefiting male workers in these jobs remain limited. Yet, over time, men can progressively build on their capacity to provide both feminised and masculinised domestic/care services to command better working conditions than women. Overall, gender norms can be shifted, and the gendered division of work altered towards more egalitarian patterns through the combined impact of international migration and of men's employment in feminised paid work. Nonetheless, there is evidence of resilience in underlying patriarchal structure. In Italy, migrant men's gendered micro-practices and strategies are shaped by the local and global contexts of racism, gender, migration, and the IDRL; they are informed by the action of institutional and informal actors intervening on the issue of migration at the national level and they are located within the context of Italian immigration policies; they are defined by differences between migrant men in terms of social capital, class/education, age, and family status. Migrant men contribute to both sustaining and destabilising dominant models of masculinity and the gendered division of work, in the family as well as in the workplace; they also actively contribute to manipulating and questioning notions of racialised masculinity and gendered cultural difference through their involvement in practices and social interactions where categories of gender, class, and ethnicity are mobilised.

Bibliography

- Adhikari, A. 2013. Empowered wives and frustrated husbands: Nursing, gender and migrant Nepali in the UK. *International Migration* 51(6): 168–179.
- Ahmad, N.A. 2011. *Masculinity, sexuality and illegal migration*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Andall, J. 2000. *Gender, migration and domestic service*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Anderson, B. 2000. *Doing the dirty work? The global politics of domestic labour*. London: Zed Books.
- Anderson, B. 2003. Just another job? The commodification of domestic labour. In *Global woman: Nannies, maids and sex workers in the new economy*, ed. B. Ehrenreich and A.R. Hochschild. London: Granta Books.

- Anthias, F. 2001. The material and the symbolic in theorizing social stratification. *British Journal of Sociology* 52(3): 367–390.
- Asis, M., S. Huang, and B. Yeoh. 2004. When the light of the home is abroad: Unskilled female migration and the Filipino family. *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography* 25(2): 198–215.
- Baldassar, L. 2008. Missing Kin and longing to be together. *Journal of Intercultural Studies* 29(3): 247–266.
- Baldassar, L., and L. Merla. 2013. Locating transnational care circulation in migration and family studies. In *Transnational families, migration and the circulation of care*, ed. L. Baldassar and L. Merla. London: Routledge.
- Batnitzky, A., L. McDowell, and S. Dyer. 2009. Flexible and strategic masculinities: The working lives and gendered identities of Male migrants in London. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 35(8): 1275–1293.
- Boccagni, P. 2009a. Practicing motherhood from a distance. Retention and loss in Ecuadorian transnational families. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 38(2): 261–277.
- Brannen, J., A. Mooney, V. Wigfall, and V. Parutis. 2013. Fatherhood and transmission in the context of migration: An Irish and polish case. *International Migration* 52(1): 165–177.
- Brod, H. 1994. Some thoughts on some histories of some masculinities: Jews and other stories. In *Theorizing masculinities*, ed. D.S. David and R. Brannon. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Calasanti, T., and N. King. 2007. Taking women’s work “like a man”. *The Gerontologist* 47(4): 516–527.
- Caritas Dossier Statistico Immigrazione. 2012. *XXII Rapporto sull’Immigrazione*. Rome: IDOS.
- Charsley, K. 2005. Unhappy husbands: Masculinity and migration in transnational Pakistani marriages. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 11(1): 85–105.
- Chopra, R. 2006. Invisible men. Masculinity, sexuality and male domestic labour. *Men and Masculinities* 9(2): 152–167.
- Connell, R. 1987. *Gender and power*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Connell, R.W., and J.M. Messerschmidt. 2005. Hegemonic masculinity: Rethinking the concept. *Gender & Society* 19(6): 829–859.
- Datta, K., C.M. McIlwaine, J. Herbert, Y. Evans, J. May, and J. Wills. 2009. Men on the move: Narratives of migration and work among low-paid migrant men in London. *Social & Cultural Geography* 10(8): 853–873.
- Donato, K.M., D. Gabaccia, J. Holdaway, M. Manalansan IV, and P.R. Pessar. 2006. A glass half full? Gender in migration studies. *International Migration Review* 40(1): 3–26.

- Dreby, J. 2010. *Divided by borders. Mexican migrants and their children*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Duffy, M. 2005. Reproducing labour inequalities: Challenges for feminists conceptualizing care at the intersections of gender, race and class. *Gender & Society* 19(1): 66–82.
- Ehrenreich, B., and A.R. Hochschild. 2003. Introduction. In *Global woman. Nannies, maids and sex workers in the new economy*, ed. B. Ehrenreich and A.R. Hochschild. New York: Henry Holt & Company.
- England, P., M. Budig, and N. Folbre. 2002. Wages of virtue: The relative pay of care work. *Social Problems* 49(4): 455–473.
- Escrivá, A. 2000. Empleadas de por vida. Peruanas en el servicio domestico de Barcelona. *Papers* 60: 327–342.
- Fresnoza-Flot, A. 2014. Men's caregiving practices in Filipino transnational families: A case study of left-behind fathers and sons. In *Transnational families, migration and the circulation of care*, ed. L. Baldassar and L. Merla. London: Routledge.
- Gallo, E. 2005. Unorthodox sisters: Gender relations and generational change in Malayali transnational marriages. *Indian Journal of Gender Studies* 12(1–2): 217–251.
- Gallo, E. 2006. Italy is not a good place for men. Narratives of place, marriage and masculinity among Malayali migrants in Rome. *Global Networks* 6(4): 159–174.
- Gallo, E. 2013. Migrants are not all the same. Families, remittances and morality in southern India. *Migration Letters* 10(1): 33–46.
- Gallo, E., and F. Scrinzi. 2015. Outsourcing elderly care to migrant workers: The impact of gender and class on the experience of male employers. *Sociology*. Online before print 15 Apr 2015. Available at: <http://soc.sagepub.com/content/early/2015/04/28/0038038515573688.full.pdf>
- Gamburd, M.R. 2000. *The kitchen spoon's handle. Transnationalism and Sri Lanka's migrant housemaids*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Gardner, K. 2002a. *Age, narratives and migration. The life course and life histories of Bengoli elders in London*. Oxford: Berg.
- George, S. 2000. "Dirty nurses" and "men who play". In *Global ethnography: Forces, connections, and imaginations in a postmodern world*, ed. M. Burawoy, J.A. Blum, S. George, Z. Gille, and M. Thayer. Berkeley/Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- George, S. 2005. *When women come first: Gender and class in transnational migration*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Glenn, E.N. 1992. From servitude to service work: Historical continuities in the racial division of paid reproductive labour. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 18(1): 1–43.

- Gutmann, M.C. 1997. Trafficking in men: The anthropology of masculinity. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 26: 385–409.
- Haggis, J., and S. Schech. 2009. Migrants, masculinities and work in the Australian national imaginary. In *Migrant men. Critical studies of masculinities and the migration experience*, ed. M. Donaldson, R. Hibbins, R. Howson, and B. Pease. London: Routledge.
- Hall, A. 2008. International migration and challenges for social policy: The case of Ecuador. In *Assets, livelihoods and social policy*, ed. A. Dani and C. Moser. Washington, DC: World Bank.
- Hall, A., J. Hockey, and V. Robinson. 2007. Occupational cultures and the embodiment of masculinities: Hairdressing, estate agency and firefighting. *Gender, Work and Organization* 14(6): 534–551.
- Hanlon, N. 2012. *Masculinities, care and equality*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Herbert, J. 2008. Masculinity and migration. In *Gendering migration. Masculinity, femininity and ethnicity in post-war Britain*, ed. L. Ryan and W. Webster. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Hibbins, R., and B. Pease. 2009. Men and masculinities on the move. In *Migrant men: Critical studies of masculinities and the migration experience*, ed. M. Donaldson, R. Hibbins, R. Howson, and B. Pease. London: Routledge.
- Hochschild, A.R. 2000. The nanny chain. *The American Prospect* 3(January): 32–36.
- Hondagneu-Sotelo, P. 2001. *Domestica: Immigrant workers cleaning and caring in the shadow of affluence*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Jackson, C. 2001. Men at work. In *Men at work: Labour, masculinities, development*, ed. C. Jackson. London: Frank Cass.
- Kilkey, M. 2010. Men and domestic labour: A missing link in the global care chain. *Men and Masculinities* 13(1): 126–149.
- Kilkey, M. 2014. Polish male migrants in London: The circulation of fatherly care. In *Transnational families, migration and the circulation of care*, ed. L. Baldassar and L. Merla. London: Routledge.
- Kilkey, M., H. Lutz, and E. Palenga-Mollenbeck. 2010. Introduction. *Social Policy and Society* 9(3): 379–384.
- Kilkey, M., D. Perrons, A. Plomien, P. Hondagneu-Sotelo, and H. Ramirez. 2013a. *Gender, migration and domestic work. Masculinities, male labour and fathering in the UK and USA*. Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Kilkey, M., A. Plomien, and D. Perrons. 2013b. Migrant men's fathering narratives, practices and projects in national and transnational spaces: Recent polish male migrants to London. *International Migration* 52(1): 178–191.

- Kofman, E. 1999. Female “Birds of passage” a decade later. *International Migration Review* 33(2): 269–299.
- Kofman, E. 2012. Rethinking care through social reproduction: Articulating circuits of migration. *Social Politics* 19(1): 142–162.
- Kofman, E., and P. Raghuram. 2006. Gender and global labour migrations. *Antipode* 38(2): 282–303.
- Kofman, E., and P. Raghuram. 2015. *Gendered migration and global social reproduction*. Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Kofman, E., A. Phizacklea, P. Raghuram, and R. Sales. 2000. *Gender and international migration in Europe*. London: Routledge.
- Lutz, H., A. Phoenix, and N. Yuval-Davis. 1995. *Crossfires: Nationalism, racism and gender in Europe*. London: Pluto Press.
- Maehara, N. 2010. Emotional ambiguity: Japanese migrant women in mixed families and their life transition. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 36(6): 953–966.
- Mahler, S.J., and P.R. Pessar. 2006. Gender matters: Ethnographers bring gender from the periphery toward the core of migration studies. *International Migration Review* 40(1): 27–63.
- Margold, J.A. 1995. Narratives of masculinity and transnational migration: Filipino workers in the middle-east. In *Bewitching women, pious men: Gender and body politics in Southeast Asia*, ed. A. Ong and M.G. Peletz. Berkeley: Berkeley University Press.
- Mason, J. 2004. Managing kinship over long distance: The significance of “the visit”. *Social Policy and Society* 3(4): 21–29.
- Mayer-Ahuja, N. 2004. Three worlds of cleaning: Women’s experiences of precarious labor in the public sector, cleaning companies and private households of West Germany, 1973–1998. *Journal of Women’s History* 16(2): 116–141.
- Miles, R. 1993. *Racism after ‘Race relations’*. London: Routledge.
- Mills, M.B. 1999. *Thai women in the global labor force: Consuming desires, contested selves*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.
- Montes, V. 2013. The role of emotions in the construction of masculinity: Guatemalan migrant men, transnational migration and family relations.. *Gender & Society*. Online before print 24 Jan 2013. doi:[10.1177/0891243212470491](https://doi.org/10.1177/0891243212470491).
- Morokvasic, M. 1983. Women in migration: Beyond the reductionist outlook. In *One way ticket: Migration and female labour*, ed. A. Phizacklea. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Näre, L. 2010. Sri Lankan men working as cleaners and carers. *Men and Masculinities* 13(1): 65–86.
- Osella, C., and F. Osella. 2000. Migration, money and masculinity in Kerala. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 6(1): 115–131.

- Parreñas, R. 2001. *Servants of globalisation: Women, migration, and domestic work*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Parreñas, R. 2005a. Long distance intimacy: Class, gender and intergenerational relations between mothers and children in Filipino transnational families. *Global Networks* 5(4): 317–336.
- Parreñas, R. 2005b. *Children of Global Migration : Transnational Families and gendered Woes*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Parreñas, R. 2012. The reproductive labour of migrant workers. *Global Networks* 12(2): 269–275.
- Pasquiniti, S., and G. Rusmini. 2008. *Badanti*. Milan: Istituto per la Ricerca Sociale.
- Poster, W.R. 2002. Racialism, sexuality and masculinity: Gendering ‘global ethnography’ of the workplace. *Social Politics* 9(1): 126–158.
- Pribilsky, J. 2004. “Aprendemos a convivir”: Conjugal relations, co-parenting, and family life among Ecuadorian transnational migrants in New York city and the Ecuadorian Andes. *Global Networks* 4(3): 313–334.
- Ramirez, H. 2011. Masculinity in the workplace: The case of Mexican immigrant gardeners. *Men and Masculinities* 14(1): 97–116.
- Ramirez, H., and P. Hondagneu-Sotelo. 2009. Mexican immigrant gardeners: Entrepreneurs or exploited workers? *Social Problems* 56(1): 70–88.
- Russell, R. 2007. Men doing “women’s work:” Elderly men caregivers and the gendered construction of care work. *Journal of Men’s Studies* 15(1): 1–18.
- Saraceno, C. 2010. Social inequalities in facing old-age dependency. *Journal of European Social Policy* 20(1): 1–13.
- Sarti, R. 2010. Fighting for masculinity: Male domestic workers, gender and migration in Italy from the late nineteenth century to the present. *Men and Masculinities* 13(1): 16–43.
- Sassen, S. 1998. *Globalisation and its discontents*. New York: The New Press.
- Schmalzbauer, L. 2015. Temporary and transnational: Gender and emotion in the lives of Mexican guest worker fathers. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 38(2): 211–226.
- Scrini, F. 2010. Masculinities and the international division of care: Migrant male domestic workers in Italy and France. *Men and Masculinities* 13(1): 44–64.
- Scrini, F. 2013. *Genre, migrations et emplois de care en France et en Italie*. Paris: Editions Pétra.
- Shows, C., and N. Gerstel. 2009. Fathering, class, and gender. *Gender & Society* 23(2): 161–187.
- Simpson, R. 2004. Masculinity at work: The experiences of men in female dominated occupations. *Work, Employment and Society* 18(2): 349–368.

- Sinatti, G. 2013. Masculinities and intersectionality in migration: Transnational Wolof migrants negotiating manhood and gendered family roles. In *Migration, gender and social justice: Perspectives on human security*, ed. T.D. Truong, D. Gasper, J. Handmaker, and S. Bergh. Berlin/Heidelberg/New York: Springer.
- Thangarajah, C.Y. 2003. Veiled constructions: Conflict, migration and modernity in eastern Sri Lanka. In *Migration, modernity and social transformation in South Asia*, eds. F. Osella, and K. Gardner. Special issue of *Contributions to Indian Sociology* 37(1&2): 141–162.
- Thompson Jr., E.H. 2002. What's unique about men's caregiving? In *Men caregivers: Theory, research and service implications*, ed. B.J. Kramer and E.H. Thompson Jr.. New York: Springer.
- Truong, T.D. 1996. Gender, international migration and social reproduction. *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal* 5(1): 27–52.
- Vertovec, S. 2007. Super-diversity and its implications. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 30(6): 1024–1054.
- Walter, N., P. Burgois, and N.M. Loinaz. 2004. Masculinity and undocumented labour migration: Injured Latino day labourers in San Francisco. *Social Science & Medicine* 59(6): 1159–1168.
- Williams, C.L. 1995. *Still a man's world: Men who do 'women's work'*. London: University of California Press.
- Williams, F. 2010. Migration and care: Themes, concepts and challenges. *Social Policy and Society* 9(3): 385–396.
- Williams, F. 2012. Converging variations in migrant care work in Europe. *Journal of European Social Policy* 22(4): 363–376.
- Williams, F. 2014. Making connections across the transnational political economy of care. In *Migration and care labour*, ed. B. Anderson and I. Shutes. Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Willis, K., and B. Yeoh. 2000. Introduction. In *Gender and migration*, ed. K. Willis and B. Yeoh. Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar.
- Ye, J. 2014. Migrant masculinities: Bangladeshi men in Singapore's labour force. *Gender, Place & Culture* 21(8): 1012–1028.
- Yeates, N. 2009. *Globalizing care economies and migrant workers*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Zontini, E. 2004. Immigrant women in Barcelona: Coping with the consequences of transnational lives. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 30(6): 1113–1144.
- Zontini, E. 2010. *Transnational families, migration and gender: Moroccan and Filipino women in Bologna and Barcelona*. Oxford: Berghahn Books.

2

Migrant Men in Europe and Beyond: Historical and Sociological Perspectives

This chapter provides a critical discussion of sociological and historical studies of migration and sheds light on the gendered nature of men's international mobility and the employment of migrant men in different European countries. It does so by comparing the European context with other relevant geopolitical areas such as the USA and Asian countries. It thus places the analysis of the Italian case within a wider comparative perspective and highlights how the analysis of this national context is able to illuminate wider tendencies in the way contemporary gendered transformations in care and migration regimes intertwine with the globalisation of reproductive labour.¹

¹ Overall, the concept of 'regime' addresses the development of a defined set of policies that characterise one state, or a cluster of states, in relation to a specific issue. Williams (2010: 390–1) suggests defining 'migration regimes' according to the specific policies adopted to control external borders and regulate internal relations. Although the two levels cannot realistically be separated, 'external policies' involve rules of entrance (quotas or other special arrangements), settlement, and naturalisation rights, and the conferring of political, civil, and social rights should be taken into account. In terms of 'internal policies', the way in which the majority–minority relation is configured, employment patterns, politics of pluralism, integration or assimilation, or the enactment of potential discriminative laws are relevant criteria that must be taken into account in defining a specific state regime. Care regimes are defined by the degree of involvement of the state in providing and managing care provisions for children and the elderly—by granting maternity/paternity leave, by

By exploring the intertwining effects of changing gendered care and migration regimes on contemporary international mobility, the chapter provides the background for assessing male migration as a gendered process, and goes beyond the almost exclusive focus placed on women by the growing feminist scholarship on migration. It begins by outlining current global changes in migration, associated with the shift to post-industrial economies and their gender-specific impact on migrants' trajectories. We discuss the global context of contemporary international migration by referring to interrelated trends of economic restructuring, the growing involvement of women in international mobility, and the diversification of migratory flows. This section also points to how changes in immigration policies, alongside the inclusion of a growing and highly differentiated migrant population, have impacted the gendered inclusion of migrant men into European labour markets.

The central part of the chapter considers how global forces intersect with national policies to mould the experience of migrant men working in reproductive labour, thus addressing the institutional factors operating at meso-level to shape the relationship between migration and care provision (Williams 2012). It focuses on differences between the USA and Europe in the way migration regimes intersect with care regimes. By comparing the existent work on migrant men and changing care regimes in Europe, the analysis places Italy at the centre of wider European tendencies, questioning the exclusive identification of the Italian case as an harbinger of a supposed 'Mediterranean' model.

The final part of the chapter locates the analysis of migrant men within the literature on the 'global care chains' (Hochschild 2001: 130). This section discusses the features of men's employment in feminised jobs, and, more specifically, of male migrants in paid domestic/care work in Africa, Asia, the Americas, and Europe. We discuss historical studies on domestic service to point to the intersection between the changes in the gendered division of work in modern Europe on the one hand, and processes of racialisation of the working classes, ethnic minorities, and

allowing cash or tax benefits, or by organising home or public services—and/or by the extent to which care is outsourced to the private sector or to voluntary workers (Bettio and Plantenga 2004). This notion has been used also to analyse the specific discursive and normative frameworks surrounding care in different national contexts (Williams 2012).

migrants on the other hand. The discussion addresses their employment in domestic/care services beyond the household-based arrangement, which is based on the relationship between a private employer and an employee. Drawing from this discussion, we show the need to adopt a more nuanced understanding of the gendered characterisation of migrant reproductive labour in order to challenge views representing it as exclusively female and feminised.

Gendering Male Migration in a Global Context

Starting from the 1980s, post-industrial economic restructuring associated with the economic crisis of 1973 and combining with economic globalisation and geo-political change has profoundly affected patterns of international migration worldwide (Sassen 1988). In the Global South, economic globalisation has resulted in the development of manufacturing industries and off-shore production zones; in these countries, 'structural adjustment programmes' and the actions of transnational institutions such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) have contributed to rising levels of poverty and growing inequalities between affluent societies and developing countries. In this context, higher numbers of individuals engage in both internal and international migration, and a greater number of countries are affected by these mobilities (Castles and Miller 2009). Migratory flows have also intensified, to some extent, due to the availability of new transport and communication technologies. These innovations are often deemed to have made mobility easier and to facilitate growing transnational migration flows (Glick Schiller et al. 1992), although restrictive visa policies and the growth of illegal migration via often risky means of transportation warn us against any simplistic assumption of an undifferentiated and easily accessible mobility for migrants.

Importantly, global flows have also been characterised by a diversification in ethnic composition (Castles and Miller 2009). In Europe, this 'new migration' (Koser and Lutz 1998) is defined by new countries of origin and destination, new types of migration, and changing migrant profiles. 'Superdiversity' (Vertovec 2007: 1024) is a key feature of contemporary landscapes of migration in Europe, as urban areas have

witnessed an increasingly heterogeneous composition of migrant populations from different ethnic and religious backgrounds, enrolled in increasingly diversified labour markets.

In this context, the feminisation of migration—that is, the growth of women's presence within global flows as unskilled or semi-skilled workers (Anthias and Lazaridis 2000)—is widely discussed in both scholarly and policy debates as a key feature of migratory movements (Castles and Miller 2009; Sassen 2000). Labour migration to Europe before the 1973 oil crisis and the subsequent economic recession was mainly masculinised, as were the jobs in the construction and manufacturing sectors that were affected by labour shortages. From the 1970 onward, many European states moved from implementing programme to recruit migrant workers to more restrictive policies, as the demand for labour declined and unemployment in male industrial jobs increased. However, alongside these 'stoppage policies', immigration legislation in many European countries allowed for family reunion, and the number of women migrating to Europe increased (Thränhardt 1992). Castles and Miller (1993: 12) suggest that 'since the 1960s, women have played a major role in labour migration', as well as in refugee movements. At the same time, they point out that awareness of the specific gendered experiences of migrant women has recently grown, thus resulting in their visibility within the social sciences.

Feminist scholars, however, have questioned the very notion of feminisation of migration, suggesting that it does not accurately describe the growth of women among international migrants over the past several decades (Phizacklea 1998; Kofman 1999; Oso and Catarino 2013; Catarino and Morokvasic 2005). While 50 % of international migrants today are estimated to be women (United Nations 2013), there is evidence that this percentage has slowly increased only between 1960 and 2000 (Zlotnik 2003). The feminisation of migration may, therefore, be better conceptualised as a low-intensity process, which has combined with a growing scientific interest in migrant women to produce their new visibility (Oso and Catarino 2013; Zlotnik 2003). Feminist scholars emphasise that we should be wary of a simplistic distinction between an earlier labour-oriented migration (consisting of male workers arriving on their own) versus a later family reunion and settlement migration

(comprising women and children), as this obscures the migration of independent women workers in pre-‘stoppage’ years. Gender-disaggregated statistics are scarce, although we know, for instance, that in the peak years of the guest-worker regime, many Turkish women were employed in the German labour market (Morokvasic 1984). Migrant women, including married women who left their families behind, were recruited as nurses in the public health sector in colonial systems such as the UK, and were in guest-worker system countries such as Germany (Kofman et al. 2000; Gamburd 2000; Kurien 2002).

While the feminisation of migration has been a prominent strand in recent debates, it has had little impact on how migration is theorised. Migration theory has long been informed by static and gender-biased conceptualisations of migratory models, based on the assumption that labour migration was masculinised and that migrant women entered the picture only as family members of the male primary migrants (Phizacklea 1998; Kofman et al. 2000). According to Eleonore Kofman (1999), Castles and Miller (1993) devoted limited attention to discussing the feminisation of migration despite listing it as a key feature of new migratory patterns; she also notes that their discussion of successive phases of migration holds implicit gendered meanings and thus reproduces the gendered public–private dualism. This dominant ‘periodisation’ of international migration has been accompanied by little empirical investigation to ensure its accuracy. Women migrated on their own for a variety of reasons in ‘pre-stoppage’ years, and feminist studies of migration also invite us to reconsider the stereotype of family reunion migration as exclusively feminine. From the 1980s onwards, a process of masculinisation of family reunion and of family formation (through which migrants seek a spouse in the home country and reunite with him or her in the host society) was already observable in different European countries (Kofman et al. 2000; Bhabha 1996). Further, as the next section of the chapter will discuss, several studies focusing on Italy show that since the 1970s, female migrants, such as those from the Philippines, have been agents of family reunion (Campani 1993). This recognition is crucial in order to go beyond the persistent conceptual and analytical separation between labour migration (seen as mainly led by pioneer male migrants) and family reunion (seen as mainly involving women), and to look at

the different roles both men and women have played in international migration history. There is a need to apprehend male migration as a gendered process beyond the economic lens. We must recognise that men do not enter into migration flows exclusively as labour migrants, driven by structural forces or self-interested motives related to gains based on wage differentials, or to act as breadwinners. Rather, as the following analysis shows, economic, familial, and affective reasons intertwine in complex ways to shape men's involvement in migration.

Gendered Migration and Labour in Contemporary Europe

In Europe, the changing regulations and institutional approaches to migration, as well as the restructuring of the labour markets in which migrant workers are included, are key to understanding this 'new migration' (Koser and Lutz 1998) and its gendered dimension. Since the 1990s, the restriction of migration has become a policy priority in most European countries (Triandafyllidou 2013), associated with the casualisation of employment, the growth of the informal economy, and an expanding demand for low-skilled workers in the service sector, contributing to migrants' differential inclusion into segmented labour markets (Bribosia and Réa 2002). While a 'utilitarian' approach to migration (Andrieux 2005; Pries 2013) has marked European public policies in this field since the post-war period, currently it is inscribed within a context of economic restructuring. Contemporary migration policies have become highly selective, targeting high-skilled migrants or specific categories of low-skilled workers such as domestic/care workers (Carmel et al. 2011). The possibilities of obtaining a permit of stay and authorisation to work are restricted based on selective criteria distinguishing between migrants of different nationalities, notably between those from the European Union (EU) and third countries, as well as on the basis of class, education, and gender (Andrieux 2005). This restrictive turn in immigration policy materialises in the form of temporary authorisations to work in Germany, immigration quotas targeting specific sectors of employment in Italy and Spain, and the legal migration of skilled migrants in France.

Immigration policies thus construct an ‘institutionalised uncertainty’ (Anderson 2010: 311) and juridical, economic, and social precariousness for migrant workers, reinforcing the position of their employers; indeed, particularly where migrants’ legal status is dependent on obtaining a work contract and where employment in the informal economy is important, such as in Italy, legal migrants can be ‘almost as vulnerable as their illegal counterparts’ (Calavita 2005: 73). In this context, illegal migrant workers occupy the most precarious position—being denied most civil, social, and political rights—and are most exposed to exploitation and abuse (Dal Lago 1999; Réa 2002). Indeed, since the 1990s, the demand for legal labour migration has decreased, while the number of individuals who arrive on tourism visas but continue to stay after their visas have expired has grown (Castles and Miller 1993).

Feminist scholars have made great strides in exploring how such labour market dynamics interplay with gender and racialisation. Specifically, they have pointed to the gendered nature of immigration policies and the ways in which the state, both in sending countries (Constable 2007; Tyner 2004) and in receiving countries (Van Walsum and Spijkerboer 2007; Hondagneu-Sotelo 1994; Calavita 2005; Bakan and Stasiulis 1994; Macklin 1992), contributes to establishing a gendered and racialised division of work in the migratory context. In Europe, immigration policies combine with social and public policies on employment to shape the gendered ways in which migrant men and women are included into the labour market. Since the post-war period, in many states, migrants arriving through family reunion (many, though not all, of whom are women) have not been allowed immediate entry into the labour market, a fact that has pushed many female migrants towards jobs in the informal economy (Van Walsum and Spijkerboer 2007). Informed by a ‘breadwinner ideology’, immigration law tends to construct migrant men as breadwinners and migrant women as economic and juridical dependants in the private sphere, thus producing a reserve of flexible labour oriented towards ‘privatised spheres of work’ such as domestic/care services and sex work, or jobs in the informal economy (restaurants, garment industries) (Phizacklea 1998: 29; Catarino, 2011). For example, in the 1960s and 1970s, British Asian women experienced difficulties in reuniting with their husbands because the latter were seen as potential competi-

tors (and job stealers) in the national labour market (Bhabha 1996). The British law prevented women from bringing their husbands into the UK, but did not prevent migrant men from bringing their wives, based on the assumption that the latter were able to maintain their spouses and that female newcomers were not stealing jobs from the men. Further, in various national contexts, policies promoting the arrival of skilled migrants have hindered the migration of women, who tend to be less educated than their male counterparts (Catarino 2011). In the USA, the state-based Bracero programme targeted Mexican male workers to fill labour shortages in the agricultural sector (Hondagneu-Sotelo 1994). In Canada, government programmes targeted live-in domestic/care workers, assigning these women to a limited form of citizenship and resulting in an internal stratification within the sector (Bakan and Stasiulis 1994; Macklin 1992). In Asia, the Filipino government is particularly active in promoting the export of female and male labour, usually to different destinations (Tyner 2004). In Asian immigration countries, such as Singapore, gendered public policies regulate the employment of female and male migrants from South and Southeast Asia. The state provides male migrant workers employed in strategic sectors, such as building and manufacturing, with opportunities to improve their productivity and skills, while this is not the case for female migrant domestics working in the private sphere. The state supports and carefully controls the migrant men's housing conditions and time off work, while it delegates control over female migrant workers and their living conditions to their employers (Huang and Yeoh 2003). Besides state, other non-institutional actors such as private employment agencies may act as intermediaries or gatekeepers of gendered international mobility. For instance, in Canada, private recruitment agencies channel female migrants into live-in domestic/care service jobs, establishing a racialised stratification in the sector (Bakan and Stasiulis 1995). In Japan, NGOs support former Filipina entertainers in following the administrative procedures for securing residency and becoming care-givers, based on the idea of these women being suited to the work of 'looking after' men (Lopez 2012). Religious global actors facilitate international migration and act as integration 'brokers', contributing to its gendered nature (Lorentzen and Mira 2005; Solari 2006; Andall 1998).

Since 2008, migration to Europe has been centrally defined by the economic crisis, particularly in Southern European countries at the epicentre of the recession. In this context, the growth of migrants' unemployment has been sharper than that of EU nationals. In Spain, the activity rate of migrants dropped from 68.3 % in 2006 to 53.5 % in 2009 (Burchianti and Zapata-Barrero 2012). In Italy, migrants' unemployment rose from 12.1 % in 2008 to 16.7 % in 2011 (Caritas Dossier Statistico Immigrazione 2012); between 2009 and 2011, the drop in the employment rate among migrants has been more than double the one among Italian workers (Picchi 2012). The effects of the economic crisis on migrants' employment and security have both a national and a gendered dimension. Migrant men from non-EU countries have been more heavily affected, with the unemployment rate reaching 5 % in 2010 in comparison to 2.8 % for EU migrants (Beets and Willekens 2009; OECD 2009). The economic crisis has also had deep implications in terms of more stringent migration policies, with states moving further towards 'half-closing doors and reduced rights' throughout Europe (OECD 2009; Düvell 2009).

Migrant Women and Men in Contemporary Italy

Recent studies of migration to Southern European countries have significantly contributed to challenging the dominant gendered perceptions of men as 'primary migrants' and breadwinners and of female migrants as 'followers' and economic dependants. As discussed, many women have migrated to Italy on their own as heads of transnational households and, having settled there as domestic/care workers, have acted as agents of family reunion (George 2005; Gallo 2005, 2006; Kurien 2002; Decimo 2005).

While the restrictive approach in immigration policies adopted by countries such as France and the UK after 1973 was maintained, during the 1970s and 1980s, Mediterranean countries moved from being important sources of migrant workers to emerging as new destinations for migratory flows. People whose chances of migration to countries like Germany or

the UK were restricted turned to Italy, Spain, and Greece, which did not yet have defined immigration policies. Indeed, from the 1980s onwards, one of the drivers of migration to Southern Europe has been the region's function as a gateway to more closed Northern European countries, where migrants have eventually aimed to resettle (King and Rybaczuk 1993). In Southern Europe, the rapid economic growth of the 1960s and the growth of flexible production and informal labour niches, partly resulting from the outsourcing of production sectors by the formal economy to the underground economy, made a stark contrast with the demand for industrial labour expressed by mass production units in the Fordist system of Northern European countries (King and Rybaczuk 1993; Pugliese 1996). This 'South European' (King and Zontini 2000: 35) or 'Mediterranean' (Pugliese 2010: 15) model of immigration is characterised by the importance of undocumented migration and of the demand for migrant labour in labour-intensive and low-skilled jobs, such as feminised domestic/care services, as well as the feminisation of migratory flows (Anthias and Lazaridis 2000; Thränhardt 1992). In Italy, migrants have entered reproductive labour, industrial cleaning, and seasonal agricultural work, as well as low-qualified manufacturing jobs in the Northern regions of the country. In other sectors, they have occupied the lowest positions, working in night and weekend shifts, and filling jobs in the informal economy. A demographic gender imbalance in different migrant groups is also characteristic of international migration in Southern Europe (Thränhardt 1992; Pugliese 1996; King and Zontini 2000). At least until the 1990s, some migratory flows to Southern Europe have been mostly masculine (e.g., from Northern African, Sub-Saharan African, and Eastern European countries), while others (e.g., from the Philippines, Cape Verde, Somalia, and Sri Lanka) have been highly feminised (King and Rybaczuk 1993; Anthias and Lazaridis 2000). Indeed, one of the distinctive features of migration in Italy is the asymmetric sex distribution in many immigrant groups, meaning that while some migrant national groups are predominantly male (e.g., from Morocco, Albania, Senegal, Pakistan), others are predominantly female (e.g., from the Philippines, Peru, Poland, Ecuador, and Kerala) (Zontini 2010; Grillo 2002). The earliest migratory waves of the 1970s coming from the former colonies in Eastern Africa and from the Philippines were largely feminine; men's migration from Western

and Northern Africa started only in the mid-1980s. Between 1965 and 1985, about 50 % of migrants to Italy were women, often from Catholic countries like the Philippines or El Salvador. Between 1986 and 1992, the number of men migrating to Italy (e.g., from Egypt, Morocco, and Tunisia) rose to 61 %, following the economic crisis in Africa and the Italian economic boom (Orsini-Jones and Gattullo 2000). Between 1965 and 1990, female migration increased by 63 %, while male migration increased only by 58 % (Caritas Dossier Immigrazione 2007, quoted in Campani 2010: 145). The Catholic Church contributed to channelling these feminine migratory flows into domestic/care services through its extensive network of missions in the home countries as well as parishes and associations in Italy (Anthias and Lazaridis 2000; Scrinzi 2008).²

Female migrant workers from the Philippines, who have made a 'career' out of domestic service, are one of the most highly studied groups (Campani 1993b; Parreñas 2001). Filipinas mobilised strong female networks (kin, co-ethnics, and non-co-ethnic Catholics) to facilitate their employment in this sector (Chell-Robinson 2000). While in the 1980s, family reunion by Filipino women remained limited because most of them were employed as live-in domestic workers, they subsequently moved to jobs that involved working by the hour, thus promoting family reunion. Acting as heads of their families, Filipinas made decisions on how to invest remittances in their home country and on the migration of other family members, including men (Campani 1993b). According to other studies, however, the fact that Filipino women had become the breadwinners in their families did not necessarily mean that power relations in the family radically changed (Chell-Robinson 2000). Cape Verdeans have also been studied as exemplifying early feminised migration to Italy, initiated by Catholic missionaries in response to the demands of their Italian parishioners (Andall 1998). Migration from Cape Verde and the Philippines is similar insofar as men and women migrants from each country pursued different destinations. For example, Cape Verdean men migrated to other countries such as the Netherlands. The demand for male migrant labour in Italy was scarcer, and it was likely they would end up working in precar-

²The role of the Catholic Church in channelling migrants into domestic/care services in Italy is discussed in Chap. 4.

ious jobs in restaurants or as domestic workers together with their wives. Migration from Latin American countries starting from the 1990s has also been largely feminised, with high numbers of migrants employed in elderly care jobs (Bonizzoni 2011). Throughout the 2000s, there has been a growth in the number of Eastern European women, especially from Romania, employed in care jobs in Italy, and their presence has become particularly significant after the 2006 EU enlargement. Constituting about 50 % of all foreigners in Italy, these migrants, mostly female, account for 50 % of migrant workers in these jobs (Pasquinelli and Rusmini 2013). In Italy, Polish women's migration largely follows a circulatory pattern, enabling them to combine care jobs in the immigration society with their domestic responsibilities in the home country through a rota of women who alternate work for the same employer; this pattern is much less common among Polish men in these countries (Morokvasic 2003; Bonizzoni 2011). In more recent times, however, the gender imbalance of highly feminised migrant groups, such as Peruvians and Ecuadorians, has been partially compensated for by a process of masculinisation through the arrival of male spouses and relatives; women generally start working in live-in jobs and subsequently attempt to move to hourly jobs, which, together with obtaining housing which is large enough to meet the legal requirements, enables them to apply for family reunion (Lagomarsino 2006; Bonizzoni 2011).³ While these feminised migrant groups appear to have developed rather strong ties with non-co-ethnics and achieved some degree of social integration, male migration to Italy from regions such as Western Africa or (partly) South Asia appears to have been more precarious in this respect. From the 1980s, for example, Senegalese men have worked in traditionally masculinised jobs such as fishing and street-trading, using personal networks to buy the necessary merchandise, with minimal social integration and strong ties with co-ethnics (Campani 1993a). Similar differences between established feminised Latin American migration largely associated with care jobs and more recent and masculine African migration associated with the building and agricultural sectors can be observed in Spain (Colectivo Ioé 2012). Pakistani migrants to Italy are also almost

³ A similar masculinisation of migration was observed during the 1990s in Spain and Portugal, as the expanding construction sector offered job opportunities for men (Oso and Catarino 2013).

exclusively single men. Since the 1990s, Pakistani migration has been further masculinised by restrictive immigration policies, which, in making family reunion more difficult, contribute to the development of illegal mobility; this makes migration too expensive and risky for women but more attractive for male youth (Nobil Ahmad 2008). The networks, decision-making, and ideology behind male Pakistani illegal migration are highly gendered, relying on aspirations to cultural subversion and freedom (including sexual freedom) of male youth; however, this migration is not necessarily driven by household economic strategies. Unlike Pakistani migrant men in the 1970s who ran their own businesses and constituted a dynamic transnational community, for instance in the UK, migration to contemporary Italy does not allow these ‘lone breadwinners’ (Nobil Ahmad 2011: 156) to reunite their families and settle, pushing them to seek precarious jobs in ‘ethnic businesses’ run by their more established co-ethnics. Thus, the Italian socio-economic context makes it difficult for these migrants to uphold traditional models of masculinity. Overall, these studies show that the feminisation or masculinisation of a given migrant group can be explained, to a large extent, on the basis of the gendered division of work both in the home and in the immigration countries, the gendered nature of migration networks, and the action of institutional and non-institutional actors mediating international mobility.

Gendered Intersections of Care and Migration in Contemporary Italy

The gendered features of international mobility to Italy discussed above lie at the centre of the recent literature on welfare state systems and migration, as several studies have focused on this country (Andall 2000; Ambrosini 2013; Näre 2013a; Bettio et al. 2006; Parreñas 2001; Scrinzi 2013). Findings on female migration and domestic service in Spain, Portugal, and Greece have pointed to the similarities between Southern European countries (Calavita 2006; Oso and Catarino 2013; Lazaridis 2000; Parella Rubio 2014; Araujo and González-Fernández 2014; Escrivá 2000). Here, the important demand for domestic/care services has functioned as an entry route for female migrants who were incorporated into

the labour market as domestic workers and care-givers for the elderly, as from 1970 onward, migration to Southern Europe combined with traditionally limited welfare state systems and the massive increase of local women's participation in the labour market (Thränhardt 1992; Pugliese 1996), together with the ageing of the population. With 20.8 % of the population aged more than 65 years, Italy has one of the highest rates of elderly inhabitants in Europe. Available statistics indicate that nearly 40 % of the elderly population require assistance (ISTAT 2012; INPS 2012). In Italy, important inequalities in the division of care work between men and women combine with high levels of unemployment among women with young children (Hausmann et al. 2012).

Care, migration, and employment regimes (Williams 2012) not only produce opportunities for the migration of domestic/care workers, but also produce dominant discourses around care and cultural expectations about how and by whom this work should be performed. Indeed, representations of care form an important link between micro-level practices and meso-level policies and regulations (Gavanas and Williams 2008). Italian families are reluctant to send their elderly relatives to care homes, yet Italian women are increasingly unable or unwilling to take up this unpaid work (Da Roit 2007). Importantly, and as implied in previous considerations, the increase in migrant reproductive labour in Italy is not only demand-induced but should also be seen as policy-constructed (Canciano et al. 2009; Sciortino 2004; Andall 2000). The Italian familialistic welfare state relies on the work of women in the family as unpaid providers of elderly care (Lyon and Glucksmann 2008; Näre 2013b). From the 1980s onwards, the restructuring of welfare state systems in Europe has involved the withdrawal of the state from social and sanitary services, leaving this field to the private sector and to non-profit organisations such as social cooperatives which act as care-providers and are subsidised by the state (Ranci 1999; Del Re and Heinen 1997). In addition to relying on the unpaid work of women, the system also operates through allocating cash transfers to families, mainly in the form of pensions and also through the payment of care allowances for dependent and disabled individuals (Williams 2010; Bettio and Plantenga 2004; Anderson 2007). Cash benefits (approximately 500 Euros monthly) have become more prevalent throughout the 2000s; in

some regions, the share of the entitled elderly population was 12.5 %, reaching 19 % (INPS 2012). In Italy, as in other EU countries, these direct payments, rather than leading to an increase in ‘supported familialism’ where family members provide care in return for financial compensation, frequently translate into the development of a ‘commodified defamilialisation’ (Saraceno and Keck 2011: 387), with families outsourcing care services to paid migrant care workers.

This marketisation of care has combined with the growing entry of migrants into these jobs. As has happened in other countries in Europe, Asia, and in the USA, immigration has come to function as an alternative to the direct provision of these services by the state (Kilkey et al. 2010; Huang et al. 2012; Hondagneu-Sotelo 2001). In 2011, there were almost 900,000 care and domestic workers in Italy; 72 % of these were migrants, with women making up 88 % (Caritas 2012). A survey conducted in 2010 suggests that the average profile of domestic/care workers in Italy is a young migrant woman, most likely from Eastern European countries (Romania, Ukraine, Poland, and Moldavia) or from the Philippines (CENSIS 2010).

Class and ethnicity intersect in driving the consumption of domestic/care services, as employers have different access to migrant labour according to their economic means (Näre 2013b; Triandafyllidou and Marchetti 2014b). Indeed, in Italy, employers also increasingly come from the working and lower-middle classes (Williams 2010; Sarti 2008). Scholars have largely interpreted this shift in terms of decreasing importance of class status in structuring the demand for (migrant) domestic/care labour, noting how, while the demand for paid *domestic* work is closely connected to an upper middle-class lifestyle, issues of class status are less important in moulding the consumption of *care* labour (particularly directed to the elderly) (Näre 2013a; Da Roit 2007). Given that the demand for elderly care labour is largely met by cheap, flexible migrant workers (Pasquinelli and Rusmini 2008), even relatively low-income families are able to afford these services (Bettio et al. 2006; Lyon and Glucksmann 2008; Alemani 2004; Näre 2011). However, we should not underestimate persistent social inequalities in terms of differential access to commodified elderly care services (Saraceno 2010). Cash benefits are granted in Italy independently of the beneficiary’s income and without any use limitations. Thus, while

less affluent families can use them to purchase migrant labour, the system privileges richer families over low-income ones. Less affluent families may be able to access only part-time migrant care labour or be compelled to use cash benefits to cover other expenses.

In Italy, these social policies combine with specific immigration policies to produce the 'migrant in the family' model of care (Bettio et al. 2006). Until 1989, Italy did not conceive itself as an immigration country and a *laissez-faire* institutional approach dominated; amnesties started to be implemented in 1982 based on ministerial decrees, and policies on immigration have been applied on an *ad hoc* basis in a juridical vacuum, leaving room for the discretion of the police. The first immigration act was passed only in 1986 (Bill no. 943/1986). Through this law, Italy conformed to the more restrictive European Economic Community (EEC) approach to immigration and eventually joined the Schengen group in 1990. From the late 1980s, media attention and social alarm about the migrants' 'invasion' developed and were reflected by the widespread use of the derogative word '*extra-comunitari*' (non-EEC citizens), which combined class and ethnic stigma to indicate racialised low-skilled workers from developing countries (to the exclusion of non-EEC citizens coming from the Global North) (Campani 1993a). In the late 1990s, the Turco-Napolitano Law (Bill no. 40/1998) reflected a compromise in the Europe of the time. The law reflected a centre-left approach aiming at recognising the long-term character of migration and identifying patterns of migrants' integration by conferring residence permits, establishing the role of the 'sponsor' as a facilitator for the legal migration of foreign workers.

Over time, the legislation has responded to the needs of Italian families and the demand of the private sector for cheap and flexible migrant labour, making the administrative procedures for recruiting migrant workers (relatively) easier and quicker. These features have deeply informed the development of gendered migration flows towards Italy and the enrolment of migrant women, and latterly of men, within domestic/care employment. The first comprehensive laws attempting to regulate migration date back to 1990 (Legge Martelli) and 1998 (Legge Turco-Napolitano), both resulting from the attempt to limit the entry of illegal migrants and to recognise the right of family reunion. At the same time, the 1998 law was also influenced by restrictive policies of migration being promoted at

the EU level. It, therefore, actively embodied a security-oriented, and to some extent centre-right, approach to migration, by following European directions on the establishment of detention and pre-expulsion centres for illegal migrants. Even under centre-left governments, towards the end of the 1990s, there was no bolder commitment to issues of migrants' citizenship and integration (Andall 2007). Subsequently, the Bossi-Fini law (Bill no. 189/2002), named after the founder and charismatic leader of the radical right populist⁴ (RRP) party, the Northern League (NL), Umberto Bossi, has considerably restricted the possibility of family reunion and abolished the role of economic sponsors in the arrival of legal migrants to Italy.⁵ This law tightened the link between the permit of stay and formal employment by making admission conditional upon the availability of a job offer, and linked the residence permit to the duration of the employment contract. It also shortened the duration of the legal residence permit to 1 year, leading a considerable number of migrants to sway between periods of legality and prolonged periods of illegality. Many regularised migrants tend to 'fall back' to irregular status, with their resulting exclusion from permanent legal titles and welfare provisions (Sciortino 2004; Schuster 2005). Importantly, the Bossi-Fini law is in continuity with the 1931 Fascist Code, which conceived migration as a public security issue, and confers more power to the police forces in this matter. Overall, Italian integration policies are limited, and the legislation on citizenship remains substantively attached to the principle of *ius sanguinis*, and access to citizenship through naturalisation is restricted and arbitrary.

The Italian institutional approach to migration has thus shaped up as a 'security-oriented migration-policy model' (Caponio and Graziano 2011). The linking of migration with public security issues was subsequently strengthened by the codification of Law no. 92/2008 and subsequently by Law no. 94/2009, labelled by the government *Pacchetto Sicurezza* (set of security measures), which established illegal migration as a penal offence against national security. This said, otherwise restrictive

⁴The RRP party family is defined by its nationalism (or minority nationalism) and xenophobic positions based on the doctrine of ethnopluralism, its emphasis on society as an organic unity, its anti-globalisation stance, its anti-political establishment populism, a charismatic leadership, and a strong presence in civil society (Zaslove 2004).

⁵For a more detailed analysis of the politics of immigration in Italy and Europe, see Chap. 3.

Italian immigration policies are positive towards domestic/care workers. This tendency is paralleled in other European countries like Germany or Spain as well as in Asian countries, where these workers have come to constitute an 'exceptional category', positively regarded by national immigration policies (Leon 2010; Lutz and Palenga-Mollenbeck 2010; Huang et al. 2012). Indeed, immigration policies have played a major role in constructing these jobs as a gendered and racialised niche of employment. The 1970s saw the opening of 'a specific gap in the market for live-in domestic work which migrant women would be forced (institutionally) and encouraged (informally) to fill' (Andall 1998: 131). Italian immigration legislation constructed migrant women mainly as workers at the expense of their family and reproductive rights, emphasising their labour function as their primary role in Italian society. In 1972, it was established that migrant domestic/care workers could only be employed in live-in arrangements, as co-residents, a measure which increased the dependence of migrant domestic workers on their employers—if the work contract came to an end, the worker had to return to his or her home country and was not allowed to seek employment in Italy for another 3 years (Andall 1998). Over the years, a series of regularisations have been targeted specifically at elderly care workers, the most important of which took place in 2002.⁶ This approach also involved a more liberal attitude vis-à-vis migrant domestic/care workers from new EU countries: the moratorium on free access to the Italian labour market for Romanian citizens, for example, did not apply to those employed in certain sectors including domestic/care services (Carmel et al. 2011).

Overall, the fundamental ambivalence of the Italian approach to the illegal migrant reproductive labour force is exemplified by the fact that recent centre-right governments, while enhancing the sanctions on illegal migration, at least on paper, have reduced labour controls on employers, thus facilitating undeclared work relations during the economic crisis (Triandafyllidou and Ambrosini 2011). Thus, in Italy, as in other Mediterranean countries, the strategy of employing migrant domestic/care workers has become deeply institutionalised. This is due to immigration policies as well as social policies such as 'cash for care' allowances (Williams

⁶These will be discussed in detail in Chap. 3.

2010; Sciortino 2004; Van Hooren 2012). The combination of immigration policies targeting care workers (while at the same time reproducing their juridical and social precariousness) on the one hand, and of direct payments promoting the demand for care labour on the other hand, constitutes the specific Italian context in which migrant men enter the job. It is argued that Italian immigration legislation does not have a direct impact on the demand for migrant labour; rather, it is crucial in shaping the conditions in which migrant care and domestic workers are employed by Italian families (Van Hooren 2012), strengthening the position of employers (Calavita 2006; Anderson 2000).

Sciortino (2004: 112) has noted that previous analyses of welfare regimes have underestimated the relevance of migration as a growing constitutive element in the functioning of European welfare regimes, and suggests that the configuration of many Western European welfare regimes is a major 'structural factor behind the enduring demand for unskilled foreign labour'. In a similar line, Esping-Andersen (1999) invites scholars to consider welfare structure as a matrix of structural relations between the state, households, and economies, whereas Sciortino adds 'migration' as one of the elements of this mutually constitutive matrix. While Italy is often seen as epitomising a familialistic Mediterranean care regime model (Lyon and Glucksmann 2008; Näre 2013b; Estevez-Abe and Hobson 2015), it also exemplifies wider tendencies which affect continental Northern Europe and North America, where the state increasingly operates through cash transfers to families and households are assigned managerial responsibilities in the provision of care (Williams 2010; Bettio and Plantenga 2004; Anderson 2007; Lutz and Palenga-Mollenbeck 2010). Indeed, comparative studies on migration, welfare, and elderly care in Europe have shown similarities between Italy, the UK, and the Netherlands, both in terms of women's predominant involvement in informal care provision and in relation to the outsourcing of daily care tasks to migrant workers (Lyon and Glucksmann 2008). The UK, Spain, Finland, and France have all introduced some forms of cash provision or tax exemptions to assist the families in outsourcing care work (Williams 2010; Kilkey et al. 2013a; Anthias and Lazaridis 2000; Bettio and Plantenga 2004; Bettio et al. 2006; Sciortino 2004; Lutz and Palenga-Mollenbeck 2010). As in Mediterranean countries, public care

provision in the USA is limited, and families have traditionally relied on the private care market. Familialistic norms of elderly care and childcare have shaped social policies; care provision is financed in a 'patchwork fashion', with the state mostly funding the families rather than the care providers (Michel and Peng 2012). Both childcare and elderly care entail class-based arrangements, as commercial and non-profit care services are very expensive and only middle-class households can access high-quality care. The long-standing availability of racialised women workers, traditionally associated with domestic/care labour, has contributed to keeping these jobs largely informal, ill-paid, and relatively unregulated. However, immigration policies are less restrictive vis-à-vis migrant care labour in the USA than in Mediterranean countries. Despite generating a sustained demand for these workers, the USA lacks a coherent policy for recruiting migrant carers and regularisation measures towards them. As the annual quotas for migrant workers are low, many care workers migrate illegally and are employed in the informal economy. The USA government no longer implements programmes for the immigration of temporary workers who might meet the demand for care labour, relying instead on ad hoc 'band-aid' measures such as the Immigration Nursing Relief Act (1989), which facilitates the employment of foreign nurses already settled in the country (Chishti 2011).

To draw another contrast, migration regimes and care regimes operate in a very different way in Italy in comparison to the Gulf States or some South Asian states (at least in principle). In the first case, migrants have access to welfare programmes and equal pay similar to resident citizens, whereas in the second case, migrants are effectively excluded from such rights (Sciortino 2000; Ali 2010). However, as Sciortino notes (2004: 119), 'what the European states need from migrants is different from what the welfare state says should be given to them'. Many liberal welfare regimes in Europe have increasingly relied on and/or produced the need for unskilled and flexible workers in sectors like paid domestic/care work, and migration regimes have increasingly reduced the capacity of foreign workers to enjoy similar rights as citizens, as well as to move up the occupational ladder towards better-paid jobs. In a context in which migration policies prevent further settlement of foreign labour, the solution is to allow a sizeable inflow of irregular migrants, who provide the required

services at affordable prices without gaining residence or welfare rights (Sciortino 2004: 123). Overall, migration has come to function, in Italy as in other Western European democracies, as a resource for managing the relationship between households, the labour market, and the state (Sciortino 2004: 126, 118; Bettio et al. 2006). This connection between welfare and migrant regimes strongly shapes the gendered dynamics of immigrant flows.

Masculinity, Care, and Domestic Labour

As the above discussion suggests, social and immigration policies combine to establish a gendered and racialised division of work; further, the gendering of jobs plays an important role in reproducing gendered patterns of migration and inclusion in employment, as ‘migrant household strategies are gender-selective in accordance with labour-market expectations’ (Oso and Catarino 2013: 641). Dominant gendered constructions of work in the receiving countries combine with immigration policies and social policies to orient migrant men and women towards gendered niches in the labour market. The (gendered) demands of employers shape migration and contribute to gender-specific patterns of employment. For instance, Lutz (2008, quoted in Sarti 2009) notes that the demand for domestic/care labour expressed by middle-class families in affluent societies over the past decades has played an important role in promoting the feminisation of international migration in Europe. Similarly, Filipino and Indian migrant men in the USA have been disadvantaged by the decline in male jobs in manufacturing from the 1980s onwards, while the concurrent growth of the demand for female labour in both skilled and non-skilled sectors such as nursing, garment/microelectronics industries, and catering/cleaning has resulted in a higher employability of their wives (Le Espiritu 1998; George 2000).

It should indeed be noted that domestic/care services have not always been ‘women’s work’. Domestic service in Europe underwent a process of feminisation between the nineteenth and twentieth century (Scott 1993; Horn 2004). Feminist analyses of the progressive exit of men from these jobs show how close the link is between the notion of ‘skill’ at work

and essentialist thinking around gender, class, and ethnicity. In Europe, throughout the nineteenth century, domestic service became less associated with farm work within rural families and was increasingly concentrated in the cities and accomplished in the house. The growth of women in the labour force and the worsening of working conditions also corresponded to this shift. In *fin de siècle* Britain and France, most domestic servants were 'maids of all work', working alone or at most with one or two servants (Scott 1993; Martine-Fugier 1979). Specialisation in one task or role within the household (e.g., being a doorkeeper) was associated with a higher position within the occupational hierarchy. Female domestic servants were the cheapest labour force, while only wealthy families could afford to keep male servants who benefited from higher wages, greater social recognition, and higher levels in the hierarchy (Sarti 2005; Cox 2006). As domestic service (as a symbol of status) was closely linked with the reproduction of domestic decorum in the middle and upper classes, an increase in household wealth corresponded to the removal of the women of the family from income earning and domestic chores, resulting in the hiring of female domestic servants (Davidoff 1995). While female servants in the lower grades of the hierarchy had a utilitarian function, accomplishing various 'reproductive' tasks for the masters' family (and thus replacing the female family members who would previously have performed these tasks), male servants had a decorative function. Female servants working in the house were instructed to be as invisible and quiet as possible, while male servants wore identifiable liveries and were displayed in the public space (Fraisie 1979). Male servants in modern Europe were devirilised, including being banned from growing beards and moustaches (the markers of male middle-class respectability, while the absence of facial hair was associated with homosexuality) (Crane 2000; Sarti 2010). Men employed as servants were also denied political rights because of their condition of dependence on their masters, which was comparable in many respects to women and minors (Davidoff 1995).

Historical perspectives on domestic service thus serve to show that its social organisation lies at the intersection between the changes in the gendered division of work and the process of racialisation of the working classes, national minorities, and migrants (Miles 1993). As domes-

tic service became a feminised job of last resort and the number of men willing to take such work decreased, the number of migrants in the sector grew. In various European countries, from the end of the nineteenth century, migrants came not only from internal rural areas (e.g., Veneto in Italy, Bretagne in France) but also from abroad to take over jobs that were no longer wanted. The work of Irish women, largely employed in English houses since the 1870s, reproduced gendered constructions of national belonging and middle-class respectability (Walter 2009). Today, however, in different national contexts, post-modernity seems to bring a 'gender balance to an occupation that modernity has feminised' (Moya 2007: 574). While disaggregated data in terms of receiving countries and migrants' nationalities are rare, existing studies overall estimate that in Global Asian cities, the Gulf countries, Israel, and Australia, as well as in Europe, the number of men, including migrants, working in these jobs is growing (Higman 2002; Cancedda 2001; Gamburd 2000; Manalansan IV 2006, Schwenken and Heimeshoff 2011). While in the USA, Asian men have worked in the sector throughout the twentieth century (Glenn 1992; Le Espiritu 1997), it is estimated that since the late 1990s, the number of men employed in paid domestic/care work in Europe has grown to an overall average of 10 % of the total population (Cancedda 2001). Specifically, this average has reached 27 % in the UK, 18 % in Italy, and 17 % in Belgium and Finland. In these countries, this remasculinisation of the sector is based on the employment of migrant men who carry out a range of tasks, from cleaning to gardening, driving, baby-sitting, providing health care, and working as janitors/doorkeepers (Ambrosini and Beccalli 2009; Kilkey 2010; McGregor 2007; Scrinzi 2010; Gallo 2006; Zontini 2010; Sarti 2006; Sarti and Scrinzi 2010). A survey conducted in the UK shows that the care sector (including residential care, home care agencies, and traditional household-based domestic service) is attracting a growing number of men, with a higher proportion among recent migrants (Skills for Care 2008; Canciano et al. 2009; Kilkey et al. 2013a). Further ethnographic studies on Germany and France indicate that in these countries too migrant men are far from absent (Lutz 2008; Scrinzi 2005; Shinozaki, 2005). In Finland, there is more equal share of men and women working in domestic/care services than in the rest of Europe, but data on the percentage of migrants among them are not

available (Laborsta 2008, quoted in Schwenken and Heimeshoff 2011). In other European countries, men remain a small minority in the sector. Of 10,100 domestic workers in Ireland, for example, only 600 were men (Laborsta 2008, quoted in Schwenken and Heimeshoff 2011). In Austria, only 5 % of workers in domestic/care services are men (Schwenken and Heimeshoff 2011).

Economic Crisis and the Remasculinisation of Reproductive Labour in Italy

Italy stands as a significant case study of this cross-national trend. We hypothesise that the emergence of domestic/care services as a racialised niche for migrant workers in different European countries, combined with persistent occupational and financial crises, is more likely to lead to the flow of migrant men into the IDRL as one of the few routes towards an occupation and (albeit often temporary) legal status in the absence of more 'traditional' opportunities for men. Men's work within the IDRL has been partly generated by the pioneering role played by migrant women in the context of limited opportunities for legal migration, significant demand for this feminised service labour force, and segmented labour markets. There is evidence that in Italy, men belonging to some migrant groups who migrate to reunite with their wives access employment in this sector, thanks to female networks and to relatives who are already employed in it (Calavita 2006; Gallo 2006; Scrinzi 2010). In the 1990s, Somali and Filipino men entered cleaning jobs in Italy mainly through joint-employment as a couple alongside their female partners (Chell-Robinson 2000). As one of Victoria Chell-Robinson's (2000) informants pointed out, the strategies of Filipino men in Italy included 'getting a girlfriend to get a job' in domestic service. Latin American and Malayali men also arrive through family reunion and find work through female networks in feminised jobs, which has resulted in a growth of men in these occupations (Banfi and Boccagni 2011; Gallo 2006).

The gender-specific impact of the economic recession has magnified these dynamics. Recent studies have shown that rising unemployment has mainly affected male-dominated occupations, and that migrant men

have adjusted to worsening employment situations by switching either to sectors with cyclical demand for labour (construction, retail, hospitality) or by switching to less vulnerable sectors (Beets and Willekens 2009; OECD 2009). Among the latter, domestic/care labour is deemed so far to have been less affected (Koehler et al. 2010). In Europe, the crisis has severely hit the construction sector (typically a male migrant labour sector) but has affected domestic/care jobs to a much lesser extent, particularly in the live-in sector, where migrant women are overrepresented (Picchi 2012; Carmel et al. 2011; Ibáñez and León 2014; Hellermann 2006). This has resulted not only in a rise in women migrating to EU countries, with female foreign workers increasing their share of the total foreign workforce in countries like Italy, Spain, or Ireland (Koehler et al. 2010), but possibly also in men taking up jobs in female-dominated occupations as a stepping stone towards relatively more secure occupations. While no aggregated data for Europe are available, our ethnographic data suggest that migrant men who have been working in Italy during economic crisis have either moved or have seriously considered moving to domestic/care occupations, either for the purposes of temporary regularisation or to mitigate labour insecurity.

Thus, while migrant women are more vulnerable to economic downturns, in many contexts the gendered and segmented nature of the labour market in the immigration societies seems to favour them as opposed to their male counterparts. Because of the racialised and segmented nature of the European labour markets, the crisis has also differently affected each migrant group. For instance, in Spain, Latin Americans, largely female and often employed in reproductive labour, show the lowest unemployment rates, while the opposite is true for migrants coming from Africa, who are mostly men working in agriculture and construction (Fernández and Ortega 2008). Similarly, in Italy, Albanian and Moroccan men employed in heavy industry are more affected by unemployment than Filipino, Ukrainian, and Polish migrants (groups which tend to be more feminised and are largely employed in domestic service) (Picchi 2012). While in some contexts the crisis has led native working-class women (and men) to take on paid domestic/care work, especially in Southern Italy (CENSIS 2013), there is no real sector competition between them and migrant women. The former usually work on an hourly basis to

secure an income which can compensate for the unemployment of their husbands, while the latter work longer hours, mainly as live-in employees, and their salary is the main family income. In general, Italian women do not take up such work even if they are unemployed, and if they do, they avoid live-in jobs (Di Bartolomeo and Marchetti 2014).

Unemployment, then, has led a number of migrant men to accept low-skilled domestic/care jobs as a primary or secondary/part-time occupation (Caritas 2012). In 2006, men accounted for 12 % of migrant domestic/care workers (Catanzaro and Colombo 2009). Men from Sri Lanka, India, Morocco, the Philippines, and Peru account for the most significant share of migrant men's participation in the sector in Italy (ISTAT 2009). Over 11 % of Ecuadorian men and over 19 % of Peruvian men work in domestic service (Bonizzoni 2011). Between 2007 and 2008, men constituted 10 % of the labour force in this sector, jumping to 20 % in 2009; in 2010, the number decreased to 16 %, but the percentage of migrants among these men has grown from 13 % in 2008 to 23 % in 2009, and was 18 % in 2010 (INPS, Osservatorio sui lavoratori domestici, quoted in Picchi 2012). A more recent survey indicates that in 2012 men represented 17.6 % of all domestic/care workers (Censis-Ismu 2012, quoted in Golzio 2013). These data, while they do not account for the presence of male domestic workers employed in the informal economy, reflect the cyclical increase and decrease in migrant men's participation in the domestic/care sector, which results from their seeking such work for the purposes of regularisation and subsequently moving on to different occupations (Colombo and Sarti 2009). Indeed, the increased number of migrant men in the sector in 2009 can be explained by the regularisation of that year, which exclusively addressed domestic/care workers (unlike the previous regularisation in 2002) (Picchi 2012). In addition, the Security package (*Pacchetto Sicurezza*) introduced in 2009, which established illegal migration as crime, may have pushed more migrant men to take up jobs in this sector in order to obtain legal status (Picchi 2012).

One further element to consider in understanding the remasculinisation of paid domestic/care work and its relationship with migration is the gendered nature of patterns of employment in sending countries. Indeed, while occupations in the immigration countries are gendered,

migrants too have gendered expectations of work (McIlwaine et al. 2006). Fewer men than women are engaged in domestic/care employment in the Middle East, for example (Moors and de Regt 2008), as well as in some countries in Latin America and Africa such as Mexico, Bolivia, and Namibia (Schwenken and Heimeshoff 2011). Conversely, scholars working on South Asia have highlighted how the employment of men as domestic workers is partly rooted in a longer history of colonial domination, with English women moulding a domestic discipline in terms of men's dressing habits and movement within the house (Ghose 2000; Sinha 1995). Manservants have been indeed typical of colonial societies in Asia (Constable 2007, Locher-Scholten 2000), while also being the product of renewed social hierarchies across the rural-urban, caste, class, and gender divide. In today's India, for instance, domestic employment in urban, upper-caste/middle-upper class families is a possible route towards a salaried income for lower-caste Indian village men (Chopra 2006; Ray 2000; Tolen 2000). Similarly, while this type of work has gone through a process of feminisation in Europe as well as in Asian countries such as Japan, India, and Taiwan (Moya 2007), 'houseboys' have also remained a constant feature of domestic service in certain African countries: for instance, in Sierra Leone, the number of men in the sector approaches that of women (Schwenken and Heimeshoff 2011). As in South Asia, this is due partly to colonial constructions of respectable masculinity as based on income-provision (and of male domestic jobs as possessing a higher status than female domestic jobs), to post-colonial phenomena of urbanisation and internal migration, and to interpretations of Islam, which discourage women's work in certain settings (Schwenken and Heimeshoff 2011; Hansen 1992; Bujra 2000). In Asian countries such as Tajikistan, and in Algeria and Egypt, men are more often employed in domestic/care sector than women, at least based on official statistics on formal labour (Schwenken and Heimeshoff 2011). However, it should be noted that in these countries, female paid domestic work is largely invisible in official statistics, as it not considered to be work at all (Schwenken and Heimeshoff 2011).

In the Italian context, continuity between gendered occupations in the sending and receiving labour market is far from straightforward. For instance, very few African men are employed in job in Italy; fur-

ther, in their narratives, Filipino migrants tend to deny that such work is also a masculinised occupation in their home country, possibly in an attempt to dissociate themselves from poorer and lower-skilled men who engage with this activity in the Philippines (Sarti 2010). We can see a similar trend in the case of migrant men from South India in Italy, who mainly come from upper-status/caste communities and are usually well educated; while domestic/care work is accepted, migrant men perceive this as a form of downward mobility with respect to the jobs they might have accessed in their home countries (Gallo 2006). Indeed, it is the segmented nature of the labour market and the racialising constructions that are activated for the purposes of recruitment that seem to play a more important role in orienting the men of certain migrant groups to these kinds of jobs⁷ (Scrinzi 2010). Other studies have suggested that the discontent of racialised men in domestic service, such as Japanese men in the USA prior to the Second World War, resulted crucially from notions of class status and was not simply associated with the gendering of the job in their home country (Le Espiritu 1998: 35). In the same period, for example, Chinese men in the USA became laundrymen not because this was a masculinised activity in China but because of the absence of ethnic minority women, due to policies which prevented family migration and women's immigration and constructed 'womanless communities' (ibid). Similarly, in nineteenth century Malaysia under British rule, Chinese and Indian men were employed as domestic workers by European households because of the low numbers of available female migrants, who were instead 'reserved' for prostitution (Chin 1998).

Gendered and Racialised Hierarchies in Domestic/Care Labour

As Kitty Calavita (2006: 121) suggests, these features of migration in Southern Europe are evidence that 'the advantages of maleness are contingent' and that a non-additive approach to gender/ethnicity is necessary to apprehend gendered migration. Migrant women in certain contexts

⁷ See Chap. 3 for an analysis of these processes.

may benefit from a ‘comparative advantage vis-à-vis men’ (Lim 1983: 78) because of the gendered nature of the employers’ expectations and preferences. Indeed, in contemporary Southern Europe, women seem to have greater opportunities for employment and are more likely to achieve legal status than men, in contexts where the law requires a work contract to obtain a permit of stay, and where immigration quotas and regularisations favour care workers. These findings, however, should not lead us to underplay the resilient privileges of men over women in the migrant population overall. In 2011, migrant women earned lower salaries than men of the same nationality—migrant men earned 21 % less than Italian men, and migrant women earned 31 % less than Italian women (Fondazione Leone Moressa 2013). It should also be noted that men benefit from the privileges of masculinity when they are employed in feminised jobs, such as when they work as nurses, school teachers, and flight attendants (Williams 1993, 1995; Lupton 2006; Cross and Bagilhole 2002; Bagilhole and Cross 2006; Simpson 2004; Scrinzi 2005, 2010). While ‘token’ women in male professions may be severely disadvantaged by their minority status (Kanter 1977), men in these jobs benefit from masculinity as a ‘boon’ in several ways, taking advantage of the positive cultural evaluation of male attributes. They benefit from essentialist assumptions that portray them as naturally more inclined to collective action, while women are seen as docile and individualised workers; they are seen as keener workers than women; and female colleagues welcome them and facilitate their advancement by pushing them toward leadership positions (Williams 1993: 3; Simpson 2004; Lupton 2006; Charrier 2004; Cross and Bagilhole 2002).

Men in these jobs, therefore, benefit from what Simpson (2004: 349) calls the ‘authority effect’ and the ‘career effect’; further, men tend to be welcomed in the workplace despite their minority status, and they rarely feel isolated at work—the ‘zone of comfort effect’ (Simpson 2004: 349; Scrinzi 2010). As a result, men in these jobs climb up the career ladder more quickly than women and benefit from better working conditions, taking up supervisory and managerial roles (Bradley 1993). Christine Williams’ pioneering research in this field and her concept of the ‘glass escalator’ (1995: 81) which benefits men in feminised occupations concurs with these findings. This applies also to reproductive labour sector, in which the traditional gendered hierarchy is still largely maintained.

In Mexico, male domestic workers are a symbol of status for wealthy households, and male jobs are considered to be more specialised and better paid (Durin 2013). In London, men in domestic service work almost exclusively as butlers, supervising other (female) workers, and as drivers for upper-class employers (Cox 1999).

Limited research exists on how gender and racism/ethnicity intersect within the processes of sex-typing in feminised jobs. For example, black male nurses do not benefit from the 'authority effect', the 'career effect', or the 'comfort effect'; they encounter greater suspicion from their patients than white male nurses and their female colleagues (due to dominant constructions of racialised masculinity as a sexual and physical threat), as well as racist discrimination from their supervisors. Further, black male nurses 'have to address the unspoken racialization implicit in the assumption that masculinity equals competence' (Wingfield 2009: 11), suffering from the stereotype that black workers are suited for unskilled, low-paid jobs. Through entering certain feminised jobs, racialised men may at least attain masculine status as family breadwinners (Williams and Willemez 1993). However, the limited ethnographic findings on migrant male domestic/care labour do not seem to support these insights into the position of racialised men in other feminised jobs. Rather, the data suggest that a situation of vertical gender segregation is reproduced within the sector, as men tend to occupy the best-paid jobs. Migrant men do so by either establishing masculine niches within the sector or by entering feminised jobs such as household-based cleaning/cooking in partnership with their wives. In the USA and in the UK, for example, gardening and handyman jobs have become male labour niches where Mexican and Polish men, respectively, may gain specialisation and access relatively high earnings, working for well-off families (Ramirez and Hondagneu-Sotelo 2009; Kilkey et al. 2013a). As an example of working partnership, Filipino men work in couples with their wives in wealthy households in Spain, Italy, and the UK (Oso 1998; Chell-Robinson 2000; Cox 1999).

These few studies on migrant/racialised male domestic workers also suggest that the tension between conventional understandings of masculinity and the gendering of work is managed through a gendered division of tasks and jobs within the sector. A gendered spatial separation distinguishes masculinised jobs, which are mainly performed outdoors,

and feminised ones, which are mainly carried out in the private, interior spaces of the house. In contemporary Mexico, male drivers and gardeners who are often internal migrants or members of ethnic minorities may be asked to perform cleaning tasks outside the house, but only a few men work as carers within the home (Durin 2013). Because they are constructed as a sexual threat, male domestic workers tend to be excluded from those spaces and parts of the house where they are likely to have personal interaction with the family members (*ibid*). In Hong Kong, migrant men working in domestic service perform tasks such as gardening and car-washing, while migrant women are assigned to house cleaning and cooking (Constable 2007). In the USA, Latino migrant men work as janitors, while the women of their communities often work as domestic/care workers (Cranford 2005). A study on housekeeping and room service in hotels in the USA found that most of these lower-ranking jobs were occupied by racialised workers, mostly migrants, with women employed as room cleaners and turndown attendants and men employed in housekeeping and room service (Sherman 2011). In this sense, the location of the work rather than its content constitutes the main gendered boundary, as the tasks themselves may well be similar (Duffy 2007). Similarly, in some contexts, men are more often employed in institutional or public forms of paid domestic work than in its private household-based forms. For migrants pursuing upward social mobility, these kinds of jobs can represent a welcome alternative to more traditional forms of paid domestic/care work, but they also reproduce racialised internal hierarchies, for example, through the assignation of migrant workers to 'difficult' clients and to anti-social working hours, such as evenings and week-ends (Boccagni 2009a; Marchetti and Scrinzi 2014; Timonen and Doyle 2010; Da Roit 2013; Shutes and Carlos 2012; Scrinzi 2013). Over the nineteenth century in the USA, the expansion of non-nurturant social reproductive labour occupations in institutional settings (cleaning and catering in public buildings, schools, hotels, restaurants, nursing homes, and hospitals) corresponded with the increase in racialised (black and Hispanic) men in these jobs, who by the end of the century were overrepresented in these occupations (Duffy 2007). On the basis of the survey conducted on migrant workers in low-paid jobs in London, most women in these jobs worked as cleaners in 'semi-private' spaces such as hotels as well as in home-based care jobs,

while most men worked in 'semi-public' spaces such as office cleaning or cleaning services in the Underground. Black African men were found to be the largest group of men in cleaning jobs (McIlwaine et al. 2006). The gendered and racialised division of reproductive labour is further defined around the distinction between visible/invisible tasks in both public/institutional and private/household-based settings (Glenn 1992). A quantitative analysis of paid reproductive labour in the USA reveals the following points: white women are overrepresented in non-nurturant jobs in the private sphere; racialised women (especially Hispanic women) are overrepresented in both private and institutional forms of non-nurturant paid work; and racialised men are overrepresented in non-nurturant reproductive labour in public settings, especially in invisible 'back room' niches, which assimilates them to the jobs assigned to racialised women both in private and public settings; white men are found to be rare across the board (Duffy 2007). As the following chapters will show, migrant men in Italy also work in nurturant care jobs in private household settings, even if they are in a minority relative to racialised women.

Further, masculinised domestic service jobs emerge as having particular characteristics. They are seen as requiring some 'technical' ability, specialisation, and skill, and are considered as physically demanding and involving the use of equipment considered potentially dangerous, such as gardening and handyman work, carried out in public spaces. Indeed, Mexican *jardineros* develop a sense of working-class masculinity, which revolves around physical strength and the use of machinery (Ramirez and Hondagneu-Sotelo 2009; Ramirez 2011). Migrant men are employed as gardeners, drivers, handymen, and carpet shampoo cleaners in the USA, Mexico, the Middle East, the UK, and Italy (Cranford 2005; Durin 2013; Moors and de Regt 2008; Kilkey et al. 2013; Ramirez and Hondagneu-Sotelo 2009; Ramirez 2011; Näre 2010; Cox 1999; Romero 2002). Accordingly, when migrant domestic workers are employed as a couple in a household, men tend to be assigned to driving and gardening, but they may also be asked to perform heavy cleaning in the house (Näre 2010; Cox 1999; Parreñas 2001). Existing studies on paid domestic work in institutional and public settings also suggest that there is some continuity with the traditional forms of domestic service to the extent that migrant men and women are assigned to gender-specific tasks and

jobs. In a company providing cleaning services in Paris, for instance, men were assigned to home-maintenance and gardening jobs; however, the managers stated that they were not currently recruiting men because they had no demand for such work from their clients (Scrinzi 2009). These masculinised domestic service jobs tend to require little emotional labour as they involve little face-to-face interaction with the clients/employers, as opposed to (female) care jobs, which are highly demanding in this respect (Ramirez and Hondagneu-Sotelo 2009; Durin 2013; Duffy 2005). Overall, this gendered and racialised division of jobs and tasks helps to explain the reproduction of vertical gender segregation in the sector and the higher (material and symbolic) value attributed to male domestic labour. As Ramirez and Hondagneu-Sotelo (2009) suggest, taking care of goods which are assigned an exchange value and an investment potential endows these migrant/racialised male domestic workers with a gender advantage over their female colleagues.

Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the existing scholarship on gendered migration. It has argued for the need to avoid the overlap between 'gender' and 'women' present in the literature on international migration. We need to challenge the conceptual normative distinction between male breadwinners and trailing female spouses. In addition, in order to fully consider the role of migrant women as workers, independent migrants, and breadwinners, we need to consider the role played by migrant men in social reproduction, both paid and unpaid, and to map the specificities of men's incorporation into particular job sectors (Raghuram and Kofman 2015). We suggest that it is crucial to investigate how the entry of migrant men into domestic/care services produces and reflects changes in migrant family relations, employment conditions, and working experiences.

Italy represents an important case study in this respect because it epitomises wider trends in the gendered intersections of migration and welfare state restructuring. Additionally, it is witnessing processes of remasculinisation of migrant domestic/care labour, which point to multiple inequalities within the migrant population and which can highlight

the various processes underway in the gendering of work. These findings point to the internal diversity of domestic/care services and the need to adopt a more nuanced understanding of the gendered characterisation of reproductive labour as traditionally and exclusively female and feminised (Manalansan 2006). Indeed, some tasks taken up by migrant men within the sphere of reproductive labour do not necessarily reflect a feminisation of their work and identity. Nonetheless, in contexts such as Italy, migrant men are employed in traditionally female sectors such as the elderly care jobs, including as live-in workers, and even childcare (Näre 2010; Scrinzi 2005, 2010; Gallo 2006). Overall, existing studies of migrant men in domestic/care labour are still scarce, particularly when it comes to locating male employment in the domestic/care sector within the wider context of their professional and migratory trajectories, including downward or upward social mobility in the immigration country and shifting between different juridical statuses. Further, we still know little about the ways in which the strategies adopted by these migrant men to negotiate masculinity and ethnic belonging cross-cut the public/private divide. We need more insight into the relationship between their paid domestic work and their family lives. While migrant men are a minority in 'feminine' nurturant care jobs in Italy and their presence does not seem to alter the overall gendered division of work, their increased presence in the context of the economic crisis provides an opportunity for better understanding the gendered nature of migration, of racialised divisions of work, and of the processes through which paid domestic/care work is constructed as 'women's work'.

Bibliography

- Ahmad, A.N. 2008. The romantic appeal of illegal migration: Gender, masculinity and human smuggling from Pakistan. In *Illegal migration and gender in a global and historical perspective*, ed. M. Shrover, J. van der Luen, L. Lucassen, and C. Quispel. Amsterdam: IMISCOE/Amsterdam University Press.
- Ahmad, N.A. 2011. *Masculinity, sexuality and illegal migration*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Alemanì, C. 2004. Le colf: Ansie e desideri delle datrici di lavoro. *Polis* 18(1): 137–166.

- Ali, S. 2010. *Dubai: Gilded cage*. New Haven/London: Yale University Press.
- Ambrosini, M. 2013. *Irregular migration and invisible welfare*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Ambrosini, M., and B. Beccalli. 2009. Uomini in lavori da donne. Il lavoro domestico maschile. In *Badanti & Co. Il lavoro domestico straniero in Italia*, ed. R. Catanzaro and A. Colombo. Bologna: Il Mulino.
- Andall, J. 1998. Catholic and state constructions of domestic workers: The case of Cape Verdean women in Rome in the 1970s. In *The new migration in Europe*, ed. K. Koser and H. Lutz. London: Macmillan.
- Andall, J. 2000. *Gender, migration and domestic service*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Andall, J. 2007. Immigration and the Italian left democrats in government (1996/2001). *Patterns of Prejudice* 41(2): 131–153.
- Anderson, B. 2000. *Doing the dirty work? The global politics of domestic labour*. London: Zed Books.
- Anderson, B. 2007. A very private business: Exploring the demand for migrant domestic workers. *European Journal of Women's Studies* 14(3): 247–264.
- Anderson, B. 2010. Migration, immigration controls and the fashioning of precarious workers. *Work Employment & Society* 24(2): 300–317.
- Andrieux, A. 2005. Quels sont les acteurs qui expriment et développent les idées utilitaristes en matière d'immigration, en France et en Europe, depuis les années 90? *Recueil Alexandries, Collections Synthèses*. Available at : <http://www.reseau-terra.eu/article441.html>
- Anthias, F., and G. Lazaridis. 2000. Introduction: Women on the move in southern Europe. In *Gender and migration in southern Europe. Women on the move*, ed. F. Anthias and G. Lazaridis. Oxford: Berg.
- Araujo, S.G., and T. González-Fernández. 2014. International migration, public policies and domestic work. Latin American migrant women in the Spanish domestic work sector. *Women's Studies International Forum* 46(Sept-Oct): 13–23.
- Bagilhole, B., and S. Cross. 2006. "It never struck me as female": Investigating men's entry into female-dominated occupations. *Journal of Gender Studies* 15(1): 35–48.
- Bakan, A.B., and D. Stasiulis. 1994. Foreign domestic worker policy in Canada and the social boundaries of modern citizenship. *Science and Society* 58(1): 7–33.
- Bakan, A.B., and D.K. Stasiulis. 1995. Making the match: Domestic placement agencies and the racialization of women's household work. *Signs* 20(2): 303–335.
- Banfi, L., and P. Boccagni. 2011. Transnational family life and female migration in Italy. In *Gender, generations and the family in international migration*, ed.

- A. Kraler, E. Kofman, M. Kohli, and C. Schmoll. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- Beets, G., and F. Willekens. 2009. The global economic crises and international migration: An uncertain outlook. Research note produced for the European Commission. Netherlands Interdisciplinary Demographic Institute.
- Bettio, F., and J. Plantenga. 2004. Comparing care regimes in Europe. *Feminist Economics* 10(1): 85–113.
- Bettio, F., A. Simonazzi, and P. Villa. 2006. Change in care regimes and female migration: The ‘care drain’ in the Mediterranean. *Journal of European Social Policy* 16(3): 271–285.
- Bhabha, J. 1996. Embodied rights: Gender persecution, state sovereignty and refugees. *Public Culture* 9(1): 3–32.
- Bonizzoni, P. 2011. Civic stratification, stratified reproduction and family solidarity. In *Gender, generations and the family in international migration*, ed. A. Kraler, E. Kofman, M. Kohli, and C. Schmoll. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- Bradley, H. 1993. Across the great divide. The entry of men into “women’s jobs”. In *Doing ‘women’s work’: Men in nontraditional occupations*, ed. C.L. Williams. London: Sage.
- Bribosia, E., and A. Réa. 2002. *Les nouvelles migrations. Un enjeu Européen*. Bruxelles: Editions Complexes.
- Bujra, J. 2000. *Serving class: Masculinity and the feminisation of domestic service in Tanzania*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Burchianti, F., and R. Zapata-Barrero (eds.). 2012. Challenges to tolerance in political life. A comparative overview of 15 European countries. ACCEPT-PLURALISM Report 2012/29; 4. National case studies - Political life; synthesis and highlights. Available at: http://cadmus.eui.eu/bitstream/handle/1814/23898/ACCEPT_PLURALISM_2012_29_ComparativeReportRev.pdf?sequence=1
- Calavita, K. 2005. *Immigrants at the margins: Law, race, and exclusion in Southern Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Calavita, K. 2006. Gender, migration, and law: Crossing borders and bridging disciplines. *International Migration Review* 40(1): 104–132.
- Campani, G. 1993a. ‘Immigration and racism in Southern Europe: The Italian Case’. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 16(3): 508–535.
- Campani, G. 1993b. ‘Labour Markets and Family Networks: Filipino Women in Italy’. In *Bridging States and Markets*, eds. H. Rudolph, and M. Morokvasic. Berlin: Sigma.

- Campani, G. 2010. Gender and migration in Southern Europe: A comparative approach to the Italian and Spanish cases. In *Women in new migrations*, ed. K. Slany, M. Kontos, and M. Lippi. Kracow: Jagiellonian University Press.
- Cancedda, L. 2001. *Employment in household service*. Dublin: European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions.
- Canciano, A., I. Shutes, S. Spencer, and G. Lesson. 2009. *Migrant care workers in ageing societies: Report on research findings in the United Kingdom*. Oxford: ERC Centre on Migration, Policy and Security.
- Caponio, T., and P.R. Graziano. 2011. Towards a security-oriented migration policy model? Evidence from the Italian case. In *Migration and welfare in the new Europe: Social protection and the challenges of integration*, ed. E. Carmel, A. Cerami, and T. Papadopoulos. Bristol: Policy Press.
- Caritas Dossier Statistico Immigrazione. 2012. *XXII Rapporto sull'Immigrazione*. Rome: IDOS.
- Caritas. 2012. *Dossier statistico immigrazione*. Rome: IDOS.
- Caritas. 2007. *Dossier statistico immigrazione*. Rome: IDOS.
- Carmel, E., A. Cerami, and T. Papadopoulos (eds.). 2011. *Migration and welfare in the New Europe: Social protection and the challenges of integration*. Bristol: Policy Press.
- Castles, S., and M.J. Miller. 1993. *The age of migration. International population movements in the modern world*. Basingstoke: Palgrave.
- Castles, S., and M.J. Miller. 2009. *The age of migration. International population movement in the modern world*, 4th ed. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Catanzaro, R., and A. Colombo. 2009. Nazionalità, genere e classe nel nuovo lavoro domestico. In *Badanti & Co. Il lavoro domestico straniero in Italia*, ed. R. Catanzaro and A. Colombo. Bologna: Il Mulino.
- Catarino, C. 2011. Politiques migratoires et politiques d'emploi: la flexibilité sexuée en Europe. *Cahiers du Genre* 51: 93–112.
- Catarino, C., and M. Morokvasic. 2005. Femmes, genre, migration et mobilités. *Revue Européenne des Migrations Internationales* 21(1): 727.
- CENSIS. 2010. *Dare casa alla sicurezza. Rischi e prevenzione per i lavoratori domestici*. Note & Commenti n° 9. Available at: http://www.censis.it/12?relational_resource_77=108452&resource_66=108452&relational_resource_397=108452&relational_resource_410=108452&relational_resource_411=108452&relational_resource_412=108452&relational_resource_413=108452
- CENSIS. 2013. *Boom do badante nelle case degli Italiani. Rapporto di Ricerca*. Roma: CENSIS.
- CENSIS-ISMU. 2012. *Il Lavoratore domestico in Italia*. Roma: IRS.

- Charrier, P. 2004. Comment envisage-t-on d'être sage-femme quand on est un homme? L'intégration professionnelle des étudiants hommes sages-femmes. *Travail Genre et Sociétés* 14: 105–124.
- Chell-Robinson, V. 2000. Female migrants in Italy. In *Gender and migration in southern Europe: Women on the move*, ed. F. Anthias and G. Lazaridis. Oxford: Berg.
- Chin, C.B.N. 1998. *In service and servitude. Foreign domestic workers and the Malaysian 'Modernity' project*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Chishti, Muzaffar. 2011. The legal context for caregiver immigration. In *Women, migration and the work of care: The United States in comparative perspective*, ed. S. Michel, 22–24. Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars.
- Chopra, R. 2006. Invisible men. Masculinity, sexuality and male domestic labour. *Men and Masculinities* 9(2): 152–167.
- Colectivo Ioé. 2012. *Impactos de la crisis sobre la población inmigrante*. Madrid: Organización Internacional para las Migraciones. Also available at: http://www.colectivoioe.org/index.php/publicaciones_libros/show/id/101
- Colombo, A., and R. Sarti. 2009. Come è cambiato il servizio domestico in Italia dagli anni Cinquanta ad oggi. In *La fatica di cambiare. Rapporto sulla società italiana*, ed. R. Catanzaro and G. Sciortino. Bologna: Il Mulino.
- Constable, N. 2007. *Maid to order in Hong Kong*. Ithaca/London: Cornell University Press.
- Cox, R. 1999. The role of ethnicity in shaping the domestic employment sector in Britain. In *Gender, migration and domestic service*, ed. J.H. Momsen. London: Routledge.
- Cox, R. 2006. *The servant problem: Domestic employment in a global economy*. London: I.B. Tauris.
- Crane, D. 2000. *Fashion and its social agendas: Class, gender, and identity in clothing*. Chicago/London: University of Chicago Press.
- Cranford, C.J. 2005. Networks of exploitation: Immigrant labor and the restructuring of the Los Angeles Janitorial industry. *Social Problems* 52(3): 379–397.
- Cross, S., and B. Bagilhole. 2002. Girls' jobs for the boys? Men, masculinity and non-traditional occupations. *Gender Work and Organization* 9(2): 204–226.
- Da Roit, B. 2007. Changing intergenerational solidarity within families in a Mediterranean welfare state. *Current Sociology* 55(2): 251–269.
- Da Roit, B., and S. Sabbatinelli. 2013. Nothing on the move or just going private? Understanding the freeze on child- and eldercare policies and the development of care markets in Italy. *Social Politics* 20(3): 430–453.

- Dal Lago, A. 1999. *Non-persone. L'esclusione dei migranti in una società globale*. Milan: Feltrinelli.
- Davidoff, L. 1995. *Worlds between: Historical perspectives on gender and class*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Decimo, F. 2005. *Quando emigrano le donne. Reti e percorsi femminili della mobilità transnazionale*. Bologna: Il Mulino.
- Del Re, A., and J. Heinen. 1997. Note sur le privé, le public et la famille. *Futur Antérieur* 39/40: 117–125.
- Di Bartolomeo, A., and S. Marchetti. 2014. Care work and the feminization of labour migration to Italy through the current economic crisis. EUI/Migration Policy Centre Blog, published online 10 Apr 2014. Available at: <https://blogs.eui.eu/migrationpolicycentre/care-work-and-the-feminization-of-labour-migration-to-italy-through-the-current-economic-crisis/>
- Duffy, M. 2005. Reproducing labour inequalities: Challenges for feminists conceptualizing care at the intersections of gender, race and class. *Gender & Society* 19(1): 66–82.
- Duffy, M. 2007. Doing the dirty work: Gender, race, and reproductive labour in historical perspective. *Gender & Society* 21(3): 313–336.
- Durin, S. 2013. Varones en el servicio doméstico en el Área Metropolitana de Monterrey. *Trayectorias* 15(37): 53–72.
- Düvell, F. 2009. *The crisis and its possible impact on global migration*. Oxford: Centre on Migration, Policy and Society/COMPAS. Available at <http://www.age-of-migration.com/uk/financialcrisis/updates/1f.pdf>
- Escrivá, A. 2000. ¿Empleadas de por vida? Peruanas en el servicio domestico de Barcelona. *Papers* 60: 327–342.
- Esping-Andersen, G. 1999. *Social foundations of postindustrial economies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Estevez-Abe, Margarita, and Barbara Hobson. 2015. Outsourcing domestic (care) work: The politics, policies, and political economy. *Social Politics* 22(2): 133–146.
- Fernández, C., and C. Ortega. 2008. Labor market assimilation of immigrants in Spain: Employment at the expense of bad job-matches? *Spanish Economic Review* 10(2): 83–107.
- Fondazione Leone Moressa. 2013. *La condizione retributiva e contributiva delle donne straniere*. Available at <http://www.fondazioneleonemoressa.org/news-ite/wp-content/uploads/2013/03/Le-disuguaglianze-di-genero.pdf>
- Fraisse, G. 1979. *Femmes toutes mains. Essai sur le service domestique*. Paris: Seuil.

- Gallo, E. 2005. Unorthodox sisters: Gender relations and generational change in Malayali transnational marriages. *Indian Journal of Gender Studies* 12(1–2): 217–251.
- Gallo, E. 2006. Italy is not a good place for men. Narratives of place, marriage and masculinity among Malayali migrants in Rome. *Global Networks* 6(4): 159–174.
- Gamburd, M.R. 2000. *The kitchen spoon's handle: Transnationalism and Sri Lanka's migrant housemaids*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Gavanas, A., and F. Williams. 2008. The intersection of child care regimes and migration regimes: A three-country study. In *Migration and domestic work: A European perspective on a global theme*, ed. H. Lutz. London: Routledge.
- George, S. 2000. "Dirty nurses" and "men who play". In *Global ethnography: Forces, connections, and imaginations in a postmodern world*, ed. M. Burawoy, J.A. Blum, S. George, Z. Gille, and M. Thayer. Berkeley/Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- George, S. 2005. *When women come first: Gender and class in transnational migration*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Ghose, I. 2000. *Women travellers in Colonial India: The power of the female gaze*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Glenn, E.N. 1992. From servitude to service work: Historical continuities in the racial division of paid reproductive labour. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 18(1): 1–43.
- Glick Shiller, N., L. Basch, and C. Szanton-Blanc. 1992. Transnationalism: A new analytic framework for understanding migration. In *Towards a transnational perspective on migration. Race, class, ethnicity and nationalism reconsidered*, ed. N. Glick Shiller, L. Basch, and C. Szanton-Blanc, 1–24. New York: New York Academy of Sciences.
- Golzio, L. 2013. Dal lavoro domestico ai servizi socio-assistenziali. Paper delivered at the workshop *Il lavoro domestico una realta sociale ed economica*. Assindatcolf, Rome. 28 Nov.
- Grillo, R. 2002. Immigration and the politics of recognising difference in Italy. In *The politics of recognizing difference: Multiculturalism Italian-style*, ed. R. Grillo and J. Pratt. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Hansen, K.T. 1992. Gender and housing. The case of domestic service in Liusaka, Zimbabwe. *Africa: Journal of International African Institute* 62(2): 248–265.
- Hausmann, R., L.D. Tyson, and S. Zahidi. 2012. *Global gender gap report*. Geneva: World Economic Forum.
- Hellermann, C. 2006. Migrating alone: Tackling social capital? Women from Eastern Europe in Portugal. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 29(6): 1135–1152.

- Higman, B.W. 2002. *Domestic service in Australia*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press.
- Hochschild, A.R. 2001. Global care chains and emotional surplus value. In *On the edge*, ed. W. Hutton and A. Giddens. London: Vintage.
- Hondagneu-Sotelo, P. 1994. *Gendered transitions: Mexican experiences of immigration*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Hondagneu-Sotelo, P. 2001. *Domestica: Immigrant workers cleaning and caring in the shadow of affluence*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Horn, P. 2004. *The rise and fall of the Victorian servant*. Sparkford: Sutton Publishing.
- Huang, S., and B.S.A. Yeoh. 2003. The difference gender makes: State policy and contract migrant workers in Singapore. *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal* 12(1–2): 75–98.
- Huang, S., L.L. Thang, and M. Toyota. 2012. Transnational mobilities for care. *Global Networks* 12(2): 129–134.
- Ibáñez, Z., and M. León. 2014. Resisting crisis at what cost? Migrant care workers in private households. In *Migration and care labour*, ed. B. Anderson and I. Shutes. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- INPS. 2012. *V Rapporto sui Lavoratori di Origine Immigrata*. Rome: INPS.
- ISTAT. 2009. *Dati sull'immigrazione in Italia*. Roma: Istituto Nazionale di Statistica.
- ISTAT. 2012. *Statistiche sulla previdenza e assistenza sociale*. Rome: ISTAT.
- Kanter, R. 1977. *Men and women of the corporation*. New York: Basic Books.
- Kilkey, M. 2010. Men and domestic labour: A missing link in the global care chain. *Men and Masculinities* 13(1): 126–149.
- Kilkey, M., H. Lutz, and E. Palenga-Mollenbeck. 2010. Introduction. *Social Policy and Society* 9(3): 379–384.
- Kilkey, M., D. Perrons, A. Plomien, P. Hondagneu-Sotelo, and H. Ramirez. 2013a. *Gender, migration and domestic work. Masculinities, male labour and fathering in the UK and USA*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- King, R., and K. Rybaczuk. 1993. Southern Europe and the international division of labour: From emigration and immigration. In *The new geography of European migrations*, ed. R. King. London: Belhaven.
- King, R., and E. Zontini. 2000. The role of gender in the South European immigration model. *Papers* 60: 35–52.
- Koehler, J., F. Laczko, C. Aghazarm, and G. Schad. 2010. *Migration and the economic crisis in the European union: Implications for policy*. IOM thematic study. Available at http://publications.iom.int/bookstore/free/Migration_and_the_Economic_Crisis.pdf

- Kofman, E. 1999. Female “Birds of passage” a decade later. *International Migration Review* 33(2): 269–299.
- Kofman, E., A. Phizacklea, P. Raghuram, and R. Sales. 2000. *Gender and international migration in Europe*. London: Routledge.
- Koser, K., and H. Lutz. 1998. Introduction. In *The new migration in Europe. Social construction and social realities*, ed. K. Koser and H. Lutz. Basingstoke: Palgrave.
- Kurien, P. 2002. *Kaleidoscopic ethnicity. International migration and the reconstruction of community identities in India*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.
- Lagamarsino, F. 2006. *Esodi e approdi di genere*. Milan: Franco Angeli/ISMU.
- Lazaridis, G. 2000. Filipino and Albanian women migrant workers in Greece. In *Gender and migration in southern Europe: Women on the move*, ed. F. Anthias and G. Lazaridis. Oxford: Berg.
- Le Espiritu, Y. 1997. *Asian American women and men: Labor, laws, and love*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Le Espiritu, Y. 1998. All men are not created equal. In *Men's lives*, ed. Michael Kimmel and Michael Messner. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.
- Leon, M. 2010. Migration and care work in Spain: The domestic sector revisited. *Social Policy and Society* 9(3): 409–418.
- Lim, L.Y.C. 1983. Capitalism, imperialism and patriarchy. In *Women, men, and the international division of labor*, ed. J.C. Nash and M.P. Fernández-Kelly. Albany: SUNY Press.
- Locher-Scholten, E. 2000. *Women and the colonial state*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- Lopez, M. 2012. Reconstituting the affective labour of Filipinos as care workers in Japan. *Global Networks* 12(2): 252–268.
- Lorentzen, L.A., and R. Mira. 2005. El milagro está en casa: Gender and private/public empowerment in a migrant Pentecostal Church. *Latin American Perspectives* 32(1): 57–71.
- Lupton, B. 2006. Explaining men's entry into female-concentrated occupations. *Gender, Work and Organization* 13(2): 103–128.
- Lutz, H. 2008. Introduction. In *Migration and domestic work*, ed. H. Lutz, 1–12. Avebury: Ashgate.
- Lutz, H., and E. Palenga-Mollenbeck. 2010. Care work migration in Germany: Semi-compliance and complicity. *Social Policy and Society* 9(3): 419–430.
- Lyon, D., and M. Glucksmann. 2008. Comparative configurations of care-work across Europe. *Sociology* 42(1): 101–118.
- Macklin, A. 1992. Foreign domestic worker: Surrogate housewife or mail order servant? *McGill Law Journal* 37(3): 681–760.

- Manalansan IV, M.F. 2006. Queer intersections. Sexuality and gender in migration studies. *International Migration Review* 40(1): 224–249.
- Marchetti, S., and F. Scrinzi. 2014. Gendered and racialised constructions of work in bureaucratised care services in Italy. Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies Research Papers. European University Institute. 2014/123. Available online at http://cadmus.eui.eu/bitstream/handle/1814/33879/RSCAS_2014_123.pdf?sequence=1
- Martine-Fugier, A. 1979. *La place des bonnes*. Paris: Grasset.
- McGregor, J. 2007. Joining the BBC (British Bottom Cleaners): Zimbabwean migrants and the UK care industry. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 33(5): 801–824.
- McIlwaine, C., D. Kavita, Y. Evans, J. Herbert, J. May, and J. Wills. 2006. Gender and ethnic identities among low-paid migrant workers in London. Working Paper, Department of Geography, Queen Mary, University of London. Available at: <http://www.geog.qmul.ac.uk/globalcities/reports/docs/workingpaper4.pdf>
- Michel, S., and I. Peng. 2012. All in the family? Migrants, nationhood, and care regimes in Asia and North America'. *Journal of European Social Policy* 22(4): 406–418.
- Miles, R. 1993. *Racism after 'Race relations'*. London: Routledge.
- Moors, A., and M. de Regt. 2008. Migrant domestic workers in the Middle East. In *Illegal migration and gender in a global and historical perspective*, ed. M. Schrover, J. van der Leun, L. Lucassen, and C. Quispel. Amsterdam: IMISCOE/Amsterdam University Press.
- Morokvasic, M. 1984. Birds of passage are also women. *International Migration Review* 18(4): 886–907.
- Morokvasic, M. 2003. Transnational mobility and gender: A view from post-wall Europe. In *Crossing borders and shifting boundaries. Volume 1: Gender on the move*, ed. M. Morokvasic-Müller, E. Umut, and K. Shinozaki. Opladen: Leske and Budrich.
- Moya, J.C. 2007. Domestic service in a global perspective: Gender, migration and ethnic niches. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 33(4): 559–579.
- Näre, L. 2010. Sri Lankan men working as cleaners and carers. *Men and Masculinities* 13(1): 65–86.
- Näre, L. 2011. The moral economy of domestic and care labour: Migrant workers in Naples, Italy. *Sociology* 45(3): 396–412.
- Näre, L. 2013a. Migrancy, gender and social class in domestic labour and social care in Italy. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 39(4): 601–623.

- Näre, L. 2013b. Ideal workers and suspects. Employers' politics of recognition and the migrant division of care labour in Finland. *Nordic Journal of Migration Research* 3(2): 72–81.
- OECD. 2009. International migration and the economic crisis: Understanding the links and shaping policy responses. In OECD. *International Migration Outlook 2009*. Paris: OECD Publishing.
- Orsini-Jones, M., and F. Gattullo. 2000. Migrant women in Italy: National trends and local perspectives. In *Gender and migration in southern Europe: Women on the move*, ed. G. Anthias and G. Lazaridis. Oxford: Berg.
- Oso, L. 1998. *La migración hacia España de mujeres jefas de hogar*. Madrid: Instituto de la Mujer.
- Oso, L., and C. Catarino. 2013. From sex to gender: The feminisation of migration and labour-market insertion in Spain and Portugal. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 39(4): 625–647.
- Parella Rubio, S. 2014. Immigrant women in paid domestic service: The case of Italy and Spain. *European Review of Labour and Research* 9(3): 503–517.
- Parreñas, R. 2001. *Servants of globalisation: Women, migration, and domestic work*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Pasquinelli, S., and G. Rusmini. 2008. *Badanti*. Milan: Istituto per la Ricerca Sociale.
- Pasquinelli, S., and G. Rusmini (eds.). 2013. *Badare non basta. Il lavoro di cura: attori, progetti, politiche*. Rome: Ediesse.
- Phizacklea, A. 1998. Migration and globalization: A feminist perspective. In *The new migration in Europe*, ed. K. Koser and H. Lutz. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Picchi, S. 2012. Le badanti invisibili anche alla crisi? *InGenere*. May. Available at: <http://www.ingenere.it/articoli/le-badanti-invisibili-anche-alla-crisi>
- Pries, L. (ed.). 2013. *Shifting boundaries of belonging and new migration dynamics in Europe and China*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Pugliese, E. 1996. Italy between emigration and immigration and the problem of citizenship. In *Citizenship, nationality and migration in Europe*, ed. D. Cesarani and M. Fulbrook. New York/London: Routledge.
- Pugliese, E. 2010. Le modèle méditerranéen de l'immigration. Contexte, espace, périodisation, caractéristiques, stabilité. *Italie* 14: 15–22.
- Raghuram, P., and E. Kofman (eds.). 2015. *Gendered migrations and global social reproduction*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Ramirez, H. 2011. Masculinity in the workplace: The case of Mexican immigrant gardeners. *Men and Masculinities* 14(1): 97–116.
- Ramirez, H., and P. Hondagneu-Sotelo. 2009. Mexican immigrant gardeners: Entrepreneurs or exploited workers? *Social Problems* 56(1): 70–88.

- Ranci, C. 1999. *Oltre il welfare state. Terzo settore, nuove solidarietà e trasformazioni del welfare*. Bologna: Il Mulino.
- Ray, R. 2000. Masculinity, femininity and servitude: Domestic workers in Calcutta in the late twentieth century'. *Feminist Studies* 26: 691–718.
- Réa, A. 2002. Le travail des sans-papiers et la citoyenneté domestique. In *La fin des norias? Réseaux migrants dans les économies marchandes en Méditerranée*, ed. M. Peraldi. Paris: Maisonneuve & Larose.
- Romero, M. 2002. *Maid in the USA*. London: Routledge.
- Saraceno, C. 2010. Social inequalities in facing old-age dependency. *Journal of European Social Policy* 20(1): 1–13.
- Saraceno, C., and W. Keck. 2011. Towards an integrated approach for the analysis of gender equity in policies supporting paid work and care responsibilities. *Demographic Research* 25(11): 371–406.
- Sarti, R. 2005. The true servant: Self-definition of male domestics in an Italian city (Bologna, 17th–19th centuries). *History of the Family* 10(4): 407–433.
- Sarti, R. 2006. Domestic service: Past and present in southern and northern Europe. *Gender and History* 18(2): 222–245.
- Sarti, R. 2008. The globalisation of domestic service. In *Migration and domestic work*, ed. H. Lutz. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Sarti, R. 2009. La costruzione dell'identità di genere nei lavoratori domestici. In *Badanti and Co*, ed. A. Catanzaro and A. Colombo. Bologna: Il Mulino.
- Sarti, R. 2010. Fighting for masculinity: Male domestic workers, gender and migration in Italy from the late nineteenth century to the present. *Men and Masculinities* 13(1): 16–43.
- Sassen, S. 1988. *The mobility of labor and capital. A study in international investment and labor flows*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sassen, S. 2000. Countergeographies of globalization. The feminization of survival. *Journal of International Affairs* 53(2): 503–524.
- Schuster, L. 2005. The continuing mobility of migrants in Italy: Shifting between places and statuses. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 31(4): 757–774.
- Schwenken, H., and L.-M. Heimeshoff (eds.). 2011. *Domestic workers count: Global data on an often invisible sector*. Kassel: Kassel University Press.
- Sciortino, G. 2000. *L'ambizione della frontiera. Le politiche del controllo migratorio in Europa*. Milan: Franco Angeli.
- Sciortino, G. 2004. Immigration in a Mediterranean welfare state: The Italian experience in comparative perspective. *Journal of Comparative Policy Analysis* 6(2): 111–129.

- Scott, J.W. 1993. The woman worker. In *History of women in the West*, ed. M. Perrot. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Scrinzi, F. 2005. Les “hommes de ménage”, ou comment aborder la féminisation des migrations en interviewant des hommes. *Migrations Société* 99(100): 229–240.
- Scrinzi, F. 2008. Migrations and the restructuring of the welfare state in Italy: Change and continuity in the domestic work sector. In *Migration and domestic work. A European perspective on a global theme*, ed. H. Lutz. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Scrinzi, F. 2009. “Cleaning and ironing...with a smile”. Migrant workers in the care industry in France’. *Journal of Workplace Rights* 14(3): 271–292.
- Scrinzi, F. 2010. Masculinities and the international division of care: Migrant male domestic workers in Italy and France. *Men and Masculinities* 13(1): 44–64.
- Scrinzi, F. 2013. *Genre, migrations et emplois de care en France et en Italie*. Paris: Editions Pétra.
- Sherman, R. 2011. Beyond interaction: Customer influence on housekeeping and room service work in hotels. *Work, Employment and Society* 25(1): 19–33.
- Shinozaki, K. 2005. Making sense of contradictions: Examining negotiation strategies of “contradictory class mobility” in Filipina/Filipino domestic workers in Germany. In *Arbeitsmigration. WanderarbeiterInnen auf dem Weltmarkt der Arbeitskraft*, ed. T. Geisen. Frankfurt: IKO-Verlag.
- Shutes, I., and C. Carlos. 2012. Migrant labour and the marketisation of care for older people. *Journal of European Social Policy* 22(4): 392–405.
- Simpson, R. 2004. Masculinity at work: The experiences of men in female dominated occupations. *Work, Employment and Society* 18(2): 349–368.
- Sinha, M. 1995. *Colonial masculinity: The ‘manly Englishman’ and the ‘effeminate Bengali’ in the late nineteenth century*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Solari, C. 2006. Professionals and saints. How immigrant careworkers negotiate gender identities at work. *Gender and Society* 20(3): 301–331.
- Thränhardt, D. 1992. Europe: A new immigration continent: Policies and politics since 1945 in comparative perspective. In *Europe: A new immigration continent*, ed. D. Thränhardt. Münster: LIT.
- Timonen, V., and M. Doyle. 2010. Migrant care workers’ relationships with care recipients, colleagues and employers. *European Journal of Women’s Studies* 17(1): 25–41.
- Tolen, R. 2000. Transfers of knowledge and privileged spheres of practice. In *Home and hegemony: Domestic service and identity politics in South and Southeast Asia*, ed. K. Adams and S. Dickey. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

- Triandafyllidou, A., and M. Ambrosini. 2011. Irregular immigration control in Italy and Greece. *European Journal of Migration and Law* 13: 251–273.
- Triandafyllidou, A. 2013. *Irregular migrant domestic workers in Europe: Who cares?* Farnham: Ashgate.
- Tyner, J. 2004. *Made in the Philippines. Gendered discourses and the making of migrants*. London/New York: Routledge.
- United Nations. 2013. *International migration report 2013*. Department of economic and social affairs, population division, New York. Available at: http://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/publications/pdf/migration/migrationreport2013/Full_Document_final.pdf
- Van Hooren, F.J. 2012. Varieties of migrant care work: Comparing patterns of migrant labour in social care. *Journal of European Social Policy* 22(2): 133–147.
- Van Walsum, S., and T. Spijkerboer. 2007. *Women and immigration law: New variations on classical feminist themes*. Routledge-Cavendish.
- Vertovec, S. 2007. Super-diversity and its implications. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 30(6): 1024–1054.
- Walter, B. 2009. Strangers on the inside: Irish women servants in England, 1881. *Immigrants & Minorities* 27(2–3): 279–299.
- Williams, C.L. (ed.). 1993. *Doing 'women's work': Men in nontraditional occupations*. London: Sage.
- Williams, C.L. 1995. *Still a man's world: Men who do 'women's work'*. London: University of California Press.
- Williams, F. 2010. Migration and care: Themes, concepts and challenges. *Social Policy and Society* 9(3): 385–396.
- Williams, F. 2012. Converging variations in migrant care work in Europe. *Journal of European Social Policy* 22(4): 363–376.
- Williams, L., and W. Villemez. 1993. Seekers and finders: Male entry and exit in female dominated occupations. In *Doing women's work: Men in non-traditional occupations*, ed. C. Williams. London: Sage.
- Wingfield, A.H. 2009. Racializing the glass escalator. *Gender & Society* 23(1): 5–26.
- Zaslove, A. 2004. The dark side of European politics. *Journal of European Integration* 26(1): 61–81.
- Zlotnik, H. 2003. The global dimensions of female migration. *Migration information source*. March 2003. Available at <http://www.migrationinformation.org/Feature/display.cfm?ID>. Accessed 13 Apr 2015.
- Zontini, E. 2010. *Transnational families, migration and gender. Moroccan and Filipino women in Bologna and Barcelona*. Oxford: Berghahn Books.

3

Gender, Racism, and Migrant Reproductive Labour in Italy and Europe

This chapter locates the issues of racism, masculinities, and the IDRL in the specifics of the Italian social and political context, by also connecting its national features to European tendencies. Drawing from the discussion of gendered immigration and social policies in the previous chapter, it shows how, in Europe, these policies are associated with public and political debates that construct racialised hierarchies based on ideas of gender, sexuality, and religion. Men of different nationalities are represented as effeminate or, by contrast, are associated with hyper-masculinity, criminal activity, and sexual violence. The chapter then considers how gendered immigration policies and representations of migration materialise in the domain of domestic/care labour in Italy. The repertoires used in social construction of Otherness and of national belonging, as well as the Italian model of migrants' integration and immigration policies, are discussed in connection with the issues of migrant masculinities and domestic/care labour. The discussion points to the Italian specificities with regard to the place of religion in politics and society and the influential role played by the Catholic Church in framing public debates about immigration as well as gender, family, and social policy.

Racialisation and Migrant Labour in Contemporary Europe

Across Europe, restrictive immigration policies have tended to establish juridical hierarchies among different groups of migrants by differentiating between them on the basis of criteria associated with nationality, gender, and education. Through immigration, employment, and social policies, the states contribute to a stratification that distinguishes between citizens and migrants and between different groups of migrants. National policies contribute to ‘hierarchies of mobility’, defining the individuals’ access not only to international routes but also to rights, benefits, and social mobility within receiving states, in the context of increasingly diversified and segmented labour markets (Bauman 2000). Under the pressure of the anti-immigration propaganda of RRP parties and in the context of the re-emergence of xenophobia and nationalisms, institutional actors define migration as ‘good’ or ‘bad’, and ‘useful’ or ‘useless’, thus reproducing the hierarchies induced by the public policies (Guibernau 2010). Especially since the year 2000, institutional actors have overtly mobilised a utilitarian discourse on immigration focusing on the demographic challenges and needs for skilled labour of the immigration societies (Andrieux 2005). This discourse has materialised differently across Europe, heavily affecting public perceptions as well as official statistics of migration. In the Netherlands, qualifications of the migrants as ‘good’ or ‘problematic’ were incorporated into existing official categorisations; in France, the institutional discourse on *‘immigration choisie’* (chosen immigration) has legitimised widespread stereotypes of post-colonial migrants, such as Africans and Northern Africans, as difficult to integrate into the Republic; in Germany, there was an emphasis on the necessity of highly skilled migrants who could match the competitiveness of the national economy; in the UK, Eastern European migrants have been categorised as ‘good for the economy’ (Pries 2013).

This ‘utilitarian’ discourse on immigration has combined with the growing relevance of security issues in policy and debates and with the rising hostility concerning Muslim immigrants, especially after 9/11 (Bigo 2008). The combination of limited opportunities for legal

migration and repressive policies targeting illegal migrants has led to a 'criminalisation of migrants' (Palidda 2011b: 2), whereby these appear as a 'politically profitable scapegoat' in societies which are increasingly affected by processes of social polarisation (Palidda 2011b: 10). The criminalisation of (male) migrants is not only symbolic but also literal. In Italy, migrants have a greater chance of being reported, arrested, and imprisoned than Italians. In 2010, foreigners constituted 37.2 % of the total detainees in Italian prisons, a steady increase over the past two decades (Palidda 2011a). A link is established between widespread fears concerning the rise of Muslim fundamentalism and delinquency by (male) migrants and, in countries of older immigration such as France, by their (male) children. This has led to the emergence of 'moral panics', largely supported by the media (Mucchielli 2005), and to widespread practices of racial profiling (Jugé and Perez 2006). 'Ethnic riots' and acts of sexual violence in deprived working-class suburbs, largely inhabited by migrants and their children, are prominent in the media and in the public debate (Fassin 2006; Guénif Soulimas and Macé 2004).

In this context, social relations are increasingly understood in terms of essentialist ideas of cultural difference, and conflicts are represented as problems arising from the interaction between different 'cultures'. Thus, ideas of a 'clash of civilisations', initially supported by rightist intellectuals, come to be legitimised and trivialised (Réa 1988). Whereas racism previously mobilised a vocabulary pertaining to blood and biology (Guillaumin 1972), contemporary forms of racialisation in Europe are based on the naturalisation of cultural differences and the construction of migrants and their children as undesirable outsiders, supposedly inherently and radically different by culture. These 'neo-racisms' (Barker 1982) or forms of 'cultural racism' (Brah 1993) based on the process of 'culturalisation' (Ålund 1999: 147) or 'cultural essentialism' (Grillo 2003) construct and exclude 'the Other' as innately different.

Some scholars identify the distinctive trait of contemporary forms of racism as an association with the socio-economic context within which they have developed over the 1980s and 1990s (Brah 1993). As discussed in the previous chapter, this was crucially shaped by a major restructuring of the European and the world economies and, in Europe, by the process of European Union (EU) integration. In what has been termed

'fortress Europe', 'European internationalism' is exposed as a 'racialised nationalism'. Racialising assumptions and the distinction between the internal mobility of 'desirable citizens' on the one hand, and the international migration of 'undesirable migrants' from third countries on the other hand, come to constitute the boundaries of the EU cultural landscape (Bhavnani 1993: 35). State and EU policies of internal control over migrants and border controls, as well as legislation allocating differential rights to different groups of the population, hold a profound symbolic value in demarcating 'Us' from 'Them'. In this context, racialising assumptions legitimise the insertion of migrant workers into 3D (dirty, dangerous, demanding) jobs. For example, the unemployment of certain groups of migrants, such as women, and their exclusion from the labour market tend to be seen as inherently caused by the migrants' 'traditional' mentality (Ålund 1999; Chaïb 2008; Scrinzi 2013). Racialising assumptions also affect the children of post-colonial migrants who are affected by significantly higher unemployment rates than white citizens (Jugé and Perez 2006, Miles 1993). Instead, whiteness often protects the 'invisible' European migrants and their children from public scrutiny (McDowell 2009). Racialisation and the construction of whiteness do not revolve only around skin colour. They also revolve around class and religion. European migrants such as those from Southern and Eastern Europe are considered as being culturally close to the immigration societies because of their Christian religion, while migrants coming from Muslim countries and their children are constructed as a radically different religion impossible to incorporate into democracy.

We will use racism to indicate both a set of unequal social relations based on the appropriation and division of work among social groups, and the essentialist ideology legitimising these social relations, centrally based on the discursive mechanism of naturalisation (Anthias 1998; Brah 1993; Guillaumin 1972; Miles 1989, 1993). The racist ideology legitimises and masks the unequal social relations within which it emerges through a double movement of naturalisation. Firstly, it naturalises, thus producing it, the cultural difference assigned to the racialised Other (Balibar and Wallerstein 1988; Miles 1993). Instead of considering physical traits (such as skin colour) as the cause of the intellectual and moral inferiority of the racialised groups, as modern forms of racism did, it tends

to explain the subalternity of the racialised Other through reference to 'mental', 'cultural', or 'religious' characteristics (Grillo 2003). Secondly, in contemporary forms of racism, xenophobia is also naturalised. Not only is it considered as 'natural' to be attached to one's 'culture', it is also claimed that feelings of hostility relating to ethnic outsiders are an innate attitude of all human beings (Balibar 1988; Stolcke 1995). This implies that integrating into another 'culture' is doomed to failure. Such racialising representations do not necessarily develop in a bipolar matrix of positivity/superiority against negativity/inferiority. Instead, racialisation can involve the ambivalent construction of positive stereotypes and of idealised and patronising representations of Otherness (Brah 1993; Guillaumin 1972). According to other scholars, however, the repertoire pertaining to (naturalised) cultural differences has also been used in the past, such as in colonial contexts. Over time, forms of racism more clearly premised on biological difference have merged with others, more associated with the cultural repertoire, so that the two are difficult to separate in history (Gillette 2002).

Gendered Processes of Racialisation

Feminist scholars have greatly contributed to our understanding of these naturalising discourses, pointing to the important gendered dimension of racialisation and of nationalist projects. Racism is always gendered (Anthias 1998; Brah 1993), as highlighted by an approach focused on the intersectionality and transformative interactions between multiple strands of inequalities (Choo and Ferree 2010). The intersectionality of gender and ethnicity decrees that sexist assumptions may be used to reinforce racialisation while racist rules may serve the reasserting of sexism (Anthias 1998; Brah 1993). Indeed, both racism and sexism are predicated on the naturalisation of social relations, which legitimise hierarchies in the division of work and the allocation of resources. Naturalisation serves to construct women as innately suitable for caring roles within the private sphere and the racialised Others as innately different because of their culture, thus making integration impossible (Anthias 1998, 2001).

Three aspects of this intersectionality can be identified. Firstly, the social construction of cultural difference incorporates ideas of gender and sexuality, assigning to the racialised Other attributes, which are socially constructed as naturally feminine, such as passivity and irrationality. Thus, for example, the Indian people as a whole, and Bengali men in particular, were constructed as passive and effeminate, while the English colonisers were depicted as masculine and active (Lal 2003; McClintock 1995; Sinha 1995). In the USA, Asian and Asian American men have been excluded from dominant notions of masculinity and have been feminised (Le Espiritu 1997). In other contexts, racialised men are represented as hyper-masculine men constituting a sexual threat for the nation. Black men in the USA are constructed as hyper-sexual men (Hill Collins 1990). Also, black women slaves in the Americas were constructed as 'masculine' strong women suited to working outdoors, supporting dominant constructions of white womanhood. In other words, racialisation functions through the attribution of feminine or masculine so-called natural qualities to the ethnic minorities; men and women are racialised in gender-specific ways.

Secondly, national belonging is naturalised through reference to kinship relations in the family. At the same time, the naturalisation of gender difference within the national community sustains national similarity or sameness. Domestic and family metaphors are widely used to represent the nation in different historical contexts, legitimising internal cohesion as well as hostility towards the outsider (Lewis 2006; McClintock 1993; Mulinari and Neergard 2014). Women are mobilised as biological and cultural reproducers of the national community; they are assigned the role of embodying the national identity and the integrity of its cultural boundaries (Kandiyoti 1991; Nagel 1998; Yuval-Davis and Anthias 1989; Yuval-Davis 1997). Masculinity has been widely recognised as a key idiom in the forging of modern national identities, where men claim the authority of identifying the legitimate members of the nation as well as its borders. They also construct the models of gender, which are appropriate and accepted in the national community (Nagel 1998; Mangan and Walvin 1987; Clark 2007). For example, in reaction to the feminisation of their people by the British, Indian and Caribbean men, engaging in nationalist projects, developed a consciousness of their own

bodies and of their nation as masculine entities and strengthened control over women's bodies (Derné 2000).

Thirdly, the process of racialisation involves attributing to the racialised Other models of gender relations, which are deemed inferior to those which are considered to be characteristic of the dominant group. In other words, 'gender relations are important boundary markers between one ethnic group and another' (Anthias 1998: 528). For example, in the 1980s, representations of African-Caribbean and Asian families as pathological have emerged in the UK to sustain the celebration of British 'traditional' family values by the New Right (Carby 1982).

These feminist analyses support our understanding of gendered racialisation in contemporary Europe, where the 'cultural tradition' to which migrants and their children are assigned is often associated with misogyny and backwardness in the matter of gender relations. In contrast, immigration societies tend to be perceived as democratic spaces where gender equality has been achieved (Lutz et al. 1995; Van Walsum and Spijkerboer 2007; Fassin, 2006; Scrinzi 2010; Brion 2009; Bhavnani 1993; Kandiyoti 1991). As such, contemporary racialising discourses construct gender-specific roles for men and women, involving the definition of racialised masculinities and femininities. Migrant men tend to be depicted as the bearer of anti-modern patriarchal values and of immoral sexual conduct (against both national and migrant women). Through this 'racialisation of sexism',¹ sexism is ascribed to the racialised Other. While gender inequalities structuring the immigration society are obscured, those of the migrant communities are made hyper-visible (Weldes et al. 1999; Feldman 2005; Wade 2007; Delanty 2008). The criminalisation of illegal migrants currently promoted in Europe by right-wing parties, both at the level of media representations and of migration policies (Palidda 2009), often relies on the representation of migrant men as a dangerous presence (Schrock and Schwalbe 2009; Dixon and Linz 2000). Thus, the construction of the migrants' masculinity lies at the core of an 'apocalyptic crime talk' (Schneider and Schneider 2008: 368),

¹ Scrinzi (2014b) uses 'racialisation of sexism' to refer to a discursive strategy of RRP parties renovating their gendered ideology, drawing from the expressions '*racialisation du sexisme*' (Hamel 2005) and '*altérisation du sexisme*' used by francophone feminist authors analysing the French debates on sexual violence and the Muslim headscarf.

which associates racialised men with gendered deviant behaviours, especially in the public sphere. Migrant men tend to be criminalised more than women, as constructions of victimhood and criminality and perceptions of danger are highly gendered (Gaspard 1998). Acts of sexual violence committed by migrants and racialised men are intensely mediated (Guénif Soulimas and Macé 2004; Woodcock 2010). Since public spaces serve as a 'stage for constructions of difference and sameness' (Ehrkamp 2008: 119), the 'hyper-visibility' of these racialised men means that their gendered appropriation of public spaces is stigmatised as a deviant racial practice. Thus, for example, in the UK, the involvement of racialised men in anti-social behaviour in public spaces is analysed as a 'protest masculinity' (McDowell et al. 2014) in which the men call for respect from their peers to compensate for the indignity of exclusion from employment, a major attribute of hegemonic masculinity and adulthood. More specifically, racialised male youth are excluded from the service sector jobs, which constitute a large part of employment opportunities in post-industrial cities. In the service sector, emotional labour and embodied performativity in face-to-face interactions are prevalent, and recruitment draws on stereotyped constructions of the 'ideal' worker as someone endowed with feminised qualities such as docility and a 'smiling' attitude to the client (Matthews and Ruhs 2007).

Conversely, migrant women are represented as vulnerable and oppressed, especially in the private sphere. More particularly, inclusion in the labour market, specifically in flexible and non-skilled jobs where migrant women are overrepresented, is supposed to be emancipatory for female migrants (Van Walsum and Spijkerboer 2007; Ålund 1999; Chaïb 2008; Rolandsen and Sata 2013). This view of feminine migration relies on an essentialist representation of cultural difference, where the home country appears as a 'traditional' patriarchal society and the immigration society corresponds to modernity and female emancipation, and involves a simplistic idea of migration and integration as mechanical processes (Morokvasic 1983). In France, for example, racialised young men constitute the stigmatised *alter ego* (Fassin 2006; Guénif Soulimas and Macé 2004) of the emancipated young migrant-background Muslim woman who epitomises the universalist model of integration (Hamel 2005). Further, social interventions promoting the integration of migrants as

well as ‘inter-cultural’ dialogue have also been shaped by such stigmatising assumptions. These have targeted ‘difficult’ and potentially dangerous social groups such as migrant-background young men, while they have mobilised migrant women as the mediators of such integration through their role as mothers or sisters in migrants’ families, thus reproducing gendered roles and spaces in the migrant communities (Gaspard 1998; Réa 2001).

Gender, Religion, and Multi-culturalism

These gendered representations are key to public debates on the limitations of multi-culturalism and of migrants’ integration which have emerged in the 1990s in several European countries, focusing on issues such as the *burqa*, the Muslim headscarf, and honour killings. Islam has emerged as the quintessential Other and its presence in the public sphere tends to be perceived as inherently antagonistic to liberal citizenship and secularism, which are regarded as the pillars of modern European politics and democracy. The accommodation of religious difference has been central to the wider rubric of multi-culturalism as well as to the backlash discourse against multi-culturalism (Bowen 2008; Vertovec and Wessendorf 2010; Gallo 2014), even though, in countries like UK and France, this backlash seems to be mainly enacted at the level of national political rhetoric if compared to local politics (Vertovec and Wessendorf 2010; Goreau 2014). According to José Casanova (2005), and despite different national forms of secularism and of majority faith traditions, Europe distinguishes itself from the USA in few important respects. Firstly, while in the USA, new immigrant religions have been crucial to the constitution of American pluralism, in Europe the construction of national–supranational identities is still imbued with persistent references to a diffused and submerged Christian identity, albeit with a secularist self-understanding and self-presentation. Secondly, in Europe, more than in the USA, this politics of identity based on Christian-inflected values of *progressive* secularism leads to an identification of immigrant religions mainly with Islam (Casanova 2006). In many European countries, including Italy, Islam is seen as a challenge to national and European

identities in terms of customs, laicism, and individual freedom (Casanova 2005; Maréchal 2002; Ambrosini 2007). Associating secularisation with the modernisation and the privatisation of religion, and by overlooking the implicit religious norms which still inform definitions and arrangements of the public sphere in European societies, this 'secularist' self-representation of Europe prevents our societies from coming to terms with migrant religions and with organised religious groups in public life (Casanova 2005). Europe is associated with a 'modern' form of religiosity, which can be confined within the private sphere of the family. European Christianity, as opposed to migrant religions, is seen as a-political.

Further, the 'secularist' self-perception of Europe informs the idea that migrant religions, more specifically Islam, represented as a monolithic entity, involve practices and norms in the matter of gender, which are contrary to modern liberal secular European values and which should not be tolerated. It is assumed instead that specifically 'modern' and European (Christian) forms of religiosity can combine the defence of the nuclear family and the divinely inscribed gender difference with gender equality. In this context, institutional historical churches are less dynamic in terms of membership, but they function as 'public carriers of the national religion' (Casanova 2005: 7). There is an intertwining of national and religious identities where national belonging tends to be identified with Christianity (Rolandsen and Sata 2013). Further, Christianity is mobilised by RRP parties as a symbolic resource to target Muslims. Highly gendered debates variously mobilise religion and secularism to define national belonging and Otherness, according to national historical and political specificities.

The degree and forms in which gender equality and religion are embedded in narratives of national belonging vary according to a number of factors, including the gender and care regimes and models of integration which are dominant in different national contexts.

For example, the French 'republican' model of integration and citizenship, based on principles of universalism and individualism, relies on the (gendered) prescriptive distinction between the public political sphere, which is seen as neutral, and the private sphere, where the display of religious and cultural specificities is tolerated (Lamière 2008). Debates on gender and multi-culturalism intensified at the time of the 2004 law

banning the wearing of ‘conspicuous signs’ of religious affiliation in public schools, and divisions emerged among French activists claiming to defend women’s rights and anti-racist activists. While some feminists have argued that this law targets Muslim girls wearing headscarves, others have supported it as a means to promote republican secular liberal values and to increase gender equality (Scott 2007).

Secularism is also key to dominant understandings of national identity in the Netherlands. The particular institutional arrangement of secularisation dominant in this country, which involves the organisation of cultural and religious diversity (‘pillarisation’), has been closely associated with sexual politics to affirm the ‘Dutch exceptionalism’ as a nation where women’s and gays’ emancipation has been achieved. Currently, a ‘secular nostalgia’ informs public debates, as ‘secular exceptionalism’ is invoked as a defence against Islam (Bracke 2011: 33). In the Netherlands, as well as in Scandinavian countries, the discourse based on the ‘nationalising of gender equality’ (Meret and Siim 2013: 83) is paramount. In contrast, in more conservative gender regimes such as Hungary and Austria, a minor emphasis on (migrant) women’s labour market participation as a means of integration combines with a lesser emphasis on gender equality as a criterion of national belonging and the acceptance of the migrant newcomers (Rolandsen and Sata 2013). In the UK, multi-culturalism, as a set of policies and discourses aimed at addressing inequalities affecting ethnic and religious minorities and rejecting the idea that migrants’ integration is based on cultural and religious assimilation, has developed in the late twentieth century. From the start of the new century, multi-culturalism has been the object of criticism for its alleged complacency with regard to oppressive patriarchal practices of ethnic minorities at the same time as media coverage of honour killings, forced marriages, and genital mutilations has intensified. Because of the traditional liberal reluctance of British institutions to intervene in the matter of religious beliefs, public concerns about the Muslim headscarf have been expressed later in Britain than in other countries. Muslim women’s clothing has only recently come under attack in the wake of security concerns; for instance, banning the *niqab* has been seen by many as a necessary measure in the struggle against terrorism (Meer et al. 2010).

To maintain a distance from the Nazi regime, current 'multi-cultural' definitions of the national identity in Germany refrain from associating with a distinctive German ethnic identity, associating it instead with secularism and gender equality, which are supposed to provide the bases for a supposedly homogeneous 'German value system'. These discourses, however, are informed by a symbolic polarisation between the Turks and the Germans. Recent debates on honour killings and forced marriage rely heavily on these racialising assumptions, mobilising either religious or ethno-national characteristics to explain the patriarchal practices of the ethnic minorities (Rostock and Berghahn 2008).

Intervening in public debates on the Muslim headscarf and honour killings, RRP parties have mobilised the issues of women's rights and gender equality. This is in striking contrast with the (often) overtly sexist rhetoric of these parties, championing traditional models of femininity and the 'natural family' as the fundamental base of the social order. This appears as a strategy of 'agenda-grabbing' (Akkerman and Hagelund 2007: 213) of arguments traditionally employed by the left wing and by feminists, through which RRP parties seek to normalise their public image and legitimise their anti-immigration claims. They no longer frame migrants as a threat to only the national cultural identity, the economy, the safety of the population, and as welfare scroungers (Rydgren 2003), but also as a threat to gender equality. In countries as different with regard to gender regimes as Sweden, Denmark, France, and Italy, RRP parties treat gender equality as a standard by which a superior national self can be measured against inferior foreign others (Meret and Siim 2013; Scrinzi 2014b; Towns et al. 2014). On these bases, some feminists and intellectuals have paradoxically converged with RRP formations against the threat of the 'Islamisation' of European societies (Towns et al. 2014). The mainstream right, too, while in political office, has mobilised these gendered stereotypes, establishing what has been labelled 'state feminism' (Tissot 2008). For instance, the French UMP (*Union pour un Mouvement Populaire*) party has declared gender equality as a defining value of the French national identity and used 'pseudo-feminist' claims to attack immigration (Cette France là 2009). The Italian PDL (*Popolo della Libertà*) party has mobilised the issue of gender equality to legitimise interventions in global wars in Muslim countries.

Overall, the literature discussed above shows significant convergences across Europe in the ways in which women's rights are perceived as a cultural trait which is reserved for immigration societies as opposed to other 'cultures'. It also suggests the tendency in different European contexts to create political, cultural, and economic filters through which migrants and their religion can be 'hierarchically accepted', 'tolerated', or 'rejected'. These filters construct gendered hierarchies of acceptability and respectability of immigrants by assigning differently valued qualities according to their religious identities as 'Christians', 'Sikhs', 'Hindus', 'Muslims', and 'Others' (Model and Lang 2003). This, as the analysis developed below and in the following chapters will show, has important implications for the inclusion of migrant men within the domestic space and the national polity. Before delving into the analysis of the gendered racialisation of immigrants in Italy, and of the specific place of migrant domestic/care workers in the process, it is important to locate Italian politics as well as public debates on immigration in relation to the wider European context.

Party Politics and the Political Discourse on Immigration in Italy

The relatively recent politicisation of immigration (from the 1980s) in Italy does not automatically imply the radical novelty of a public discourse on the relationship between 'Italianness' and 'foreignness'. As Sciortino and Colombo suggest (2004: 97), 'the birth in Italy of a public discourse on immigration does not derive [...] from the discovery of the Other', but from the 'progressive distinction between different types of foreigners and the gradual institutionalizing of a distinction between "foreigner" and "immigrants"'. As the following chapters show, further internal distinctions also emerge within the category of 'immigrants'. Certain communities are often more discriminated against a 'threatening presence' in public discourses and are assigned essentialised cultural qualities according to the needs or the fears of an equally essentialised construction of the 'Italian' society.

The exponential growth of migration in Italy, and the key role played by immigration discourse within the Italian polity, should be understood

in relation to the concomitant rise of renewed centre-right political forces in the 1990s. These materialised in three main parties: the centre-right Forza Italia, the RRP party NL, and the former National Alliance (formerly the post-fascist Italian Social Movement (MSI); the National Alliance dissolved in 2008 and merged into the Berlusconi-led coalition *Popolo della Libertà*). It is acknowledged that immigration from extra-EU (then European Community (EC)) countries had become a salient issue in Italian politics in the very last years of the so-called First Republic (1946/8–1992/4). In particular, it was the discussion around the first comprehensive law on immigration in 1990 and the first strong wave of immigration from Albania in 1991 to 1992 which sparked the debate. That 1990 law, which included an amnesty for all irregular migrants who could demonstrate having a job, —was passed by the centrist governmental coalition with virtually no opposition from the left, a fact that signalled an overall political consensus on this issue. ‘Ownership’ of the anti-immigration discourse in those years belonged almost exclusively to the MSI and to the rising NL, whose strength was growing at the local level. The NL’s verbal attacks were still primarily directed against internal migration (and migrants) from Southern regions, which had provided the North with a massive intake of workers in the previous three decades. The use of negative stereotypes of ‘southerners’ and the emphasis placed on the theme of competition for public jobs in northern regions between ‘northerners’ and ‘southerners’ helped the NL in its campaigns. Although this xenophobic discourse mirrored the growing anxiety of some social strata about internal and international immigration, both neo-fascist and NL discourses were largely marked as illegitimate by the political establishment and, as a consequence, by the mainstream media both at national and local levels.

The situation changed considerably after the early 1990s. To a very great extent, the politics of immigration in Italy can be read as part of a wider Western European trend in which anti-immigration (and/or anti-immigrants) parties have grown in electoral support, influence, and power, imposing their agenda and, in some cases, their policies on their centre-right allies/interlocutors (Bale 2008). RRP parties in many European countries have officially taken a ‘tough’ anti-immigration stance, and have been able to influence other parties (Betz 1994). This has

sometimes been in terms of border control policies, but it has particularly been in terms of political discourse riding the horse of public 'security'. However, some peculiarities of the Italian political system, in particular the party system and the relationship between media and politics, have created a specific context in which roughly stereotypical, xenophobic, and even openly racist discourses have been circulated not by political outsiders but by national political élites (most often governmental forces). Such discourses have been uncritically diffused by virtually all national TV channels, thus becoming de facto legitimate and perhaps predominant in Italian society.

The events between 1992 and 1994 created the context in which all this became possible. The first event was the electoral breakthrough of the NL at the 1992 general election. The second was constituted by the political scandals (mainly linked to corruption and/or allegations of mafia ties) and the consequent obliteration of the parties of the centrist governmental bloc. The third was the adoption of a partially majoritarian electoral system, which introduced strong incentives to move from a tri-polar (radical-left vs. dominant centre vs. radical-right) to a bipolar competition (radical-left and centre-left vs. centre-right and radical-right). This process opened up unprecedented opportunities for the MSI and the NL (as well as for radical-left parties) to get into office. The last crucial event was the 'descent into politics' of Silvio Berlusconi with the foundation of his own party Forza Italia (FI) and the direct use of his massive media power in the political battlefield. In the 1994 general election, he formed a coalition with both the NL, which, in the meantime, had started to shift their 'attention' from southerners to extra-EU immigrants, and the MSI, which was now restyling itself under the name of National Alliance. Exploiting the political vacuum left by the disappearance of former governmental parties, he won the election and put the Italian radical-right in office for the first time. This was the dawn of the so-called Second Republic. Since then, immigration has remained one of the most salient issues in Italian politics. While already in the 1980s, the visibility of Sub-Saharan African male vendors in public spaces had started to trigger a gendered representation of migrants as commandeering space and rights over 'Italian' cities and neighbourhoods (Carter 1997; Mai 2002; Andall 2007; Riccio 2007), the way in which migration became a visible

political issue is inextricably linked to the changing political landscape of the Second Republic (Andall 2007: 136–7).

The second wave of immigration from Albania in 1997, the dramatic increase in the pace of (largely non-regulated) inflows from the mid-1990s, the rise of concern about the integration of Muslim immigrants after 11 September 2001, and, more recently, the wave of immigrants from two new EU countries, Romania and Bulgaria (with many Romas amongst them), have contributed to keep immigration/integration issues to the fore. Politically, this has been a thorny issue for the centre-left governments in the period 1996–2001 and 2006–2008. Available studies have shown how the left-wing parties (and specifically the DS, Leftist Democratic Party) have negotiated with opposition parties and eventually converged with them to ‘manage and govern’ immigration flows. In contrast, right-wing parties have negotiated more internally than externally on immigration policies and have mainly learned from the opinions/expectations of the voters (Zincone 2006). From the perspective of integration policy proposals, Andall (2007) notes how the Democratici di Sinistra (Leftist Democrat) (DS) either decided to adopt a low profile in relation to the progressive restriction of migrants’ citizenship rights or failed to successfully promote the granting of the right to vote in local elections to migrants. The failure of the DS to propose viable legal alternatives to citizenship rights and to grant migrants local enfranchisement left nearly 800,000 young people of migrant origins, although born and raised in Italy, without Italian citizenship and also excluded migrants from local electoral politics (at municipal, provincial, and regional levels, according to the Italian territorial organisation). Importantly, this created the structural conditions, unique to Italy among other European countries, in which parties that engage in anti-immigrant discourse do not pay any price in electoral terms (Masseti 2014).

In terms of political discourse, the left-wing approach to multiculturalism as a politics of institutional handling and recognition of differences (Grillo 2002: 3) has generally swung between a representation of immigration as enriching Italian monolithic religious and ethnic backgrounds with multi-cultural differences, as illustrated by the first Report of the Ministry of Information in 1991, and a public perception of the multi-cultural as a problematic eventuality (Campani 1993a).

At regional level, the little ethnography that has been done also reveals recurrent anti-immigration positions among leftist political activists (Mauritano 2002).

Scholars have identified in the weak position of left-wing parties a product of the more entrepreneurial anti-immigration politics of the centre-right parties (Andall 2007; Massetti 2014), especially the NL and AN. In this respect, the Italian case presents a further peculiarity in comparison with the wider European context. The NL represents the older party in Italy and arguably has the stronger identity in the party system. While anti-immigrant parties in other Western European states have had to confront (organisationally and ideologically) established allies/interlocutors and adversaries, all major parties in Italy are new in organisational and ideological terms. This meant that Berlusconi's party was extremely malleable, compared to other centre-right European parties, in relation to RRP proposals and discourses. Meanwhile the main party of the left was always ready to condemn the most blatant provocations of the NL but was largely incapable of proposing an alternative discourse.

At the same time, right-wing parties had to strike a balance between radical anti-immigration rhetoric enacted at public level, and the need to develop policies able to meet the requirements of the Italian labour market (Colombo and Sciortino 2004; Geddes 2008). Not only did the 'promised revolution' in the enactment of restrictive immigration policies fail to transpire—with the Bossi-Fini Law mainly resulting in increased bureaucratic workload via the introduction of a *contratto di soggiorno*, a unified 'contract of employment and residence' and a reduction of duration permits—but the NL had to contend with the pressure from business associations which feared the economic consequences of restrictive migration laws (Ambrosini 2009; Massetti 2014).

The close connection between politics and media power, and its continuity over time, constitutes another peculiarity of anti-immigrant parties in Italy, much more than what has characterised countries like Austria, Holland, or Denmark, where media and anti-immigration rhetoric have nevertheless found some convergence. Beyond the stark fact of increasing immigration flows, it was also the way in which the media represented the phenomenon which favoured the right-wing approach. During the centre-right coalition's period in office between 2001 and 2006, and the NL particularly, in relation

to anti-immigration discourse, not only could it count on Berlusconi's own media power (three national TV channels and two national newspapers) but it also established tight control over the two (state) the Italian national public broadcasting company (RAI) TV channels, which had belonged to the centrist bloc in the First Republic. The close link between media and politics enhanced the NLs capacity to successfully carry forward a 'simulative politics' in relation to immigration issues (Cento-Bull 2009) such as its capacity to reduce voters' perception of the inconsistencies existing between official anti-immigration rhetoric and effective migration policies, the latter premised on the recognition of the important role played by migrants in the Italian labour market (Masseti 2014; Colombo and Sciortino 2004). While issues related to foreign participation in the labour market and the Italian economy were central to the way the media treated immigration issues before 1990, it is significant that since the 1990s, a decade during which migrants became a structural component of the Italian labour market, these issues have been practically elided at media level (Sciortino and Colombo 2004: 110) to clear the ground for more alarmist representations of the presence of immigrants in Italy.

Overall, changes in the party system and in the relationship between media and politics deeply affect the politicisation of immigration. The privileged relationship between the media and politics in Italy lies at the core of the recurrent waves of moral panic whereby political entrepreneurs, both institutional and political actors, have ended up dictating the agenda and exploiting immigration as a symbolic threat (Maneri 2011; Dal Lago 1999). This has eventually led to the shift between what Umberto Melotti calls an 'idyllic and de-problematized representation of Italy as a multi-cultural society' (1997: 85), prevalent until the early 1990s, to a context where migration and multi-culturalism have been projected at national level as highly problematic and threatening. Anti-immigrant parties not only constantly link immigration to 'law and order' issues, an ideological position which, as already stated, increasingly meets the approval of centre-left parties, but also establish a discourse based on the assumption of rigid and unchangeable identities. The underlying idea here is that Italy will never be multi-ethnic and, therefore, will never need to engage seriously in integration policies, be these informed by assimilationist or by multi-cultural approaches.

Although there is very little work on gender in Italian politics and on the construction of migrants and racialised masculinities, a few preliminary reflections can be made. We need to interrogate the place that masculinity occupies in the leading right-wing politics of national modernity and of immigration, particularly, but not exclusively, those of the NL, and to track the media influence that right-wing discourse has gained well beyond its direct supporters. Huyseune (2000) notes how the original politics of the NL set the 'backward' South as the 'Other' against the national modernity driven by the 'progressive North'. In the process, the 'developed North' was constructed as masculine, while the Mediterranean 'African' South was subordinated as feminine. The political construction of the superiority of the 'masculine North', however, was not premised upon the open acceptance of patriarchal values. As previously discussed, the NL has instrumentally embraced modern values of women's emancipation and gender equality, although it has done so without questioning the traditional gendered division of work (Huyseune 2000; Scrinzi 2014a). It is possible to map some continuities and diversities between the right-wing gendered representations of Italian 'southerners' and those of the migrant racialised Others. The interplay between the rising concern over immigration as a problem for public security and the legitimisation of domestic/care labour as one of the few acceptable opportunities for both migrant women and men must be placed in relation to the widespread tendency to view the presence of migrants (particularly men) in public spaces as a manifestation of potentially aggressive behaviour against nationals. As Carter (1997) notes, Italian racism is informed by the perception of migrants as illegitimately appropriating public spaces previously felt to be integral to local identity, and by Italians' wanting to free these places from the intrusion of 'the Others'. This perception paradoxically associates the migrant men's presence in public spaces with clandestinity and illegal activities, and stigmatises them as a threat to national security and as the bearers of patriarchal values and violent misogyny (Gallo 2006). In this context, the 'hyper-masculinisation' of migrant men does not contradict but is dialectically related to their selective inclusion into the national body if they subscribe to gendered expectations of occupational behaviour and related lifestyle.

The Catholic Church and Immigration in Italy

In Italy, Catholicism has traditionally played a key role in national and local politics and in framing the terms in which the national identity is constructed and perceived.² Since the creation of the First Republic, Italy has undergone a process of secularisation, yet it remains attached to a collective self-representation as a Catholic nation (Pace 2013). As Ferrari puts it, Catholicism in Italy has been raised to the rank of civil religion. The Catholic Church has also traditionally played a key role in Italian politics since the post-war period, when it supported the Christian Democratic party (*Democrazia Cristiana*), which ruled the country for almost half a century.

Despite the growing ‘unchurching’ (Casanova 2005: 6) and the distance of much of the Italian population from the Catholic Church and its doctrine on issues of the family and of sexuality, Italy remains characterised by a weak secularism and the prominent association of national belonging with Catholicism (Garelli 2013). This assigns to the Catholic religion a major role in public education and in moulding Italian cultural and historical heritage. Italy can be considered as a religious monopoly, despite it being increasingly affected by an ‘unprecedented and unexpected

²The Lateran Treaty (1929) recognised, among other things, the dominant role of Catholicism in moulding Italian cultural and historic heritage and its importance in state education. However, at formal level, article 1 of the Italian Constitution (1948) nullifies the principle included in the Treaty—and previously in the Albertine Statute (1848)—according to which Roman Catholicism constituted the only religion of the state. Articles 2, 3, 7, 8, 19, and 20 of the Lateran Treaty define Italy as a secular country and grant the right of freedom of religion and equal rights for all religions. The Lateran Treaty was further revised in 1984 with the Villa Madama Agreement, which, while revising considerably the system of public funding to the Church, in effect maintained many fiscal and financial privileges of the Catholic Church. For example, since 1984, the Catholic Church has been able to access the so-called 8/1000 (eight per thousand). The 8/1000 is an obligatory share of personal income that everyone has to give in the form of a donation to either the state, religious associations, NGOs, or other organisations in the private sector. The Catholic Church is the most important of the recognised recipients, alongside the following religions: the Waldensian Evangelical Church, Lutheran Church, Jewish Community, and the Seventh-Day Adventist Church. If the tax payer fails to indicate a preference, the Catholic Church is the default beneficiary. Furthermore, the major religious confessions emerging in Italy partly as a result of migration are de facto excluded from this tax break. The Catholic Church also exclusively benefits from funding for Catholic private schools and universities; for differential contractual arrangements for teachers of Catholic religion; for Catholic media; for the maintenance of Vatican infrastructures; and for religious assistance in public health structures. Vatican immobile properties within Italian territory are also exempt from taxation.

religious pluralism' (Pace 2013: 316). As a majority faith tradition with an influential position in Italian politics, the Catholic Church plays an important role in defining the normative framework of public debates on immigration in Italy (and beyond). It is, therefore, surprising that very little research has been conducted on the contemporary role of the Church as a political actor in the politics of immigration and the political discourse of cultural/religious pluralism. The challenge of any analytical representation of the link between the Catholic Church and immigration policies and politics lies partly in the fact that the Catholic Church comprises transnational, national, and local actors, which often adopt different, and often contrasting, positions on migrants' integration and religious pluralism (Gallo 2015b). Different Catholic exponents, at different times, have nevertheless engaged in various ways with the three main ideological-political positions characterising Italian politics of multi-culturalism and religious pluralism: 'Christian moral universalism', left-wing multi-culturalism, and the xenophobic and anti-Muslim positions characteristic of RRP parties (Ritaine 2005). To some extent, the Catholic Church and third sector have been traditionally engaged in building a discourse on immigration which is different from the interpretations offered by other public actors, such as security-oriented, utilitarian, or citizenship-based approaches (Ritaine 2005). In dealing with immigration in Italy, the Church has often appealed to a sense of 'Christian moral universalism' to defend human rights and the need to provide support to migrants independently of considerations of ethnicity or religion. This position formally contrasts with RRP positions advocating 'zero tolerance' on immigration. At the same time, segments of the Church, as well as right-wing political actors and intellectuals, place emphasis on condemning the moral and cultural relativism of those who speak in favour of multi-culturalism (Cousin and Vitale 2014). For example, in 2000, the declaration *Dominus Iesus*, produced by a group of theologians led by the future Pope Benedict XVI, criticised the 'ideology of dialogue' between the religions and its inherent relativism, calling the Church to a new mission of evangelisation (Rivera 2010).

The position of the Catholic Church on immigration has often overlapped with that of centre-left political formations, particularly in supporting a positive emphasis on the cultural resources of a future

multi-cultural society. Instead of adopting the deproblematized and often naïve positions of left-wing parties (Melotti 1997; Campani 1993a), many Catholic institutions operating at national and local levels have been at the forefront of migration management, often filling the Italian political vacuum in terms of organisational, financial, and spiritual assistance to immigrants (Ambrosini 2015) and refugees alongside other civil society organisations.

In parallel, left-wing political forces have crucially tended to refrain from questioning the association made between the national identity and Catholicism, effectively limiting the extent to which a politics based on religious pluralism could substitute for the moral universalism adopted by religious actors. Furthermore, while left-wing parties have supported consultative councils on migration issues and the promotion of 'multi-cultural' programmes in the public school, they have never questioned the leading role of the Church in assisting migrants and overseeing their social integration (Triandafyllidou 2006). In this respect, some strands and institutions of the Catholic Church have regularly denounced the social costs of restrictive immigration policies, while others have sanctioned the aggressive anti-immigration rhetoric of the NL (Ambrosini and Caneva 2010; Campani 1993a). Ambrosini (2015) notes, for instance, that even if the Catholic Church did not officially enter into sharp criticism of anti-immigration stances during the Berlusconi coalitions, leaving this to subordinated bodies like Caritas, at the grassroots level Catholic institutions continued to defend immigrants' rights. Yet, Ambrosini (*ibidem*) also notes how the Church, while providing migrants with a network of support services, in promoting the development of autonomous Catholic 'ethnic churches', and preventing the integration of migrants in local church councils or national institutions, also creates the structural conditions for a persistent separation between the 'national' Catholic community on the one hand, and Catholic migrants on the other.

More critical views have stressed how, since the late 1990s, some strands of the Catholic Church seem to have moved ambivalently closer to, or to have kept a low profile with respect to, the dominant representation of migration as 'pathological' or threatening. At a more general level, some scholars have noted how the course inaugurated by Pope

Benedict XVI and by the then Secretary of the State, Cardinal Tarcisio Bertone, was characterised by a centrality of bioethical themes (abortion, euthanasia, artificial insemination, amongst the most important) and by a relative marginalisation of concerns for disadvantaged social groups. This resulted in a marked decrease in official Church criticism of the right-wing politics of immigration (Masseti 2014). The ambivalent role of the Catholic Church emerges, for instance, in the emphasis placed by national Catholic institutions like the Italian Episcopal Conference (CEI) on the necessity to provide emotional and organisational support, particularly to Catholic or Christian migrants (Garau 2010). In an analysis of Cardinal Giacomo Biffi's official writings on immigration, Garau (2010) highlights how these positions reflect an underlying distinction between national Catholic values, which need to be preserved, and a potentially corrupting dissemination of cultural traditions which are inimical to Catholicism. In this way, immigration is perceived as leading to either a desired rediscovery of Christian traditions or to the unwelcome conversion of Europeans to Islam (Biffi 2000, in Garau 2010: 165–66). According to Garau, the 'selective solidarity' (ibidem: 168) offered to Catholic/Christian immigrants, and the related construction of Muslim migrants as a threatening presence, has the effect of bridging the positions of (some strands of) the Catholic Church with those of RRP political parties such as the NL. The ambivalence of the Catholic Church can be seen to have emerged during the 'mosque debates', which took place in Italy in the early 2000s. Representatives of the Church condemned the protests organised by the NL around the building of Muslim religious places in Lombardy, and yet they justified popular fears as normal, thus reproducing a polarisation between 'Us as Catholics' and 'Them as Muslims' (Triandafyllidou 2006). In the same period, the position of the Church on religious diversity emerged in the context of the debate on the crucifix in public schools. Following the request of an Italian radical Muslim leader to hang a Quran's Surah beside the crucifix in his son's classroom, a tribunal established that all religious symbols should be banned from school classrooms. The NL embraced this issue, organising a campaign in the name of the defence of the national (Catholic) identity and intensifying its references to Christianity as a symbol of the nation (Bertezolo 2011). Eventually, after the heated reactions of the

Vatican and a significant number of political actors, including part of the centre-left, a directive by the Education Ministry required school managers to make sure that a crucifix was displayed in each classroom (Ozzano and Giorgi 2013).

Religion and the Gendered Racialisation of Migrants in Italy

The 2000s witnessed a partial, and often controversial, convergence of the NL and more conservative sectors of the Catholic Church³ on issues such as abortion and the defence of the 'traditional' family, as well as on the problematic representation of immigration from Muslim countries. The dominant narrative emerging from these debates depicts Islam as a radical challenge to the Italian cultural heritage. The 'bottom line of the Italian debate [on multiculturalism] is that cultural and religious diversities have to be assimilated' (Triandafyllidou 2006: 135).

In this context, religion importantly shapes gendered racialised hierarchies, distinguishing between the 'good' (female or emasculated) migrants on the one hand, and the 'bad' (male or sexually aggressive) migrants on the other. Religion and integration are associated in public debates, crucially shaped by the RRP and the Catholic Church. Catholicism is often assumed to be a contributing factor in migrants' integration and religion functions as an important display of respectability for certain migrant groups. Ideas of 'religious proximity' and 'distance' are mobilised to legitimise the insertion of migrants into 3D (dirty, dangerous, and demanding) jobs. This involves certain minority religions in the public sphere, negotiating a construction of themselves as groups who uphold feminine 'Catholic values' of tameness and selflessness. For instance, the selective acceptance of Sikh public religiosity is based on its 'folklorisation', framed around perceptions of the Sikhs' positive contribution to the national economy in attending to cows in the dairy sector. This reli-

³We might note here how this course has changed or may change with the new Pope, Francis I, partly given the official emphasis placed on the violation of human rights and on the need to provide support to disadvantaged groups such as refugees and forced migrants in the Mediterranean crisis.

gious minority supported its demands for recognition by stressing its compliance with the moral doctrine of the majority faith tradition in the matters of abortion, divorce, and pre-marital sex (Ferraris and Sai 2014).

Gendered constructions stigmatising or idealising sections of the migrant/racialised population are also predicated upon a distinction between the private space of the home, where migrants, both female and male, are made invisible and tolerated, and the public space, the appropriation of which by (male and female) migrants tends to be stigmatised. Indeed, widespread stereotypes depict care workers from Catholic countries, such as Latin Americans and Filipinos, who are mostly women and whose inclusion into domestic/care service jobs is channelled by the Church, as a useful and docile presence (Calavita 2006). Scrinzi's ethnographic work (2010, 2013) highlights that through training and placement in the Catholic network, gendered essentialist constructions of the so-called Latin American culture are forged and circulated, which portray these migrants as 'culturally' suited for care work. The representation of Filipinos and Indians, both men and women, as subservient is linked to their social invisibility, employed as they often are on a live-in basis in the home (Gallo 2014; Lainati 2000). Latin American and Eastern European elderly care workers too, because of their religious proximity with their Italian employers, are considered as good employees who treat the people in their care with respect and dignity (Lamura et al. 2008).⁴ Similar findings exist in other Southern European countries. In Greece, gendered and racialised stratification in domestic/care service jobs distinguishes between single Filipinas who are seen as 'good' Christian girls and the 'bad' Muslim Albanian women who are here with their husbands and who are intensely stigmatised as criminals (Lazaridis 2000). In Spain, Muslim women occupy the lowest jobs in paid domestic/care work, while Latin Americans are at the top of the hierarchy (Gavanas and Williams 2008).

In Italy, other migrants are highly visible in the public space and tend to be stigmatised and sexualised. Migrant men, especially Muslim and Roma men, tend to be seen as violent, misogynist, criminals, or potential

⁴For an analysis of the role played by religion in employers' selection criteria and the construction of suitable workers, see Chap. 5.

terrorists (Calavita 2006). Suspicion and hostility concerning Roma men intensified throughout the 1990s when they came to be identified as criminals and potential rapists. As Woodcock (2010) suggests with reference to the 'law and order' policies implemented by the coalition government of which the NL was a member, in the late 2000s, 'sexual violence against Italian women has consistently been used to mobilize and justify the increasingly violent anti-Roma actions and legislation in Italy in recent years'. The highly mediated acts of sexual violence perpetrated by a Roma man and the declarations of the Minister of the Interior and NL representative, Roberto Maroni, legitimised restrictive measures and controls imposed on nomad communities' settlements as well as anti-Roma marches and attacks which took place in the same period. Thus, gender functions as a 'catalyst' (Woodcock 2010: 478) and justification for racialisation and the stigmatisation of migrant men. The website 'All the crimes of the migrants' (*Tutti i crimini degli immigrati*), collecting news from various sources reporting migrants as criminal offenders, with a major focus on sexual violence, was recently promoted by a prominent NL representative. Further, mosques and Muslim religious sites are equated with terrorist activities, as has been shown in public debates on the building of mosques (Triandafyllidou 2006), and Muslim men have been the target of an intense wave of xenophobia, especially since the start of the 1990s. Unlike anti-Roma hostility, which was grounded in long-standing popular fears and stereotypes, anti-Muslim feelings crystallised around the writings of renowned intellectuals and journalists, such as Oriana Fallaci, which provided these ideas with legitimacy and influence, based on the idea of a global 'clash of civilisations' (Cousin and Vitale 2014). Black African men tend to be perceived as dangerous and violent organisers of the traffic of human beings, while black African women involved in prostitution are perceived as sexually threatening and deviant (Crowhurst 2012). Recent media coverage of Pentecostal African churches associates these with trafficking. Thus, migrant women who are highly visible in the public space come to be assigned qualities constructed as masculine and criminalised. However, black women are also stereotyped as victims of male smugglers rather than as criminals (Andall 2002). These views are, to some extent, informed by the campaigns stigmatising migrant sex workers organised by the NL. While it advocates the return

to legal (Italian and invisible) brothels, it attacks street prostitution by migrant sex workers, which it sees as a threat to the family and the nation (Crowhurst 2007).

Overall, migrant women tend to be represented in Italian popular culture as subaltern victims. In line with long-standing racist representations drawing from colonial history, they are stereotyped as either reproductive labourers or sexual objects and defined 'by the spatial relations of their bodies with men and children or the elderly' (Coppola and Sabelli 2012: 147–148). Muslim women especially are perceived as oppressed by their patriarchal men (Salih 2009); issues such as violence against women perpetrated in the family by Muslim migrants and the burqa have been largely mobilised by the NL as well as by the mainstream right. For instance, Daniela Santanchè, a member of the post-fascist party *Alleanza Nazionale* (National Alliance), has promoted herself as the rescuer of Muslim women. In Italian public debates, however, there has been relatively little emphasis on the Muslim headscarf compared to other countries such as France. This is due to the weak nature of secularism in Italy and the still limited presence of Muslims in the public space as opposed to their overwhelming imagined presence. According to Rivera (2005), the Italian equivalent of the media outrage over the Muslim headscarf, which has taken place in other countries, has been the debate on the crucifix in public schools.

The Role of the Catholic Church in the Organisation of Domestic/Care Services in Italy

In Italy, the Catholic Church combines its significant role as an actor in public debates on multi-culturalism and migration with its action in the organisation of reproductive labour. Seeking a domestic/care service job in this country means, in many cases, using networks, which are related to the Catholic Church. This has traditionally acted to protect single women working in households, who are seen as being particularly vulnerable and exposed to moral danger (Sarti 1994). Currently, the Church

has maintained a central position in the organisation of the sector, thanks to its extensive network of missions, parishes, and structures of religious inspiration based on volunteer work. Catholic parishes and volunteering associations play an important role in mediating domestic/care labour, providing training and placement services, especially for live-in elderly-care jobs, and offering administrative support for bureaucratic procedures such as regularisation (Ambrosini 2000; Scrinzi 2008, 2013). After having supported the internal migration of Italian domestic/care workers from the countryside to the cities, in the 1960s the Church started favouring the international migration of women from Catholic countries. By the 1970s, the demand no longer came only from Italian families of the upper middle-class. Middle-class and low-income households where both parents were wage earners increasingly needed domestic help for child and elderly care. Until then, most domestic/care workers had been working-class women and women from the poor rural areas of Italy (e.g., Veneto), from Southern Italy, and from the Islands. As in the rest of Southern Europe in the 1970s, Italian emigration as well as internal migration from Southern Italy considerably decreased. At the same time as there was decrease of Italian domestic/care workers from poor regions and from the countryside, there was an increase of migrant domestic/care workers from Cape Verde and from the former Italian colonies in Eastern Africa. The Catholic missions in these countries played a role in sending these workers to Italy, for instance, to be employed by Italian families that had been repatriated after Ethiopian independence (Andall 1998, 2000).

Acli Colf,⁵ the first and most important national organisation of domestic/care workers, also provides free placement services, which are widely used by migrants (Scrinzi 2013). Founded in 1946, this organisation confronted the radical changes that affected domestic service over the years. Acli Colf has contributed significantly to the development of labour legislation in this sector, filling the void left by the trade unions which have traditionally disregarded paid domestic work. Andall (2010) notes that, before the 1970s, Acli Colf's approach

⁵This is a part of a larger network called the Christian Associations of Italian Workers (*Associazioni Cristiane Lavoratori Italiani*). 'Colf' is a common name for domestic workers in Italy, shortened from 'collaboratrice familiare' (family collaborator).

to domestic/care labour relations was predominantly inspired by a Catholic ethic based on the removal of possible labour conflicts and an emphasis on harmony in employment relationships. This, she argues, had the impact of placing the worker in a subordinate position with respect to the employer, whereby the inequality of working relations was also 'reinforced by equating domestic/care services with the maternal role' of the labourer (Andall 2010: 108). Until this period, and to some extent in subsequent decades, the framing of paid domestic/care work in terms of 'fictive' family relations contributed to the weak legal regulation of the sector. Working conditions in the sector, to some extent, improved at the beginning of the 1970s, partly as a result of Acli Colf aligning with other Italian trade unions (Andall 1998, 2000). The willingness of Acli Colf to be perceived as a workers' movement led the organisation to shift from the former conceptualisation of domestic service as quintessentially different from factory work, to the recognition that this should be regulated like any other job. The 1970s, therefore, opened the way to a progressive improvement of official employment conditions, with contract provisions granting limited working time and annual holidays to the worker. Yet, in practice, domestic/care employment continues to remain a sector which is characterised by discriminatory practices and highly flexible boundaries when compared with other sectors in terms of working time, tasks, and the labourer's flexibility (Andall 1998; Anderson 2007; Ehrenreich and Hochschild 2000; Degiuli 2007).

Furthermore, essentialist notions of women's work have continued to shape Acli Colf's official discourse whereby reproductive labour is perceived as having an important social function in sustaining the traditional family and is seen as suitable work for women supposedly appealing to their so-called natural skills (Scrinzi 2013). The activity of Acli Colf embodied the Church's social teachings in the field of work relations, informed by the objective of reconciling workers' and employers' interests as well as traditional family values. Domestic/care services, regarded as the ideal work environment for women, were distinguished from 'immoral' industrial jobs that increasingly attracted Italian women at the time. The adoption of a 'clerical approach to labour relations' (Andall 1998: 129) by Acli Colf was premised upon two important factors. Firstly, the clearing from labour relations of any

source of conflict was achieved through the construction of migrant domestic/care labour as an act of love towards Italian families and of sacrifice with respect to the migrants' families left behind (see also Gallo 2014). This view of paid domestic/care work was developed during the 1950s and was expressed in the writings of Father Erminio Crippa, who was then charged with the moral and spiritual well-being of the members of Acli Colf (Celi 2003). As mentioned, Acli Colf no longer holds these positions today, but they are still held by Api Colf, another domestic/care workers' organisation which originated from a conservative faction of the organisation in 1971. Secondly, the racialisation of work relations within the domestic sphere was based on the emphasis put on the migrant women's role as 'paid workers', at the expense of their identity and rights as mothers. Further, when Italian women started to move to working by the hour in order to obtain independent living arrangements, Acli Colf continued to value live-in jobs. It saw these as a solution that would help to provide useful services for Italian families with elderly relatives, children, or sick dependants, or where professional women worked full-time (Andall 1998).

The 'gate-keepers' (Bakan and Stasiulis 1995: 304) or 'intermediary actors' (Scrinzi 2013: 25) providing placement services and matching the demand for and offer of domestic/care labour constitute a crucial site for comprehending the processes of feminisation/re-masculinisation and of racialisation of domestic/care labour (see also Anderson 2007; Macklin 1992; Lendaro and Imdorf 2012). Hence, it is relevant to study the social practices of these actors and the role played by the highly feminised formal and informal female networks of co-ethnics and non-co-ethnics which mediate entry into the sector. Firstly, racialised models of femininity are reproduced through practices of training and placement of migrant domestic/care workers organised by Italian parishes, whereby migrant women are perceived by the Catholic volunteers as 'culturally' docile and predisposed for these jobs (Scrinzi 2010, 2013). These representations associate idealised views of femininity with traditional models of gender, whereby migrant women are supposed to hold on to their 'cultural tradition' and remain more attached to traditional family values than the Italian women who act as their employers, whose detachment from the traditional family is castigated by the Catholic vol-

unteers. The representation of domestic/care services as a 'labour of love' (Finch and Groves 1983) is racialised in training practices, where the job is presented to the women attending the course as a feminine vocation, a sacrifice and a selfless act of charity; in addition, work relationships are obscured and the employers are represented as members of the workers' families (Scrinzi 2010, 2013).

Secondly, as previously discussed, these constructions of racialised femininity are deeply associated with ideas of Christianity and Catholicism. Beyond the work of Acli Colf, the National Episcopal Conference (C.E.I.) has also been active in promoting an idea of migrant Christian/Catholic women as docile and fervent in order to build, first of all, specific vocational attitudes and, subsequently, racialised working capabilities (Gallo 2014). To some extent, Catholic voluntary associations (e.g., *Sacro Cuore* or the Scalabrini Order) and local parishes aim at 'turning the migrant Other into a recognizable Catholic subject through evangelization' (Napolitano 2007: 73) or by emphasising migrants' selective proximity to the Catholic culture, which is associated with Italian national belonging. At the same time, as Gallo (2014) has shown in the context of South Indian Christian women, strands of the Catholic Church also promote a discourse that goes beyond the missionary 'top-down spirit' of evangelisation, and ascribe to Christian domestic workers the potential for an active, transformative, and generative role with respect to fading Italian religiosity, and a redemptive role within Italian family lives.

Migrant Masculinities and Domestic/Care Labour in Italy

As already mentioned, the prescriptive role of the Church in public debates about immigration is reinforced by its actions as a mediator of international migration, based on a dense and active community network offering services for the integration of migrants (of all origins and religious background) such as support concerning juridical issues, health, housing, education, and childcare. In this respect, as in other Southern European countries, the Church has filled a political void created by

the limitations and delays in the actions of political and administrative actors. In this respect, the Church in Italy has operated according to a model of 'bottom-up integration' (Ambrosini 2000). Catholic institutions have supported or replaced public action. In these countries, the immigration issue has represented an opportunity for Catholic institutions to strengthen their position in the public arena, which has been shrinking since the 1970s (Itçaina 2006), more specifically in relation to their role as mediators of international migration through the religious third sector. Acting also as important providers of health and care services in the Italian 'Welfare-mix' system (Ascoli and Ranci 2002; Pavolini and Ranci 2008), Catholic religious institutions are key actors intervening in public debates on care for the elderly, largely provided by migrant workers, social policies, and the family. In these debates, the Church endorses the traditional gendered division of work in the workplace and at home.

In this context, the tension between Catholic 'moral universalism' and the attitude of 'selective solidarity' (Garau 2010) surrounding immigration materialises in the domain of migrant domestic/care labour. An example of this is the recent official position taken by the CEI (Italian Episcopal Conference), according to which Christian, and particularly Catholic, domestic labourers have a potential ecumenical role in relation to Italian families perceived as overly secular, and should therefore be particularly welcomed in Italian society to infuse the latter with renewed religious and moral values (Pittau 2005; Quaderni C.E.I. 2006).

This representations of migrant reproductive labourers which is promoted by the Catholic Church conflicts with other gendered representations of migrant/care domestic labour, also widespread in the media and in public discourse, which are informed by feminist ideas. These focus on domestic/care service employment as an opportunity for the integration and emancipation of migrant women. For example, women's groups linked to the Democratic Party (*Partito Democratico*) in the 1990s envisaged the new demand for domestic/care services and the ascription of women to care work as a field of mobilisation, which should unite Italian and migrant women based on their common gender identity. These arguments obscured social divisions among women based on ethnicity, thus making existing hierarchies between Italian and migrant women, based on class and racism, invisible (Andall 2000).

Forsaking its 'zero tolerance' position with regard to the issue of migrant domestic/care labour, the NL has come increasingly to identify with and show acceptance of Catholic values which tolerate specific migrant groups (Bertezzo 2011). This ambivalent attitude reflects the relationship of the NL with its mainstream right-wing and centre political allies on the one hand, and with the Catholic Church on the other. In the course of the 1990s, and more significantly during the first decade of the twenty-first century, the NL moved towards positions that are more conservative on issues of the family and sexuality and to more radical anti-immigration positions targeting Muslims, joining forces with fundamentalist sectors of the Church as they did so. Massive regularisations of migrant caregivers were implemented by consecutive coalition governments of which the NL was a member. In 2002, the immigration restrictions set by the new Bossi-Fini law had to be counterbalanced by an amnesty due to the demand for migrant labour. This was initially proposed by moderate government members for care workers only, given their role in supporting Italian families. The NL was initially against such measures, but bowed to pressure from its allies, the Catholic Church, employers' organisations, and citizen mobilisations, and was eventually forced to accept a general amnesty. This was the most significant regularisation ever seen in Italy.⁶ In 2008, the Minister of the Interior, Roberto Maroni, proposed a law that would make illegal immigration status a penal offence. Following the presentation of this proposal, a public debate erupted on the necessity to 'save' migrants employed as care workers from the enforcement of the law. This resulted in a proposed 'Care-givers' rescue decree' (*Decreto Salvabadanti*), an ordinance which would have allowed nearly 500,000 migrants to regularise their position.⁷ The NL yielded to this selective regularisation in order to promote its project of fiscal federalism, also a key part of its agenda. About 300,000 care workers (or *badanti*)⁸ were eventually regularised in 2009. The debate, among other issues, revolved

⁶ About 700,000 were regularised, half of which were domestic/care workers.

⁷ The ordinance was proposed by the Minister of Welfare, Maurizio Sacconi, and the Minister of Equal Opportunities, Mara Carfagna, but was opposed by the Minister of the Interior, and was not integrated into the final Law. Nevertheless, special provisions were made to regularise a fixed amount of domestic workers who found themselves illegal in 2008.

⁸ *Badanti* is the term commonly used in Italy to indicate migrant care workers for the elderly.

around the possibility of tracing a distinction between ‘threatening’ and ‘useful’ illegality, conferring a specific position on those migrants whose work involved the productive/reproductive equilibrium of Italian society. Thus, one of the few ‘spaces’ allowed to migrants within the nation addresses the usefulness of certain gendered working categories such as the *badante*. While acquiescing to the selective immigration of care workers, the NL exerted influence on its centre-right allies on issues of immigration and its association with public security issues (Carvalho 2014). In the absence of a comprehensive policy on elderly care, anti-immigration positions yielded to the popular practice of filling the gaps of the limited state-funded care provision by relying on migrant care labour (Bettio et al. 2006). This practice cross-cuts the political spectrum, since these regularisations have been implemented both by left-wing and right-wing governments.

In public and political debates on migrant domestic/care labour which surrounded these public policies, the *badanti* have been regarded as a useful presence. While illegal migrants are hyper-visible in the media and are perceived as a social problem, many migrants fill the demand for care work in Italian homes, alternating between periods of legality and illegality. Live-in care workers are rarely visible in public spaces, but they might be easily identified when they gather in public squares on their days off and expelled. Instead, they are tolerated as ‘useful’ and ‘deserving’ migrants and are singled out as the target of cyclical measures of regularisation (Ambrosini 2013). The exceptional position of migrant care workers is exemplified by this declaration by an Italian woman, interviewed on television during the wave of anti-Roma media outrage at the end of the 2000s: ‘I’m angry. I’m not racist, my maid is Romanian. But Romanian men are bad, they are all bandits’ (quoted in Woodcock 2010: 487). Immigration policies thus confer on both migrant women and men employed in this ‘invisible’ sector the respectability that other migrant workers lack. In dominant representations of migrant domestic/care labour, the Italian nation is equated with a domestic community, while the private sphere, the domestic/care workers’ workplace, is constructed as a space for the potential cultural integration of the racialised Other.

This process gives rise to a paradox, relating to the role of paid domestic/care work as a political space linking families amongst themselves, and

families with the nation-state. The re-masculinisation of domestic/care service employment combines with the criminalisation of migrant men to re-locate racialised and publicly stigmatised communities in the private sphere of the nation. Thus, reproductive labour appears as a strategic site for analysing the ambivalent processes of racialisation, involving complementary representations of racialised men as hyper-masculine and as effeminate.

Conclusion

This chapter placed the gendered racialisation of migrant domestic/care labour within a broader European context shaped by the interplay between the changing political scenario—and its impact on immigration policies—and the role of religious institutions in moulding public and political debates on migration and multi-culturalism. In this scenario, both religious actors and RRP parties operate as key actors in politics of immigration across Europe, contributing especially to shaping gendered political discourse and public debates on the migrants' integration. The chapter begins by discussing feminist analyses of racism and of the gender-specific ways in which men and women are racialised in contemporary Europe. The chapter mobilises studies of gendered racialisation and religion in different national contexts in Europe to leverage a discussion of the specifics of the Italian context. The chapter details the evolution of party politics and the politicisation of immigration in Italy around issues of 'law and order'. This is connected with processes of gendered racialisation and public debates on multi-culturalism, which in Italy are heavily shaped by Catholicism as a 'civil religion'. The chapter outlines historical transformations in the organisation of paid domestic/care work in Italy and the progressive inclusion of female and male migrants, which has been largely mediated by Catholic institutions. The Church also largely provides support for migrants' integration. At the same time, strands of the Catholic Church hold an ambivalent position vis-à-vis the dominant representation of migration as 'pathological' or threatening by promoting a 'selective solidarity' approach privileging foreign workers coming from Christian countries (Garau 2010). Migrant domestic/care workers appear

as an 'exceptional' category of tolerated migrants whose presence tends to be perceived as useful, rather than threatening. Even RRP political forces have yielded to the structural need for migrant care workers, and positive policies towards this 'useful' category of migrant workers characterise all Italian parties across the political spectrum. In this context, constructions of racialised femininity are deeply associated with ideas of Christianity and Catholicism, and (Christian) migrant men employed in domestic/care services emerge as the opposite and complementary figure to the threatening (Muslim) masculine Others who are hyper-visible in the public space.

Bibliography

- Akkerman, T., and A. Hagelund. 2007. Women and children first! *Patterns of Prejudice* 41(2): 197–214.
- Ålund, A. 1999. Feminism, multiculturalism, essentialism. In *Women, citizenship and difference*, ed. N. Yuval-Davis and P. Werbner. London: Zed Books.
- Ambrosini, M. 2000. Senza distinzioni di razza. Terzo settore e integrazione degli immigranti. *Sociologia e politiche sociali* 3(3): 127–152.
- Ambrosini, M. 2007. Gli immigrati e la religione: Fattore d'integrazione o alterità irriducibile? *Studi Emigrazione* XLIV(165): 33–53.
- Ambrosini, M. 2009. L'ennesima ultima sanatoria. Available at: <http://www.lavoce.info/archives/25854/lennesima-ultima-sanatoria/>.
- Ambrosini, M. 2013. *Irregular migration and invisible welfare*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Ambrosini, M. 2015. Protected but separated: International immigrants in the Italian Catholic Church. Paper presented at the workshop on *Migration, Transnationalism and Catholicism*, Middlesex University, London, February 2014.
- Ambrosini, M., and E. Caneva. 2010. *Tolerance and cultural diversity discourses in Italy*. Italy country report. ACCEPT PLURALISM research project, Florence, European University Institute. Available at: http://cadmus.eui.eu/bitstream/handle/1814/19776/ACCEPT_2010-03_Wp1_BackgroundReport_Italy.pdf?sequence=1
- Andall, J. 1998. Catholic and state constructions of domestic workers: The case of Cape Verdean women in Rome in the 1970s. In *The new migration in Europe*, ed. K. Koser and H. Lutz. London: Macmillan.

- Andall, J. 2000. *Gender, migration and domestic service*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Andall, J. 2002. Second-generation attitude? African-Italians in Milan. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 28(3): 389–407.
- Andall, J. 2007. Immigration and the Italian left democrats in government (1996/2001). *Patterns of Prejudice* 41(2): 131–153.
- Andall, J. 2010. The G2 networks and other second-generation voices: Claiming rights and transforming identities. In *National belongings: Hybridity in Italian colonial and postcolonial cultures*, ed. J. Andall and D. Duncan, 171–193. Oxford: Lang.
- Anderson, B. 2007. A very private business: Exploring the demand for migrant domestic workers. *European Journal of Women's Studies* 14(3): 247–264.
- Andrieux, A. 2005. Quels sont les acteurs qui expriment et développent les idées utilitaristes en matière d'immigration, en France et en Europe, depuis les années 90? *Recueil Alexandries, Collections Synthèses*. Available at: <http://www.reseau-terra.eu/article441.html>
- Anthias, F. 1998. Rethinking social divisions. *The Sociological Review* 46(3): 505–535.
- Anthias, F. 2001. The material and the symbolic in theorizing social stratification. *British Journal of Sociology* 52(3): 367–390.
- Ascoli, U., and C. Ranci (eds.). 2002. *Dilemmas of the welfare mix. The new structure of welfare in an era of privatization*. New York: Kluwer/Plenum.
- Bakan, A.B., and D.K. Stasiulis. 1995. Making the match: Domestic placement agencies and the racialization of women's household work. *Signs* 20(2): 303–335.
- Bale, T. 2008. Turning around the telescope. Centre-right party, immigration and integration policy in Europe. *Journal of European Public Policy* 15(3): 315–331.
- Balibar, E. 1988. Racisme et nationalisme. In *Race, nation, classe. Les Identités Ambiguës*, ed. E. Balibar and I. Wallerstein. Paris: La Découverte.
- Balibar, E., and I. Wallerstein. 1988. *Race, nation, classe. Les identités ambiguës*. Paris: La Découverte.
- Barker, M. 1982. *The new racism*. London: Junction Books.
- Bauman, Z. 2000. *Globalisation – the human consequences*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Bertezolo, P. 2011. *Padroni a chiesa nostra. Vent'anni di politica religiosa della Lega Nord*. Roma: EMI.
- Bettio, F., A. Simonazzi, and P. Villa. 2006. Change in care regimes and female migration: The 'care drain' in the Mediterranean. *Journal of European Social Policy* 16(3): 271–285.

- Betz, H.G. 1994. *Radical right-wing populism in Western Europe*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Bhavnani, K.-K. 1993. Towards a multicultural Europe? *Feminist Review* 45: 30–45.
- Bigo, D. 2008. Globalized (in)security: The field and the ban-opticon. In *Terror, insecurity and liberty. Illeberal practices of liberal regimes after 9/11*, ed. D. Bigo and A. Tsoukala. Oxon/New York: Routledge.
- Bracke, S. 2011. Subjects of debate: Secular and sexual exceptionalism, and Muslim women in the Netherlands. *Feminist Review* 98(July): 28–46.
- Brah, A. 1993. Re-framing Europe: En-gendered racisms, ethnicities and nationalisms in contemporary western Europe. *Feminist Review* 45(November): 9–29.
- Brion, F. 2009. Using gender to shape difference. In *Racial criminalization of migrants in the 21st century*, ed. S. Palidda. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Bowen, J.R. 2008. *Why the French don't like headscarves: Islam, the state and public space*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Calavita, K. 2006. Gender, migration, and law: Crossing borders and bridging disciplines. *International Migration Review* 40(1): 104–132.
- Carby, H. 1982. White woman listen! Black feminism and the boundaries of sisterhood. In *The Empire Strikes Back: Race and Racism in 70s in Britain*, ed. Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies. London: Hutchison.
- Carter, D.M. 1997. *States of grace: Senegalese in Italy and the New European immigration*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Carvalho, J. 2014. *Impact of extreme right parties on immigration policy: Comparing Britain, France and Italy*. London/New York: Routledge.
- Casanova, J. 2005. *Immigration and the new religious pluralism: An EU-US comparison*. Paper presented at the conference 'The new religious pluralism and democracy'. Georgetown University, 21–22 Apr 2005. Available at: <http://irpp.georgetown.edu/conference.htm>. Accessed 25 June 2012.
- Casanova, J. 2006. Religion, European, secular identities and European integration. In *Religion in the New Europe*, ed. K. Michalski. Budapest: Central European University Press.
- Celi, G. 2003. *L'azione delle Api-Colf per la promozione delle persone a servizio dell'uomo*. Rome: Società Tipografica Italiana.
- Cento-Bull, A. 2009. Lega Nord: A case of simulative politics? *South European Society and Politics* 14(2): 129–142.
- Cette France là. 2009. Le sexe de l'immigration. In *Cette France là. 06/05/2007-20/06/2008*. <http://www.cettefrancela.net/volume-1/descriptions/article/le-sexe-de-l-immigration?artpage=2-2>

- Chaïb, S. 2008. Femmes immigrées et travail salarié. *Cahiers du Cedref* 16: 209–229.
- Choo, H.Y., and M.M. Ferree. 2010. Practicing intersectionality in sociological research. *Sociological Theory* 28(2): 129–149.
- Clark, A. 2007. The rhetoric of masculine citizenship. In *Representing masculinity*, ed. S. Dudink, K. Hagemann, and A. Clark. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Colombo, A., and G. Sciortino. 2004. The Bossi-Fini: Explicit fanaticism, implicit moderatism and poisoned fruits. In *Italian politics: The second Berlusconi government*, ed. J. Blondel and P. Segatti. New York: Berghahn Books.
- Coppola, M., and S. Sabelli. 2012. Not a country for women, nor for blacks. In *Teaching “Race” with a gendered edge*, ed. B. Hipfl and K. Loftsdóttir. Utrecht/Budapest: ATGENDER and Central European University Press.
- Cousin, B., and T. Vitale. 2014. Le magistère intellectuel islamophobe d’Oriana Fallaci. *Sociologie* 1(5). (online 12 May 2014). Accessed 18 Dec 2014 at <http://sociologie.revues.org/2195>
- Crowhurst, I. 2007. Socio-political and legal representations of migrant women sex labourers in Italy: Between discourse and praxis. In *Women and immigration law*, ed. S. van Walsum and T. Spijkerboer. New York: Routledge-Cavendish.
- Crowhurst, I. 2012. Caught in the victim/criminal paradigm: Female migrant prostitution in contemporary Italy. *Modern Italy* 17(4): 493–506.
- Dal Lago, A. 1999. *Non-persone. L’esclusione dei migranti in una società globale*. Milan: Feltrinelli.
- Degiuli, F. 2007. A job with no boundaries. Home elderly care work in Italy. *European Journal of Women’s Studies* 14(3): 193–207.
- Delanty, G. 2008. Fear of others: Social exclusion and the European crisis of solidarity. *Social Policy and Administration* 42(6): 676–690.
- Derné, S. 2000. Men’s sexuality and women’s subordination in Indian nationalisms. In *Gender ironies of nationalism*, ed. T. Mayer. London/New York: Routledge.
- Dixon, T., and D. Linz. 2000. Overrepresentation and underrepresentation of African Americans and Latinos as lawbreakers on television news. *Journal of Communication* 50(2): 131–154.
- Ehrkamp, P. 2008. Risking publicity. Masculinities and the racialisation of public neighbourhood space. *Social & Cultural Geography* 9(2): 117–133.
- Fassin, D. 2006. Questions sexuelles, questions raciales. In *De la question sociale à la question raciale?* ed. D. Fassin and E. Fassin. Paris: La Découverte.

- Feldman, G. 2005. Essential crises. A performative approach to migrants, minorities, and the European Nation-state. *Anthropological Quarterly* 78(1): 213–246.
- Ferraris, F., and S. Sai. 2014. Sikhs in Italy: Khalsa identity from mimesis to display. In *Migration and religion in Europe: Comparative perspectives on South Asian experiences*, ed. E. Gallo. Farnham: Ashgate.
- Finch, J., and D. Groves. 1983. *A labour of love: Women, work and caring*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Gallo, E. 2006. Italy is not a good place for men. Narratives of place, marriage and masculinity among Malayali migrants in Rome. *Global Networks* 6(4): 159–174.
- Gallo, E. 2014. A suitable faith. Catholicism, domestic labour and identity politics among Malayalis in Rome. In *Migration and religion in Europe: Comparative perspectives on South Asian experiences*, ed. E. Gallo. Farnham: Ashgate.
- Garau, E. 2010. The Catholic Church, universal truth and the debate on national identity and immigration. In *Italy today: The sick man of Europe*, ed. A. Mammone and G.A. Veltri. London: Routledge.
- Garelli, F. 2013. Catholiques, politique et culture. Le cas Italien. *Social Compass* 60(3): 332–347.
- Gaspard, F. 1998. Invisibles, diabolisées, instrumentalisées, figures des migrantes et de leurs filles. In *Les nouvelles frontières de l'inégalité. Hommes et femmes sur le marché du travail*, ed. M. Maruani. Paris: La Découverte.
- Gavanas, A., and F. Williams. 2008. The intersection of child care regimes and migration regimes: A three-country study. In *Migration and domestic work: A European perspective on a global theme*, ed. H. Lutz. London: Routledge.
- Geddes, A. 2008. Il Rombo dei Cannoni? Immigration and the centre-right in Italy. *Journal of European Public Policy* 15(3): 349–366.
- Goreau, A. 2014. Ganesha Chaturthi and the Sri Lankan Tamil Diaspora in Paris. Inventing strategies of visibility and legitimacy in a plural monocultural society. In *Migration and religion in Europe: Comparative perspectives on South Asian experiences*, ed. E. Gallo. Farnham: Ashgate.
- Grillo, R. 2002. Immigration and the politics of recognising difference in Italy. In *The politics of recognizing difference: Multiculturalism Italian-style*, ed. R. Grillo and J. Pratt. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Grillo, R.D. 2003. Cultural essentialism and cultural anxiety. *Anthropological Theory* 3(2): 157–173.
- Guénif Soulimas, N., and É. Macé. 2004. *Les Féministes et le garçon arabe*. Paris: Editions de l'Aube.

- Guibernau, Montserrat. 2010. Migration and the rise of the radical right. *Policy Network* 1–19.
- Guillaumin, C. 1972. *L'Idéologie raciste. Genèse et langage actuel*. Paris, La Haye: Mouton.
- Hamel, C. 2005. De la racialisation du sexisme au sexisme identitaire. *Migrations Société* 17(99–100): 91–104.
- Hill Collins, P. 1990. *Black feminist thought: Knowledge, consciousness, and the politics of empowerment*. London: Routledge.
- Hochschild, A.R. 2000. The nanny chain. *The American Prospect* 3(January): 32–36.
- Huyseune, M. 2000. Masculinity and secessionism in Italy: An assessment. *Nations and Nationalism* 6(4): 591–610.
- Itçaina, X. 2006. The Roman Catholic Church and the immigration issue. *American Behavioural Scientist* 49(11): 1471–1488.
- Jugé, T.S., and M.P. Perez. 2006. The modern colonial politics of citizenship and whiteness in France. *Social Identities* 12(2): 187–212.
- Kandiyoti, D. 1991. Identity and its discontents. *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 20(3): 429–443.
- Lainati, C. 2000. I Filippini a Milano. In *Socialità e inserimento degli immigrati a Milano*, ed. S. Palidda. Milan: Franco Angeli.
- Lal, M. 2003. Sexe, genre et historiographie féministe contemporaine: l'exemple de l'Inde coloniale. *Cahiers du Genre* 34: 149–169.
- Lamière, J. 2008. De la continuité entre deux prescriptions : de l'intégration à l'identité nationale. *Journal des anthropologues*. Hors-série: 185–199. Available at <http://jda.revues.org/3040?lang=en>. Accessed 15 Sept 2012.
- Lamura, G., H. Döhner, and C. Kofahl (eds.). 2008. *Family carers of older people in Europe: A six-country comparative study*. Hamburg: Lit Verlag.
- Lazaridis, G. 2000. Filipino and Albanian women migrant workers in Greece. In *Gender and migration in southern Europe: Women on the move*, ed. F. Anthias and G. Lazaridis. Oxford: Berg.
- Le Espiritu, Y. 1997. *Asian American women and men: Labor, laws, and love*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Lendaro, A., and C. Imdorf. 2012. The use of ethnicity in recruiting domestic labour. *Employee Relations* 34(6): 613–627.
- Lewis, G. 2006. Imaginaries of Europe. Technologies of gender, economies of power. *European Journal of Women's Studies* 13(2): 87–102.
- Lutz, H., A. Phoenix, and N. Yuval-Davis. 1995. *Crossfires: Nationalism, racism and gender in Europe*. London: Pluto Press.

- Macklin, A. 1992. Foreign domestic worker: Surrogate housewife or mail order servant? *McGill Law Journal* 37(3): 681–760.
- Mai, N. 2002. Myths and moral panics: Italian identity and the media representation of Albanian immigration. In *The politics of recognising difference: Multiculturalism Italian style*, ed. R.D. Grillo and J. Pratt. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Maneri, M. 2011. Media discourse on immigration. In *Criminalisation and victimization of migrants in Europe*, ed. S. Palidda. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Mangan, J.A., and J. Walvin (eds.). 1987. *Manliness and morality: Middle-class masculinity in Britain and America 1800–1940*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Maréchal, B. 2002. L'intégration de l'Islam et des communautés musulmanes en Europe. Quelques éclairages. *Studi Emigrazione* XXXIX(147): 579–591.
- Massetti, E. 2014. Mainstream parties and the politics of immigration in Italy. A structural advantage for the right or a missed opportunity for the left? *Acta Politica*. Online before print 22 Aug 2014. doi:10.1057/ap.2014.29.
- Matthews, G., and M. Ruhs. 2007. Are you being served? Employer demand for migrant labour in the UK's hospitality sector.. Working Paper No. 51. University of Oxford, COMPAS. Available at: <https://www.compas.ox.ac.uk/publications/working-papers/wp-07-51/>. Accessed 13 Apr 2015.
- Mauritano, L. 2002. An obsession of with cultural difference: Representations of immigrants in Turin. In *The politics of recognizing difference: Multiculturalism, the Italian style*, ed. R. Grillo and J. Pratt, 42–59. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- McClintock, A. 1993. Family feuds: Gender, nationalism and the family. *Feminist Review* 44(Summer): 61–80.
- McClintock, A. 1995. *Imperial leather: Race, gender, and sexuality in the colonial contest*. London: Routledge.
- McDowell, L. 2009. Old and new European economic migrants: Whiteness and managed migration projects. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 35(1): 19–36.
- McDowell, L., E. Rootham, and A. Hardgrove. 2014. Precarious work, protest masculinity and communal regulation. *Work, Employment and Society* 28(6): 847–864.
- Meer, N., C. Dwyer, and T. Modood. 2010. Embodying nationhood? *Sociological Review* 58(1): 84–111.
- Melotti, U. 1997. International migration in Europe: Social projects and political cultures. In *The politics of multiculturalism in Europe: Racism, identity and community*, ed. T. Modood and P. Werbner. London: Zed Books.
- Meret, S., and B. Siim. 2013. Gender, populism and politics of belonging: Discourses of right-wing populist parties in Denmark, Norway and Austria.

- In *Negotiating gender and diversity in an emergent European public sphere*, ed. B. Siim and M. Mokre. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Miles, R. 1989. *Racism*. London: Routledge.
- Miles, R. 1993. *Racism after 'Race relations'*. London: Routledge.
- Model, S., and L. Lang. 2003. The cost of not being a Christian: Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims in Britain and Canada. *International Migration Review* 36(4): 1063–1081.
- Morokvasic, M. 1983. Women in migration: Beyond the reductionist outlook. In *One way ticket: Migration and female labour*, ed. A. Phizacklea. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Mucchielli, L. 2005. *Le scandale des tournantes*. Paris: La Découverte.
- Mulinari, D., and A. Neergard. 2014. We are Sweden democrats because we care for others. *European Journal of Women's Studies* 21(1): 43–56.
- Nagel, J. 1998. Masculinity and nationalism. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 21(2): 242–269.
- Napolitano, V. 2007. Of migrant revelations and anthropological awakenings. *Social Anthropology* 15(1): 71–87.
- Ozzano, L., and A. Giorgi. 2013. The debate on the crucifix in public spaces in twenty-first century Italy. *Mediterranean Politics* 18(2): 259–275.
- Pace, E. 2013. Achilles and the tortoise. A society monopolized by Catholicism faced with an unexpected religious pluralism. *Social Compass* 60(3): 315–331.
- Pavolini, E., and C. Ranci. 2008. Restructuring the welfare state: Reforms in long-term care in Western European countries. *Journal of European Social Policy* 18(3): 246–259.
- Pittau, F. 2005. Aspetti sociali e religiosi del lavoro delle badanti e colf straniere in Italia. Fourth Seminary of Gospel, labour and immigration: Domestic women and men labourers. Workshop Rome, 21 Jan 2005.
- Pries, L. (ed.). 2013. *Shifting boundaries of belonging and new migration dynamics in Europe and China*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Quaderni CEI. Notiziario dell'Ufficio Nazionale per i Problemi Sociali e il Lavoro. X (3 Apr): 109–119.
- Réa, A. (ed.). 1998. *Immigration et racisme en Europe*. Bruxelles: Éditions Complexe.
- Réa, A. 2001. Les politiques d'intégration des immigrés en Europe: entre domination et émancipation. In *La médiation sociale et culturelle: enjeux professionnels et politiques. L'exemple des femmes-relais, promotrices de l'intégration des migrants*. Paris: Profession Banlieue.

- Riccio, B. 2007. *'Toubab' e 'vu Cumprà'. Transnazionalità e rappresentazioni nelle migrazioni senegalesi in Italia*. Padua: CLEUP.
- Ritaine, É. 2005. Introduction. Quand parler de l'Autre c'est parler de Soi. In *L'Europe du Sud face à l'immigration: Politique de l'Étranger*, ed. É. Ritaine. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.
- Rivera, A. 2005. *La guerra dei simboli. Veli postcoloniali e retoriche sull'alterità*. Bari: Dedalo.
- Rivera, A. 2010. *Les dérives de l'universalisme. Ethnocentrisme et islamophobie en France et en Italie*. Paris: La Découverte.
- Rolandsen, A.L., and R. Sata. 2013. Gendered identity constructions in political discourse: The cases of Denmark and Hungary. In *Negotiating gender and diversity in an emergent European public sphere*, ed. B. Siim and M. Mokre. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Rostock, P., and S. Berghahn. 2008. The ambivalent role of gender in redefining the German nation. *Ethnicities* 8(3): 345–364.
- Rydgren, J. 2003. Meso-level reasons for racism and xenophobia. *European Journal of Social Theory* 6(1): 45–68.
- Salih, R. 2009. Muslim women, fragmented secularism and the construction of interconnected “publics” in Italy. *Social Anthropology* 17(4): 409–423.
- Sarti, R. 1994. Zita, serva e santa. Un modello da imitare? In *Modelli di santità e modelli di comportamento. Contrasti, intersezioni, complementarità*, ed. G. Barone, M. Caffiero, and F. Scorza Barcellona. Turin: Rosenberg & Sellier.
- Schneider, J., and J. Schneider. 2008. The anthropology of crime and criminalisation. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 37: 351–373.
- Schrock, D., and M. Schwalbe. 2009. Men, masculinity and manhood acts. *Annual Review of Sociology* 35: 277–295.
- Sciortino, G., and A. Colombo. 2004. The flows and the flood: The public discourse on immigration in Italy, 1969–2001. *Journal of Modern Italian Studies* 9(1): 94–113.
- Scott, J.W. 2007. *The politics of the veil*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Scrinzi, F. 2008. Migrations and the restructuring of the welfare state in Italy: Change and continuity in the domestic work sector. In *Migration and domestic work. A European perspective on a global theme*, ed. H. Lutz. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Scrinzi, F. 2010. Masculinities and the international division of care: Migrant male domestic workers in Italy and France. *Men and Masculinities* 13(1): 44–64.
- Scrinzi, F. 2013. *Genre, migrations et emplois de care en France et en Italie*. Paris: Editions Pétra.

- Sinha, M. 1995. *Colonial masculinity: The 'manly Englishman' and the 'effeminate Bengali' in the late nineteenth century*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Stolcke, V. 1995. Talking culture: New boundaries, new rhetorics of exclusion in Europe. *Current Anthropology* 36(1): 1–24.
- Tissot, S. 2008. Bilan d'un féminisme d'Etat. Available at: <http://lmsi.net/Bilan-d-un-feminisme-d-Etat>
- Towns, A., E. Karlsson, and J. Eyre. 2014. The equality conundrum. *Party Politics* 20(2): 237–247.
- Triandafyllidou, A. 2006. Religious diversity and multiculturalism in Southern Europe. In *Multiculturalism, Muslims and citizenship*, ed. T. Modood, A. Triandafyllidou, and R. Zapata-Barrero. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Van Walsum, S., and T. Spijkerboer. 2007. *Women and immigration law: New variations on classical feminist themes*. Routledge-Cavendish.
- Vertovec, S., and S. Wessendorf. 2010. Introduction: Assessing the backlash against multiculturalism in Europe. In *The multiculturalism backlash: European discourses, policies and practices*, ed. S. Vertovec and S. Wessendorf. London: Routledge.
- Wade, P. (ed.). 2007. *Race, ethnicity and the nation. Perspectives from Kinship and genetics*. Oxford: Berghahn Books.
- Weldes, J., M. Laffey, H. Gusterson, and R. Duvall (eds.). 1999. *Cultures of insecurity: States, communities and the production of danger*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Woodcock, S. 2010. Gender as catalyst for violence against Roma in Italy. *Patterns of Prejudice* 44(5): 469–488.
- Yuval-Davis, N. 1997. *Gender and nation*. London: Sage.
- Yuval-Davis, N., and F. Anthias. 1989. *Women-nation-state*. London: Macmillan.
- Zincone, G. 2006. The making of policies: Immigration and immigrants. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 32(3): 347–375.

4

Migrant Men Doing ‘Women’s Work’

This chapter explores the social networks and agencies that mediate the entrance of migrant men (and women) into paid domestic/care work in Italy, and the men’s experiences and trajectories in this employment sector. It would be oversimplistic to assume that all occupations within the IDRL are to be considered as ‘women’s work’. Indeed, scholars have highlighted the highly fragmented and internally differentiated nature of reproductive labour. The latter is composed of different tasks such as care for the elderly, cleaning, baby-sitting, gardening, porter-ing, and handyman tasks, although employment relations within this renewed gendered economy of household-based services often require the workers to show flexibility across these occupations (Sassen 1991; Anderson 2000; Kilkey et al. 2013; Lutz 2011). As discussed in Chap. 2, scholars have also noted how within reproductive labour some tasks have been traditionally constructed as masculine, and have invited a more nuanced and comparative understanding of the engagement of migrant men in occupations such as gardening or handyman work (Kilkey 2010; Ramirez and Hondagneu-Sotelo 2009). Our analysis of the migrant ‘men of the home’ in Italy focuses on a variety of occupations within reproductive labour, from the more feminised occupations

such as elderly care-giving to more masculinised jobs such as gardening, driving, handyman work, and portering.

In this chapter, we, however, mainly focus on men's involvement in feminised occupations, and particularly in paid elderly care work, within the IDRL, a phenomenon that has received less attention if compared to masculinised jobs within the sector (such as handymen or gardeners). The aim is to explore, on the one hand, the processes through which migrant men negotiate these feminised occupations and, on the other, how employment in such occupations shapes experiences of masculinity. This chapter also considers how age shapes the ways men reflect on their gendered identity in relation to working experiences within the IDRL. First, the chapter considers how migrant men enter such employment through networks related to their families, Catholic parishes, and volunteers, all predominately female. As shown by existing studies, recruitment in the sector is largely based on informal migrant networks, involving an exchange for monetary or material compensation, and word-of-mouth, which reflects (and, in turn, enhances) the informal and personalised nature of the job (Elrick and Lewandowska 2008; Anderson 2000). The personalisation of the work relationship in reproductive labour is linked to the fact that paid domestic/care work reproduces (gendered, classed, and racialised) personal and social identities and social relations (Anderson 2000). It is further linked to the relevance of emotional labour and the location and organisation of work relationships, which are negotiated within face-to-face relations between the employer and the employee, who is 'personally subordinate to an individual employer' in the private sphere (Glenn 1992: 22). The chapter also considers how ideas of Christianity and Catholicism are negotiated in these processes. It shows how practices of recruitment facilitated by these 'gate-keepers' of domestic/care services contribute to reproduce existing racialised constructions of femininity as well as constructions related to the migrants' respectable and domesticated 'masculinity'. This echoes findings from research on the recruitment of migrant workers in other jobs. Employers' practices are oriented by stereotyped assumptions on embodied social attributes, establishing a hierarchy between 'ideal' workers and less desirable candidates, overlapping with nationality/ethnicity and gender divisions (Matthews and Ruhs 2007). The chapter then moves to analyse the

strategies of migrant men in dealing with the demeaning of their masculinity in domestic/care services as well as with processes of criminalisation in the wider Italian context. The chapter examines how age and migrant status have an impact on the men's experiences of feminised jobs, such as elderly care, which involve performing emotional labour. These strategies, as well as their occupational trajectories, are shaped by their family status, age, class, and ethnicity, since racist discrimination and the marginalisation of migrant men in the labour market crucially define their ability to perform masculinised roles in the workplace as well as in their own family. Indeed, migrant men negotiate ideas of cultural difference and the stratification among different migrant groups through seeking employment and respectability. Finally, the analysis shows that the presence of these men in domestic/care services may challenge the sex-typing of work and gendered forms of identification, while the overall gendered division of work and the idea of a 'natural' hierarchy between men and women remain unaffected.

Men Seeking 'Women's Jobs'

In the experience of many of our informants, privileged relationships with Catholic institutions in Italy play a crucial role in securing a job. Information in the domestic/care employment is highly valuable, as job opportunities are difficult to find. Further, being known by the local Catholic volunteers, and/or being known by them as a 'good Catholic', can bestow respectability on migrant men and help them to overcome the suspicion of potential employers. Female co-ethnic and non-co-ethnic Catholic networks intertwine, constituting a space where the gendered social construction of migrants' respectability is closely related to religion, and play an important role in the entry of migrant men into the sector. The story of Babu, an Indian man from Kerala working as a domestic worker in Rome, is exemplary in this respect. Babu arrived in 1985 after his marriage to Maryam, who had reached Italy in the late 1960s with the initial intention of becoming a nun. Maryam left the convent in 1975 and then worked as a domestic help until 1980. She also studied to become a nurse, and took up a job in a private hospital in 1983. Catholic

institutions thus played a pivotal role in moulding Maryam's trajectory of social mobility and labour experience after she left the convent. The abbess of her convent made sure that Maryam would remain in a safe space after she left and also found her a job as cleaner for a 'respectable' Catholic Italian family. It was in a parish where Maryam was working as a part-time cleaner at weekends that she found a job as a nurse in a Catholic private hospital. The particular trajectory followed by Maryam has deeply impacted on the settlement of her husband in Italy. Worried about Babu being unemployed, and about possible tensions in their relationship that might arise from this, Maryam asked the advice of the head nurse of her department in the hospital, who, in turn, provided Babu with a 'good job' as a cleaner for a family in the Parioli neighbourhood, a wealthy area of Rome. The interplay between Maryam's involvement with Catholic institutions and parishes, as well as her women-centred network, channelled Babu into a highly feminised occupational setting.

Most of the other informants had also joined their sisters, wives, or mothers in Italy through family reunion and found jobs through their female kin networks. Miguel, for example, left Ecuador for Germany to pay his debts after his butcher shop went out of business. When his tourism visa expired, he worked for some time in boat maintenance but found it difficult, especially because he could not speak German. Subsequently, his sister arranged for him to join her in Italy, where he started working as a care-giver through his sister's parish connections in Genoa. Thanks to this job, Miguel could apply for family reunion; his wife and, a few years later, their three children who had been living with Miguel's mother-in-law in Ecuador, eventually joined them in Genoa.

The nun who helped Miguel find a job runs a placement service, which is well known in the city of Genoa both among migrants and Italian families. She has also organised a training course for migrant domestic/care workers, which is provided in a parish venue. Most of the attendees are women. The service is open to everybody, as there are no requirements in terms of nationality or religion, but it is mostly used by Latin Americans. Many of the migrants who attend the course are also involved in the religious activities of the parish such as collective prayer meetings, and in social activities such as singing and meals. Some of the volunteers are Latin Americans and practising Catholics who are actively involved in the

parish's activities. The parish also provides support to those who need to apply for regularisation or social housing. Importantly, the support offered to migrant domestic workers is mixed with the expectation that they become involved in social and religious activities. Nuns and priests rely on their personal networks to match local families with potential domestic workers. As evidenced by existing scholarship, the relationships between migrants and Catholic volunteers are informed not only by the volunteers' sincere wish to help the migrants but also by paternalism and social control (Scrinzi 2010, 2013). In this context, as the interview below indicates, a relationship of clientelism is established between the Catholic volunteers and the migrant workers. From the point of view of the employers, the mediation provided by religious actors serves as a guarantee of the personal qualities and moral integrity of the potential employees:

Sister C. helped me to find this job. [...]. I received some offers for better paid jobs, but I don't want to disgrace myself with Sister C. [...] Sister C. told me to go see M. [the employer] and to say that she was sending me. She said: don't disgrace me, and I have never disgraced her. On the contrary, the employer's relatives called her to thank her. (Miguel, Ecuadorian, 45, Genoa)

Similarly, Anwar, from Senegal, emphasised his connection with the Catholic parish in a Rome neighbourhood in an attempt to neutralise racist discrimination from potential employers:

See, when I say I am from Senegal people immediately think I am [a] Muslim man and are not so happy... many times I have been refused a job because of this. Also, I am very black, you see!! And since people here are ignorant, they think that a Black Muslim cannot do the job well... But I am born into a Roman Catholic family in Senegal, we are a minority but there are many here in Italy. So I asked Father P. to make clear with the Italian family that he knows me and that I go always to church, that I am a good Catholic.... (Anwar, Senegalese, 35, Rome)

Both interviews are important in helping to unravel the complexity of the relationship between migrant domestic/care workers, Catholic institutions, and prospective Italian employers. In the case of Miguel, securing a job is

conceptualised in terms of a moral and material debt towards a Catholic nun. The imperative is not to betray the trust conferred by the nun, or the employer's expectations. In the case of Anwar, the reference of the parish priest enhances the worker's respectability in relation to the negative stereotyping of black and Muslim workers by Italian employers. Importantly, while the intermediation of Catholic actors is also determinant in framing the reputation of migrant female workers, we suggest that it is more crucial in the case of men. This emerges both in our conversations with Catholic priests and with employees as well as employers. In the first instance, priests working in the placement services were often more concerned about the need to provide guarantees for migrant men. Often, they were also more anxious about the possible outcome of working relations. As Father Stefano from Perugia told us:

Of course the risk is always there... you do your best to know the worker, and after thirty years of helping migrants and Italian families with their needs, I know that also with migrant women you can have troubles... for instance those Romanian women might be Christian and European, but they are not [trustworthy] in terms of domestic work... not to mention their men! But overall with women it is easier... with men there is the risk of criminal conduct, of violent behaviour... Look at what happens in the streets today! I do not want to say that if these men are not Christian the risk is higher but at the end, with my experience, I know that if the worker shares some values, like our Catholic values, if he is a good believer... then the problems of conflicts are likely to be less... If he is a Muslim, he might also be a good person but the values are different, and the risk of machist behaviour within the family will be higher!! Do you know what I mean? (Father Stefano, 61, Perugia)

Although the position of Father Stefano is somewhat extreme in comparison with other Catholic priests we interviewed, in terms of the overt association made between non-Christian religions (and particularly Islam), aggressive masculinity and risk for the family, his words nevertheless mirror a relatively widespread tendency among the Catholic actors we interviewed to conceptualise the insertion of migrant men within Italian families as particularly problematic. While Christian religion is not seen in the above passage as a sufficient condition of respectability, and is contrasted with the

nationality and ethnic background of other communities like Romanians, it is nevertheless considered as reducing the risk of migrant men's negative behaviour within Italian families to some extent.

The ambivalent relationships observed between migrants and (largely female) Catholic actors also characterise the informal female co-ethnic networks which migrant men can use to secure jobs in domestic/care services. The link between pioneer migrant women and 'following men' is worth discussing in order to go beyond the tendency to analyse masculinities by focusing on men and relations among men, and to challenge the 'separate sphere' approach which often characterises men's studies (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005; Brod 1994). As discussed in this chapter and in Chap. 5, in many instances, pioneer women tend to establish clientelistic relations with younger and/or newly arrived men and women and to intermediate with Italian families, parishes, or other relevant political or civil society subjects (like migrant associations, trade unions, or ethnic churches). They usually enjoy a higher status within the migrant community, as they are deemed to have better experience, language skills, and connections. This is reflected in the way Indian migrants sometimes refer to such women as 'big mama[s]' (*icbh-amma*), or in the more deferential approach of Peruvian migrant men we spoke with, who initially called pioneer women 'señora'. While in the first case, the use of a (real or fictive) kinship language highlights the nurturant, yet hierarchical, relations between generations, in the second case, a symbolic association of pioneer women with the Italian milieu drives a sense of respect. Nevertheless, these terms are also often used by migrant men in ironic ways, demonstrating a scornful attitude towards the 'unnatural' power (Herzfeld 2001) these women have seized within the migrant community, thanks to their longer acquaintance with the 'Italian system'. Status is also assigned to pioneer women in relation to their capacity to generate migration opportunities for other relatives and friends (Gallo 2005).

We heard very few reports of openly exploitative behaviour towards younger men (and women), for instance, 'big women' asking for extra money in return for their services as intermediaries. However, such women are usually able to apply a certain amount of pressure in relation to migrant men's conduct at work and within the family, especially in the first few years following arrival. At the same time, they might also act as

role models for men's progressive acquisition of status within the community. For example, migrant men might decide to develop their own strategies of connection with Italian families and institutions in order to carve out autonomous spaces, find better job opportunities within the domestic/care sector, and/or support the migration of male relatives. This tendency is strongest in those communities where the feminisation of migration is higher, chiefly among South Indian, Sri Lankan, Filipino, or Peruvian migrants. However, it was present also among the Albanian or Moroccan migrants we interviewed, where the gender ratio is relatively more balanced between migrant men and women. For instance, Gezim, a 45-year-old man from Albania, reflected on the fact that the role of his wife's elder sister as a 'big woman', who since the mid-1980s had helped many relatives and friends to reach Italy by proving sponsors and/or funding journeys, had helped him to follow similar strategies in order to reconnect with relatives back in Albania.

When I came here to reach my wife I was 26...I felt a bit lost...Many of my Albanian friends here in Italy were living and working with other friends or relatives...I mean other men, whereas I was somehow trapped into this family network, with Saranda—my wife's aunt—acting like [a] lion. Then, with time, I understood that beyond the "strong façade" of the aunt there were many years of hard work and of support [she had given] to many of my wife's relatives who came here in the 1990s...Saranda used to tell me: "if you establish good relations here, if you work hard and avoid mingling with those Albanian men who enter into illicit things, you can build a life here and you can also help your own family!" I think it was good advice...Once I had settled, and after working [for a] few years for an Italian family as [a] caregiver, I helped my two brothers and my cousin to come here...In two cases some Italian families I knew helped me...and also the parish gave a hand. (Gezim, 45, Albania. Perugia)

Emigration from Albania has traditionally been led by unmarried pioneer men, who have subsequently reunited their families in Italy (Bonifazi and Sabatino 2003). At the same time, there have been many instances of pioneer women pursuing independent, sole migration (King and Vullnetari 2009), leading to intertwining paths of gendered mobility. In the passage above, Gezim reflects on his difficult relationship with

his wife's aunt. This both *constrains* and *enhances* his trajectory from a young and inexperienced migrant man towards the acquisition of a certain degree of respect and status within the family and the community. Saranda is here represented as someone who kept him away from the more appealing milieu of male sociability and independence, and yet also as the wise woman who dispensed good advice and financial support. This allowed Gezim not only to build relationships of trust with Italian employers but also to balance the feminisation of the migrant network he was part of by helping male kin to reach Italy. It is important to note that a significant number of migrant men who came to Italy following a female relative enacted similar strategies of sponsoring/supporting other kinsmen.

The role played by those mediating between the supply and demand for migrant domestic/care labour goes beyond the matching of offer and demand. Their role is to shape the job as a personal relationship and to train a potential worker to become a certain kind of person. Racialised notions of gender, sexuality, and family are keys in defining the perception of a 'good' domestic/care worker. Associations were frequently made by Catholic priests or Catholic volunteers between the respectability of a migrant man and his family situation. Married men, or men who were located within a wider and known family network in the receiving context, were deemed to be more reliable than unmarried migrant men who were seen as potentially having less controlled social life and more promiscuous social relations. This becomes particularly clear in the process of vocational training of migrant men for domestic/care jobs. The training course organised by Sister C. in the Genoa parish includes sessions on 'Health care' and 'Italian language', as well as on 'Spirituality' and 'Helping others'; other sessions focus on immigration law, on the work contract, and on reading the Bible. Moral and religious teachings are systematically linked in the training activities to the professional teaching that is provided. The volunteers emphasise that conforming to certain moral norms can help to secure a job and in the success of the migratory project. In this respect, the training activities exemplify the conception of domestic service as a feminine religious vocation embraced by Acli Colf in the 1970s, and promoted today by Api Colf. The priests, nuns, and volunteers in the Genoa parish regard international migration as an

opportunity for the improvement of the lives of people who are ‘in need’ in the global South, yet, at the same time, are seen as potentially disruptive—migration is seen as having potentially problematic outcomes in social and moral terms. Female migrants are seen as at-risk of falling into prostitution, while migrant men are exposed to the risk of becoming drunkards and criminals. Traditional models of gender are disrupted in the migratory context—women become breadwinners in the family, and men may find it difficult to adapt to this new arrangement. Our observations suggest that migrant men need to be ‘domesticated’ on their arrival in Italy in view of their impending inclusion into domestic/care service jobs. In the following extract, Rafael, a Colombian volunteer, encourages male migrants to restrain their sexual compulsions (which are supposedly ‘natural’ in Latin American ‘culture’):

Today we will speak about the difficulties of integration. When we arrive, we encounter problems: we have lost the balance, we have financial difficulties as well as emotional and family problems. We are incapable of reacting because we are not used to this society but our success depends on our ability of adapting to the new environment. Here we find people who preceded us in migrating to Italy and as we can see that they have achieved a stability, this pushes us to react. But we don't have the tools to do so, because everything is new here, while our success depends on our adaptation to this society. We Latin American men have to learn how to carry out the domestic chores, because Latin American women have made us spoiled... If we are macho men, how can we get to do care work for the elderly? Instead we have to get used to this to in order to attain our success and because we came here [as a result] of our own decision. [...] But a child [...] is the responsibility of both parents. We arrive [in] Italy to improve ourselves, not the opposite. Otherwise it would be better to stay in the home country, why should one leave the country and the family to come here and struggle? We are the hope of our families. We can control our sexual compulsion, we are not like children. Otherwise we complicate our lives, but we are not here to steal but to learn how to live here in Italy and to integrate into the Italian society. We are not here to break the rules. We have the project of starting a new life here, it is an opportunity of sorting out not only our economic problems but also to reconstitute a stability for our families. We have to demonstrate that instead of being here to steal, we are here to help others. (Rafael, male Catholic volunteer from Colombia, Genoa, November 2008)

In his talk Rafael questions the machismo usually attributed to Latin American men, distancing himself from family relations in his home country in order to address the need for employment among migrant men in Italy. Transforming 'old' models of gender, identified with the home country, and adapting to the immigration society, including the employment opportunities it offers, are seen as necessary in order for migrant men to become successful, socially accepted workers. 'Cultural adaptability' in its gendered dimension is a valued element of normative practices aiming at transforming migrant masculinities in Catholic institutions. The training of migrant men, thus, involves turning them into good fathers and husbands in the immigration country and encouraging them to dissociate from deviant models of migrant masculinity. Thus, training practices of migrant domestic/care workers aim at transforming their personal and family life, rather than simply instructing them on specific tasks involved in their future jobs. This is consistent with existing studies of reproductive labour, mainly focusing on female workers, which indicate that the employers want a specific kind of *person* for the job (Gregson and Lowe 1994; Anderson 2000). The definition of a good domestic worker is not limited to skills or experience, as in other jobs; other criteria are mobilised, such as his or her personal qualities (Anderson 2000; Andall 2000; Scrinzi 2013; Rollins 1985). The production of a good domestic/care worker thus involves the domestication of migrant masculinities, and cross-cuts the public/private divide to encompass his personal and family life.

Strategies of Male Domestic/Care Workers

Our informants were mainly employed in feminised jobs as cleaners (in the home) and/or as elderly care-givers. While working in such roles for well-off employers, some were also assigned to masculinised domestic chores such as driving. Some worked as porters, drivers, gardeners, and handy-men. Nearly 60 % of those working as cleaners and/or care-givers were employed full-time and as live-in workers. The others were employed on an hourly basis and did not live in the employers' houses. These also stood in as occasional replacements for other care-givers, for example, on weekends.

In some cases, the employee lived with the employer but worked on a part-time basis. The majority (70 %) of the men working in masculinised domestic service jobs were employed full-time but lived independently. Porters lived in the same building as their employers, but were given a separate flat. Gardeners and drivers worked for wealthy families and were sometimes allocated a *dépendance* on the employers' property. Most of the informants swung between long periods of regular employment and periods of work in the informal economy. Only 25 % said they had been in regular employment for the past 7 years without interruption. The live-in full-time care-givers earned between 750 and 1000 euros per month, in addition to subsistence and accommodation, being entitled to 1 day off on Sundays as well as a half-day off on Thursdays. Full-time cleaners earned between 600 and 750 euros per month. These figures varied if the worker was employed part-time; in this case, the salary could go down to 400 euros per month. A porter's monthly salary might vary from 750 to 2000 euros in a building in a leafy area. Based on our data, it appears that overall the working conditions of migrant men employed in feminised jobs are similar to those of women occupied in the same jobs. Men, however, are also employed in better-paid masculinised tasks in the sector.

Among our informants, live-in (illegal) domestic/care workers experienced conditions of exacting flexibility and forms of dependence regarding their employers, which are typical of this form of employment and are not unique to female migrants. For example, the employee depends on the employer for food and accommodation, and part of the salary is paid through the provision of these essentials. Further, when the job is over or the employee is fired, she or he is left without accommodation. The 'personalism' (Romero 2002: 172) of the domestic/care service relationship is associated with the lack of standard employment and regulation and with arbitrary working conditions. The highly personalised nature of domestic/care service employment is enhanced in live-in jobs. Existing studies show that exploitation and limitations placed on the (female) worker's privacy and free time are obscured by a paternalistic ideology constructing her as a member of the family and the home as the site of selfless love. The home is experienced by the employer as space where her or his personal identity is expressed and materialised rather than as a workplace for the worker (Anderson 2000). As a result, it is difficult to draw clear

boundaries between work and non-work times, especially in live-in jobs (Romero 2002; Rollins 1985; Anderson 2000; Andall 2000; Parreñas 2001; Bakan and Stasiulis 1994; Macklin 1992). Live-in domestic workers are excluded from employment protections, such as controls on working conditions, which are not possible in the private space of the home. As Rosie Cox (2012: 34) notes in relation to au pairs in the UK, denying live-in domestic/care workers the same rights as other workers 'is a widespread manifestation of the way in which domestic work is constructed to be different from other forms of labour'. In several countries, such as Canada, Singapore, and the UK, immigration policies either require domestic/care workers to live in their employers' homes or they orient them towards such jobs. In Canada, an immigration programme creates a group of female migrant live-in domestic/care workers pushed into these jobs by immigration policies and induces low wages because of the 'captive' condition of the workers. Only unmarried women with no dependants are accepted for this programme. The state abstains from intervention in the 'private' sphere of the home through lack of legislation and lack of enforcement of the laws and controls that do exist (Macklin 1992). We can see the same delegation of control over (female) workers to the employers by the state in Singapore (Huang and Yeoh 2003). The exceptional treatment of live-in jobs as different from other jobs is generally justified through the representation of the home as a private space and the worker as being a member of the family, as previously discussed. Many of our informants, both male and female, when asked what their working schedules were, simply answered that there was no schedule—they worked '*fisso*' (permanently). This meant they had very long working days and were restricted to very few relationships, beyond those with the person cared for and his or her family. John's interview is typical. As an irregular live-in domestic worker, he was subjected to abusive treatment because he wanted to be regularised. The abuse included being 'on call' at any time, being denied food, being asked to perform humiliating chores, and being fired without notice because he refused to clean up the dog's mess. As John recalled:

I told the employer that I wanted to be regularised and she said ok [...]. I worked from 7 or 8 in the morning until 9 or 10 in the evening or later if they went out. Normally I should have stopped at 9 in the evening, but ten

minutes before that time they would start a washing machine and they told me: wait until you have hung out the laundry... so I would stop working one hour later. Or else they received people at home and I had to stay up at their disposal even if they stayed up until very late. They did not tell me: John, go to bed, we will take care of this, you can do this tomorrow. No, I had to stay in the kitchen. [...] They went on holiday in August and they did not pay me for that month, she said: I can't, it is not legal because there is no contract. [...] I had to cook and clean the house, but they also wanted me to take the dog out for a walk and once she told me that I had to clean up the dog's mess in the flat. I told her: I am sorry but this disgusts me. She fired me. (John, Sri Lankan, 25 years old, Milan)

Existing studies indicate also that female live-in workers are subjected to limitations being placed on their family/reproductive rights (Andall 2000; Bonizzoni 2011). Family reunion is jeopardised by this kind of work and by the 'competition between the "two families" of the domestic worker' (Bonizzoni 2011: 329), and can only be achieved if the employee moves to a job paid by the hour, thus obtaining residential autonomy. This also affected our male informants. For instance, Pablo could only see his wife on Sundays and had negotiated with his employers in order to be able to see his 3-year-old son twice a week. While our female informants more often expressed their concerns about the difficulty of combining their jobs with their domestic responsibilities, and in particular their limited opportunities to spend time with their children, migrant men also (but not exclusively) emphasised the lack of opportunities to form or cultivate friendships and to spend leisure time pursuing parish activities or playing football, for example. While this regret was experienced by men of different generations, in our sample it was particularly expressed among migrant men in their 20s and 30s.

Whatever their working conditions, for most of our informants, international migration involved a process of diminished social mobility, which combined with the challenging experience of entering a 'women's job'. In their home country, most of our informants worked as semi-skilled manual labourers, technicians, civil servants, teachers, or ran their own family business. Few informants had previous experience of working in paid domestic/care work in their home countries, and if they had, their occupations were generally masculinised (handymen, doorkeepers,

or drivers). Many informants held a high-school diploma or a higher education qualification awarded by a professional college or university. Only a minority of men from Senegal or Morocco held higher education degrees in comparison with migrants from Asia and Latin America. Existing studies on masculinity and migration suggest that men are significantly affected by class demotion in the migratory context because of the gendered ways in which they make sense of their personhood. They experience specific challenges in handling the implications of migration and downgraded social mobility, which crucially affect their self-identification as breadwinners. While they dramatically resent the destabilisation of their self-image as heads of their household due to their dependence on social benefits, their wives' employment, or their own low-paid, low-skilled jobs and dwell nostalgically on their lost economic position/identity (Keeler 2008; Herbert 2008; George 2000; Datta et al. 2009), women take up the challenge of downgraded social mobility and start all over again to sustain their household. In addition, scholars suggest that, because femininity has not been traditionally associated with paid work, employment is more relevant to making sense of one's gendered self for men than for women (Williams 1989).

Existing research findings suggest that male employees in feminised jobs may experience fear of stigmatisation and feminisation. These may be seen as discouraging factors for men's entry and may contribute to reproducing the sex-typing of these jobs (Simpson 2004; Lupton 2006; Williams 1993, 1995; Scrinzi 2005, 2010; Cross and Bagilhole 2002). Male workers in feminised occupations may find that their choice of job is ridiculed, calling their manliness into question, or it is seen as a sign of homosexuality. Fear of stigmatisation is also associated with the fact that these male workers are constructed as a sexual threat to the patients, the children, and the people they care for, and are exposed to accusations of sexual misconduct. Some studies (Tünte 2007; Williams 1993, 1995; Lupton 2000) have also suggested that male workers in jobs associated with caring experience stress as a consequence of being rejected. Therefore, men working in jobs associated with caring are simultaneously sexualised, constructed as hyper-masculine, and feminised. Indeed, male domestic/care workers perceive an expectation to explain their employment in what is seen as an 'unnatural' job for a man, and to prove their

masculinity as well as their competence (Scrinzi 2005, 2010). Existing studies show that migrant male workers in care and cleaning jobs in Italy express frustration, shame, and resentment at being employed in a 'woman's job'. This can also be expressed through their greater resistance to describing their daily tasks as opposed to female migrants in the same job (Sarti 2009; Näre 2010). They find it especially difficult to be subject to female authority in the workplace (Bartolomei 2010; Shinozaki 2005).

In order to align with more conventional notions of masculinity, men in feminised jobs adopt various strategies, relabelling the job to dissociate it from femininity, emphasising the 'masculine' aspects of the job, and claiming that they hold special skills which their female colleagues lack, in order to enhance their own status (Pringle 1988; Simpson 2004; Cross and Bagilhole 2002). Studies on male carers in the UK and Mexico found that migrant men point to the necessity of hiring a man in order to protect the intimacy of male elderly employers and to ensure their personal safety, although this does not reflect the reality of the Italian sector, where many women are employed to care for elderly men (Durin 2013; Sarti 2009; McIlwaine et al. 2006). Similarly, Scrinzi (2005, 2010) found that in France, while female workers emphasise the emotional difficulty of caring for the elderly and the need for patience, male migrant care workers engage in relabelling their job and point to their own special 'masculine' skills, such as the greater ability to use machinery and fix domestic appliances, which supposedly make them better domestic workers than their female competitors in the market. Migrant men in paid domestic work in institutional settings in London also adopt strategies aimed at distancing themselves from its association with femininity by emphasising the physically challenging nature of their jobs, such as washing up in restaurants (McIlwaine et al. 2006).

Our informants developed similar strategies to negotiate their masculinity at work and forge respectability while coping with deskilling and class demotion. At the same time, it is also important to note how their narratives also aimed at legitimising themselves in the sector regarding employers who may be wary of male candidates. As shown in the interview below, some informants de-emphasised care tasks and reasserted their masculinity, claiming that their physical strength enabled them to be better care-givers than women.

They wanted a man for this job because there had not installed ramps for the wheel-chair so either they got a man or a very strong woman... [*he laughs*] who had to pull him up the stairs. They said they wanted a man for this reason and in fact many migrant men care for elderly men who are dependant and can't move so you have to move and bathe him, there is a masculinised niche of the market because of that. (Luis, Peruvian, 30 years old, Milan)

Yet, at the same time and crucially, male domestic/care workers' narratives challenge essentialist views of women's work and skills. Migrants arrive in the European labour market with identities influenced by their experiences in their home countries: 'migrants often become particularly aware of the relational and contextual nature of gender as they attempt to fulfil expectations of identity and behaviour that may differ sharply in the several places they live' (Donato et al. 2006: 6). The paradoxical negotiations of masculinity enacted by these men in the workplace may challenge dominant notions of 'women's work', uncovering the socially constructed nature of 'feminine qualities' such as patience and sweetness. Importantly, men's narratives end up denaturalising the feminine qualities by pointing to the skills and experiences they have acquired (as opposed to innate 'feminine qualities'):

I think that it's the same, because men can do women's work. Men can iron, cook, do the laundry, I don't think there is any difference. Women can do that, then we can do it too. If women can do that, men can do it too. (June, Filipino, 35 years old, Genoa)

Another informant also stressed how men can achieve professional status in their jobs, in addition to obtaining respectability and a good salary, thereby resisting stigmatisation by other migrants employed in different (non-feminised) occupations. As Salvador, from the Philippines, stated:

I have a good friend from Pakistan, Ali...we met at the Caritas hosting centre during our first year of life in Rome, we were both attending an Italian language class. He always told me that he had no intention to find a job in Italian houses, he wanted to be free... and he found a job in a small factory. He often makes fun of me when we manage to meet, and he asks

if my wife is happy that I have learned to do her job... but I think it is stupid to put it like this... I mean it is a bit backward! I have learned a lot from my job, I am able to cook, to iron and to manage the house well—my landlady would not know what to do without me!... it is not demeaning, and you are working for a good family, whereas Ali does not have many connections with Italian families and at the end of the day he earns less than me! (Salvador, 45 years old, Filipino)

The above passage invites us to consider how the demeaning effects of entering into women's occupations are kept at a distance by migrant men who stress both the acquisition of household managerial competencies and working skills, as well as the ideological association with the respectability of the Italian family. Like Salvador, many workers stressed how the acquisition of these skills has made their presence invaluable for Italian employers, and how salary conditions made them privileged in comparison to the less well-remunerated and, as they perceived it, more 'isolating' conditions of factory work. By adopting a stereotype which is widespread among Italians concerning the backwardness of migrant masculinity, Salvador also stresses how his acquisition of new working skills detaches him from a retrograde expression of Latin American 'hyper-masculinity'.

Attempts to realign (Lupton 2000) with more conventional forms of masculinity also operated through their emphasis on the pragmatic view of domestic/care services as providing a much-needed salary, which enabled them to fulfil a traditional role as breadwinner (or as one of the income-earners) in the family. Thinking of themselves first of all as husbands and fathers, they describe their job, which may be experienced as frustrating and as limiting their participation in family life, as a necessary sacrifice to provide for their family. This echoes findings from studies in other national contexts on migrant men experiencing downgraded social mobility and employment in low-paid, non-skilled, feminised jobs, such as catering and hotel work (Batnitzky et al. 2009; McIlwaine et al. 2006; Herbert 2008; Keeler 2008; Datta et al. 2009).

My wife came here to give our children a future, we talked a lot about that, to decide if it should be she or I to emigrate, but she knew the situation in Italy because she knew a woman who had migrated to Italy, she said that there was work for nurses and elderly carers, so she left. [...]. My wife told

me that there were [few] job opportunities for men here in Italy and I had to take up this job because there is no work for men and I can't stay without working with a family to support [...]. Usually it is women who do these jobs, that's why they learn Italian more quickly, because they spend all their time in an Italian home. It is not strange for me to work as a caregiver because our goal is to work, we are part of a chain, everybody who gets here has to contribute. (Diego, Peruvian, 63. Perugia)

Despite the fact that domestic/care services are a working-class occupation which is not highly valued, another informant, Miguel, said that it is ultimately a job like any other in that it allows him to earn a salary and that in this respect he is proud of undertaking it. His interview also indicates that his live-in job supports his efforts to achieve upward class mobility through becoming a property owner:

I have seen men from my country who go for a walk with their employer and they stay behind him, so I tell them: why do you behave like that? Are you ashamed of your job? You are not ashamed of getting the salary though! If you are ashamed you should not be doing this job. I was well-off in my country, my family has money, but here I have to maintain my family, there are doctors who come here to work as caregivers: if they are uneasy with that, they should remain back there. I have bought a flat here but I am considering going back to Ecuador to start my own business again. I am tired of working indoors in the home all the time between these four walls, 24 hours a day. There are Ecuadorian people who say: I don't want to go to work as a caregiver, I'd rather do the stairs cleaning in a public building. They want the freedom, they want to be able to go dancing in the evening, but I don't care for that. Sometimes I am a bit depressed, my children go to school and thank God their mother can take care of them because I have to stay here indoors. But at the end of the month I am rewarded (Miguel, Ecuadorian, 45 years old, Genoa).

Men also reasserted their sense of their masculinity through compensatory narratives of their household and/or of life in their home country as conforming to more traditional patterns of the gendered division of work. Fear of stigmatisation too is expressed and negotiated within a transnational space. Simpson (2004) finds that particular anxiety was expressed by men with regard to the perception of their job by their male friends and in male

peer groups where masculinity is displayed and reproduced. For our informants, this anxiety seemed to be displaced and directed to family networks and male peers in the home country, as some informants told us that many male domestic workers returning to the home country for holidays tend to be secretive about the nature of their work in Italy.

Men also mobilise constructions of cultural differences to claim the superiority of the models of masculinity of their group over those of other migrant men. This strategic mobilisation of such racialising constructions has also been observed in the case of female migrant domestic workers (Scrinzi 2009). For example, migrant nannies in Paris boast about the 'cultural' aptitude of African women for childcare and attempt to turn this stereotype into a 'brand' on the market through setting up an association providing home-based services. Filipino domestic workers in Italy and the USA claim for themselves the status of the 'Mercedes Benz' of domestic workers, based on their superior education levels in comparison with other groups (Parreñas 2001). Latin American and Eastern European women working with non-profit care providers in Italy claim a stronger caring attitude and a greater emotional endurance, respectively, for their national groups (Marchetti and Scrinzi 2014). This echoes findings on migrant men in low-paid feminised service jobs, such as catering, in the UK, who claim a greater work ethic and honesty for their migrant group (Herbert 2008). McIlwaine et al. (2006) found that men were more vocal than women in self-identification of their nationality or racial group as superior to others (such as Polishness, whiteness/Europeanness), and were more prone to boast about their co-ethnics' superiority at work than women, perhaps to sustain their position in a feminised job. Our informants claim for themselves not just qualities of honesty and industry but also specific qualities which are traditionally constructed as feminine and, in doing so, they tend to dissociate themselves from those migrant men who are perceived as dangerous. In this respect, they reflect findings from other studies on Sri Lankans and Malayali men in domestic service in Italy (Näre 2010; Gallo 2006), as well as on African men working in the care sector in London. These men stressed their capacity to care on the basis of their familial loyalties and what they saw as their African nurturant culture, which they contrasted with the attitude to the elderly which is dominant in Europe (Datta et al. 2009; McGregor 2007).

One of our informants, Babu, was divided between the need to assert his respectability as a worker for an affluent family, a position which allowed him to live during the week in an upmarket city area and to 'stay away' from more stigmatised neighbourhoods, and a critical evaluation of the fact that working as a domestic/carer was not in line with the university degree in history he had obtained in Kerala. High education levels provide migrant domestic workers with the social capital and resources to construct respectability in the eyes of their employers. At the same time, this leads to their experiencing painful diminution in class status and to contradictory class mobility (Parreñas 2001). In Babu's eyes, his education made him suitable to work within a respectable Italian family, but also exacerbated his frustration at not being able to move out of domestic/care employment:

My new family likes me, they know that I have studied and that I do not enter into anything criminal, that I am a good person... they always tell me that they would have not hired an Albanian or a Moroccan... you cannot trust them. (Babu, 31, Indian, Rome)

Thus, to some extent, migrants may endorse racialising hierarchies between different migrant groups and may ascribe to different nationalities a higher or lower degree of trustworthiness and respectability, mobilising these gendered and racialised constructions in their professional life. Reproductive labour emerges as a site in which to explore how gendered 'cultural differences' are constructed across the private/public divide to create hierarchies among different groups of migrants, and how migrant men negotiate this racialised stratification in an attempt to establish their position in the labour market and reassert their masculinity.

Migrant Men Engaging in Emotional Labour

As the analysis developed so far suggests, migrant men's entry into domestic/care services is conditioned on their being 'domesticated'. This suggests that their employment in the sector does not in itself subvert the representation of the job as 'women's work'. To some extent, however, the gendering of

these jobs is challenged by the inclusion of men in these occupations. Instead of being hired to perform 'non-nurturant' masculinised domestic service chores, such as driving and gardening, these men represent a minority of male migrants accomplishing feminised 'nurturing' (Duffy 2005) tasks such as caring, cleaning, and cooking in the private sphere of the home. Emotional labour is a key part of these jobs. Several studies of (female) domestic/care workers show that what is sold and bought in the job is not just material work, but also, crucially, the personal identity of the worker (Garcia Castro 1989). When the job involves personal interactions with children and the elderly, the workers mobilise their own personal and family experiences at work to provide care for the family of their employers. For example, care workers might think about their own parents in order to endure the isolation and the emotional burden of working with elderly employers who suffer from dementia (Scrinzi 2013). The employee is often expected to 'respond to the psychological needs of their employers' (Gorban and Tizziani 2014: 54). Also, care jobs require time management, organisation, assessment, planning skills, and a good memory which the employee has to develop and use by herself or himself without the support of a collective (Lutz 2008; Lada 2011). Emotional labour can also be demanded in cleaning jobs, where domestic workers are expected to perform rituals of deference while interacting with their employers, such as smiling and displaying a good mood, even if this conflicts with their own feelings at that moment (Castro 1989; Glenn 1992; Parreñas 2001; Rollins 1985). In this respect, domestic/care services function as a status symbol for middle-class employers; part of the emotional labour of the workers is directed towards enhancing the employers' status.

How do male workers respond to the demand of emotional labour in their jobs? While research on male paid care workers is very limited, more empirical data are available concerning men working as unpaid carers. Studies on masculinity and unpaid care suggest that male caregivers tend to assume the role of 'care commanders' (Hanlon 2012: 37), delegating the accomplishment of the 'dirty work' associated with bodily hygiene and nurturant tasks, focusing on non-nurturant 'instrumental tasks' (Russell 2007) or adopting a 'managerial style' (Calasanti and King 2007: 520; Russell 2001; Thompson 2000, 2002) when engaging with their relatives' care needs. Male unpaid caregivers tend to compartmentalise

tasks and have an emotionally distant attitude to care work (Thompson 2000, 2002; Calasanti and King 2007). However, men are also found to deviate from this 'masculine' style of care and engage with the 'dirty work' of caring, especially when they are motivated by the desire to maintain conjugal relationship and identities. Conjugal status may transform the relationship of men to unpaid care (Gallo and Scrinzi 2015). Men also act as emotionally supportive companions. They express pride in and take satisfaction from performing personal care tasks, and they express feelings of personal commitment and responsibility (Russell 2001; Applegate and Kaye 1993), although they may also feel less at ease and lack a sense of competence when performing such work.

Our data concur with these findings on men as unpaid carers, showing that migrant male employees can develop affection for and an emotional bond with the people cared for and they can be involved in performing emotional labour while employed as caregivers. As the following interview indicates, Miguel performed emotional labour in various ways, including the bodily display of docility and gentleness in addressing his elderly employer and obscuring the relationship of affection established with him while his children were there so that they do not feel that he was intruding into family life or that he was taking undue liberties. In everyday domestic life, he is on familiar speaking terms with the person cared for, but he uses formal language while his employer's children are in the house, for example, switching to the formal '*lei*' (meaning 'you' in English) as a form of address, as opposed to the more relaxed, informal '*tu*'. This concurs with existing studies on (female) migrant care workers. These show that the extraction of emotional labour by employers relies on the fact that 'live-in domestics are members of the household, but clearly not members of the family' (Macklin 1994: 17), and that the relationship of affection between carer and elderly person can be denied by the family, as the care relationship is reduced to a work relationship (Anderson 2000). Miguel reflected on his current job in Italy by mobilising a gendered repertoire connected with his former (masculine) job in Ecuador. He compared care-giving with working as a butcher in a shop which, like other service sector jobs, requires 'interactive work' (Sherman 2011: 20) in dealing with customers, and positively valued emotional labour tasks in both:

One needs to be patient, very patient. The caregiver has to have some kind of charisma inside that makes him love the elderly person. The gentleman is my employer but also something more than that, we are friends, we are on informal speaking terms [*ci diamo del tu*], I tell him that he can *darmi del tu* [address me as 'tu'], but I always *gli do del lei* [address him as 'lei']. Actually *gli do del lei* when his children are there but when we are on our own *gli do del tu*, he prefers it this way because [it] is more friendly and it makes him feel more in a family-like environment. You have to be patient because some elderly employers beat the caregivers or spit on them... I have seen it all. But at the end of the month one gets his reward [...]. I am proud of my job, I earn my salary honestly, I don't steal. [...] If the employer tells me: let's go out, I dress him up, and while I do that I talk to him, I give him my arm, I make jokes. The he tells me: let us have an ice-cream, I say: that's fine. I don't tell him: oh, let's take an ice-cream, do you get that? [*with an aggressive tone of voice*] No, this would be exploiting him. [...] To be a butcher you need first of all some politeness to secure customers, in that job too you need to know how to deal with people and be patient, in both jobs you need to have good manners, patience and language skills: you have to be able to talk to people, [...] to involve the others, whether it is the clients or the elderly employer, for example, saying: ah, the gentleman likes this and that, and you give a good piece of meat to the best clients while you give some lower quality meat to those who can't afford the best one. (Miguel, Peruvian, 45, Genoa)

This interview suggests that live-in care workers are held responsible not only for the physical and emotional well-being of the person cared for but for the quality of the relationship between their employers and the rest of the family members. While providing emotional support to the elderly employer, they are expected not to intrude on the family relations and to express deference in those situations when other members of the family are present. Miguel's story indicates that not all men express negative feelings about working in paid care. Differences in family status and age appeared crucial in shaping the ways in which our informants made sense of the job of caring for the elderly. Our interviews prompt consideration of how, unlike younger and single informants, married men appealed to a traditional breadwinner model in order to justify their employment in domestic/care services. Older men with family responsibilities also referred to their private lives to make sense of and sustain their skills in

the job, such as referring to their personal experiences as unpaid caregivers in the family (with their elderly parents or children).

This resonates with existing studies on how age and generation impact men's relationship to unpaid care. In middle age, when they are likely to take on jobs caring for elderly people within the family, men tend to move towards less conventional models of masculinity and, compared with younger men, are more open to becoming involved in domestic life and its responsibilities (Applegate and Kaye 1993; Russell 2001). Further, older Latin American migrant men who defined themselves as believers and members of Catholic or Evangelical churches expressed an appreciation of working with the elderly. They saw it as meaningful and made sense of it as a 'religious' vocation or task in society, in line with the discourse on reproductive labour as a 'labour of love' (Finch and Groves 1983), which is dominant in the Catholic network. This echoes existing research on the impact of the specific religious institutions in shaping the discursive tools available to different migrant groups to make sense of paid care work in Italy. Unlike Jewish migrants, Christian Orthodox 'male saints' consciously performed emotional labour and established intimate relationships with their employers through performing tasks such as bathing and feeding them. Some men actively renegotiated dominant notions of masculinity, arguing that paid care work is a Christian calling, while others emphasised the professional quality of their work and maintained an emotional distance from it, defining themselves primarily as wage-earners. Women informants too activated both types of discursive strategies to make sense of their work (Solari 2006). In the same line, research in other contexts has shown the relevance of the specific religious institutional settings as well as religious teachings and theological differences in shaping how churches operate as brokers of migration and migrants' integration (Hunt 2002).

Once I [...] replaced a Peruvian guy who went back to Peru on holiday. This job was caring for an elderly man who was terminally ill. I saw an extremely heavy situation there for this man, an artificial life, because his son was a pharmacist and had installed the most modern machineries in the house to care for his father. They taught me how to use them, like a machine to lift him and artificial stuff to feed him too... This experience strongly affected me, his suffering, his artificial life... I am Evangelical and I prayed

God to take the elderly man [...]. Our culture and our personality matters, we are more caring, and if one has a religious background that is even better because that makes us predisposed to this work and we are better at this work than those how do not have a spiritual life and who do [it] simply as a job. Christian love leads us to identify with the illness and suffering of the employers and [we] do everything [we] can, no matter if the working day is over. When my wife came back to Peru to have some holiday, after two weeks they called her from Italy to say that her employer died, this happened also with another employer: when the caregiver leaves, the elderly person remains on her/his own and then dies. The elderly live a very lonely life here. In Italy family life is driven by materialistic values, there is little Christian love, it is an empty life. (Diego, Peruvian, 63, Genoa)

The interviews with our younger and single informants told a very different story. These men spoke about paid domestic/care work in straightforward economic terms as a source of income and tended to abstain from providing emotional labour. Luis, who cared for an elderly man with dementia, suffered intensely from the emotional and physical costs of his job, leading him to experience depression and psychosomatic problems. The elderly employer's children visited rarely and limited their own role to paying Luis' salary and giving him money to do the shopping. All the work of caring and cleaning was delegated to Luis and another Latin American man. They also expected him to give injections of insulin. He should have not done this, but the private nurse did not come often enough.

Our data bring us to consider how, similarly to what happen to migrant women, migrant men also find themselves to be assigned considerable load of responsibilities by the elderly's family. However, we observed that migrants are more often inclined to maintain a distance from the emotional and psychological demands of care labour, although this is not always an easy task and partly varies accordingly to migrant men's age. Young men tend to feel oppressed by the demands of care labour, and contrast the many constraints and the distress involved in this job with their personal condition, stating how being unmarried and without a family would have allowed them to enjoy social life in the new context. The case of Lius analysed below is symptomatic of the tension experienced by the young migrant men we interview between, on the one hand, the hyper-responsibilisation of the migrant worker in providing care for elderly employers and, on the

other, the worker's struggle to carve out spaces of emotional distance. Our interview with Luis is also representative of how live-in migrant domestic/care workers are personally affected by the death of their elderly employer. Just like female workers, male live-in caregivers can become almost the only person who interacts with the elderly employer. This one-to-one relationship with an elderly, lonely, and ill person can involve a process of self-identification as a 'substitute relative' for the employer. This concurs with research findings on female care workers who feel personally responsible for the people cared for and find it difficult to draw clear boundaries between work time and non-work time; this includes employees working in institutional settings (Angeloff 2000). Further, like many of his female colleagues (Degiuli 2007; Scrinzi 2013), Luis resented the fact that his employers did not recognise the emotional side of the work. Their only concern was for the (visible) material aspects such as cleaning, and they did not seem to appreciate the difficulty of combining both kinds of work. Luis' interview shows that the hyper-visibility of cleaning chores applies to migrant male care workers too. In this respect, Luis' account also suggests that working as a caregiver can be personally devaluing, not so much for being a 'women's job', but rather because of the lack of any social visibility and of significance accorded to the work by the family themselves. Because of the neglect in which the elderly man was left by his family, the work was experienced by this caregiver as meaningless—as merely waiting for the man's death. In Luis' experience, the devaluing of elderly care work seems to be closely related to the social invisibility of the elderly; the care worker is recruited simply to maintain a situation, which will eventually come to its end. In this respect, nurturant care work for the elderly assumes the traits of invisible 'back room' social reproductive work. For example, Glenn (1992) found that racialised women are overrepresented in both private and public settings, such as cleaning, while white women tend to be employed in more visible and relational tasks involving face-to-face interaction with the public. Luis also complained about the unwillingness of his employer's family to provide him with equipment and to help him to take care of the elderly gentleman. For example, when lifting him, Luis had to rely solely on his physical strength. Besides facilitating the physical work of caring, having access to proper equipment might also have eased the indignity of doing 'women's work':

I had to pull him up with my arms' strength, which was dangerous both for me and for him because I could have injured my spinal column, which almost happened once, because I almost [dropped] him on the floor and in trying to grab him I felt a strong pain in my back. There was nothing to care for an elderly dependent person in the flat, no devices to lift him, nothing, that was precisely my work. [...] This job doesn't give you any value, you feel degraded because it's like they were throwing the elderly person at you, you are the one expected to sort out something which nobody is bothered about... no, actually it's not about sorting out anything, you maintain simply this situation, there is no motivation, either for you or the person cared-for [...] If you do only cleaning you have more autonomy because you don't have to be at the disposal of someone who needs [*emphasis*] you. In this job instead you have to take care of the house while at the same time you also have to take care of the elderly person and he needs constant attention, you need to keep an eye on him at all times because sometimes he would go out without telling me while I was cleaning the kitchen and he can't walk properly so I had to go and find him in the street. It was worse than dealing with a child, you could not leave him for a moment. So the cleaning and the caring were almost incompatible chores and this gave me great anxiety because many times a neighbour called me to say that he was on the stairs, he was not well in his head. At some point I got frightened and told his children that my job would be cleaning, nothing beyond that. His son came every now and then but only to control my work, he would come and tell me: here it is dirty, while I had this anxiety that something bad [would happen] to the elderly employer. (Luis, Peruvian, 30, Milan)

The fact that he was almost entirely responsible for the elderly person, combined with the isolation in the private sphere and the sense of meaninglessness and invisibility of his work, eventually led Luis to take a step back. He told his employers that his job was only to clean the house and circumscribed his role in the home, pulling out of caring chores and equating the care relationship purely to its economic value. The emotional cost of the job being too severe, Luis eventually managed to adopt a 'managerial' (Calasanti and King 2007: 520) and emotionally detached attitude to care work, emphasising that the attitude needed to perform such work involves being emotionally distant and 'not caring'.

That experience was insane... the main thing is not to give a damn, if you are not involved then you can go on until the end, but personally it made

me feel depressed. Even if he was difficult to deal with, still it was like dealing with my father or my grandfather, and it gave me a sense of bleakness to live like that, to leave him at the weekends... it is all about money, if you don't care you can cope with that [...]. For me it was a regular income so it was all right, but when it was over I felt totally relieved, as if I were liberated, I am sorry about that but it was just like that, an intimate feeling, a strange feeling which I had never had before. [...] It is one of those devalued jobs... caring for someone is different from cleaning. Cleaning jobs are different, my mother too stopped working as a caregiver because you always find extreme situations, people in despair who are entrusted to other people in despair... desperate migrants who have to care for other desperate people, it is unbelievable. After that job, I did not want any other elderly care jobs. (Luis, Peruvian, 30, Milan)

Thus, while some of the informants are involved in providing nurturant work, performing emotional labour, and identifying with the work of caring, others act as 'managerial' caregivers and display an 'instrumental' relationship to the job (Hanlon 2012). These interviews echo existing studies, showing that female as well as male migrants can deploy both 'masculine' (non-nurturant and emotionally distant) and 'feminine' (nurturant and involving emotional labour) styles of providing paid care and domestic work. For example, female Chicana domestic workers in the USA (Romero 2002) negotiate and maintain informal agreements with their employers that they will not be assigned specific tasks, and set up boundaries in the job description. Additional tasks, if requested, are paid for separately. Among their strategies to gain control over the labour process in their negotiations with the employers, these workers also attempt to create a business-like relationship with the employers by defining themselves as 'expert cleaners', resisting requests for deference and the extraction of emotional labour. In this respect, they have attempted to create a work environment where they, as specialised cleaners, had control and autonomy over their work process, unsupervised by their employers, in a manner similar to their male colleagues who are employed to do specific tasks such as home repairs and maintenance or carpet cleaning. Solari's study (2006) on Eastern European migrants, discussed above, presents similar findings. This literature shows that differences in the migrants' discursive strategies in negotiating their

involvement in ‘women’s work’ cross-cut gender; in Solari’s research, they were instead defined by ethnicity and the role played by the different local ‘religious settlement institutions’ (2006: 304) to which the migrants belonged and which acted as brokers of migration and of entry into employment.

In our data too the Catholic institutional and discursive context, mediating the entry of these men into the job, plays a key role in providing repertoires which enable our older and married informants to make sense of their jobs and elaborate alternative interpretations of their feminised, devalued work, turning it into a valued occupation for a Christian believer. Such narratives enable these workers to identify positively with their jobs, negotiating the demeaning of their masculinity and the class demotion involved in working as a caregiver. Our data nonetheless also suggest that at least some (younger and single) migrant men avoid the ‘paradigm of vocation’ and manage to create and maintain a distance between their work and domesticity, which echoes studies on masculinity and unpaid care.

Migrant Men’s Professional Mobility in Reproductive Labour

One further question needs to be tackled in relation to the men’s trajectories and professional mobility in and out of the sector. Is gender segregation reproduced in the sector? Do our qualitative data confirm a trend of migrant men’s temporary presence in the sector for the purposes of regularisation, as suggested by the statistical data (Picchi 2012) presented in Chap. 2? Do our data suggest that it is easier for men than it is for migrant women to quit the sector and find a different job? Scrinzi’s study on France (2005) indicates that men can settle into a job while at the same time attempting to maintain a distance from its ‘contaminating’ elements, for instance, by being secretive on certain matters with their family members left behind. In a partly different way, some of our informants seemed to be reconciled with their occupation. The interview below is exemplary of a tendency among the men we interviewed in reflecting on

how, over time, they start to be more inclined to appreciate the positive sides of women's work:

I have been suffering quite a lot in accepting this occupation, but now I am overall happy. It is more secure than others, I have less troubles and I do not see anything wrong in doing this job. (Francisco, Peru, 46, Perugia)

For our informants, entering the job involved a complex process of renegotiating their masculinity. Through this process they not only came to accept their new occupation; to some extent, but they also 'reinvented' themselves:

I have discovered new aspects of myself, I mean being able to care and to help families, I could not think of myself in these terms before but now things have changed, and I am not ashamed of telling even my family back home what I am doing here in order to send them money! (Paul, Kerala, 41, Perugia)

The interviews show that various factors shape the relationship of migrant men to their jobs and their professional mobility in diverse ways. Firstly, rather than being clearly defined by 'cultural' understandings of the work of men coming from different countries, the men's expectations and subjective relationship to their job were defined by their migration history. For men who arrived through female networks and family reunion, expectations about the kind of work which they would be likely to find in Italy arose from their connections, their female relatives already employed in the sector. This contrasted with the experience, for example, of the illegal Sri Lankan man who arrived, having been employed as a cook on a boat anchored in an Italian port. Secondly, family status and age shaped not only the informants' subjective relationship to the work and the discursive strategies deployed to make sense of it, but also their trajectories and employment patterns. Single, younger informants combined their work in care giving and domestic service with casual, precarious jobs in other less sex-typed areas, such as catering, as well as with odd jobs (e.g., one of them performed as an extra in a theatre show). Instead, married men appeared to be 'stuck' in the job. Miguel had no choice but to work as

a co-resident worker in order to earn a salary, which, combined with his wife's salary, would enable him to sustain his family. Diego could not find anything except care work on an hourly basis to complement his wife's salary in order to maintain his family. He was unemployed at the time of his interview and had already been a temporarily unemployed 'man of the home' in Peru, while his wife worked full-time:

My wife worked in a public hospital but then there was the privatisation policy... She has worked as a nurse and this helped her to find a job as a caregiver. In Peru I lived with my father and my children and I worked every now and then when they called me for a job, my wife sent home remittances and I earned something when I could. I worked at the Ministry for Agriculture and in a cooperative of agricultural products. We have four children and they all studied thanks to my wife who provided economic support for all the expenses in the family. I could not go somewhere else far away to seek employment because I had to stay with the children, when my wife left to go to Italy the eldest son was 20 years old but the youngest was 8 years old [...]. Here in Italy I have done some cleaning in a care home for the elderly and some home maintenance and repairs as a handyman for a family. I have tried to find jobs to contribute to the family's expenses, but nothing has worked out, so now I am unemployed. (Diego, Peruvian, 63, Genoa)

The juridical status of our informants largely impacted their professional trajectories. Many of them had obtained a permit of stay, thanks to regularisation in their employment in domestic service. Some, particularly married men with family responsibilities, remained in their jobs in order to maintain economic stability. Others tried to move into a different occupation as soon as they were regularised, but found that this was not always easy, particularly after 2008.¹ If compared to migrant men in more masculinised occupation within the IDRL, for example, handymen or gardeners (Kilkey et al. 2013; Ramirez and Hondagneu-Sotelo 2009), our informants employed in feminised occupations were less in the position to command higher salaries and to gain power in negotiating employment conditions. Ethnographic findings (Chell-Robinson 2000) on Filipinos in Italy indicate that when they migrate abroad to join their

¹ See the analysis developed in Chaps. 2 and 3.

wives, these men are 'newcomers' in their jobs, entering them at their lower echelons, as temporary workers or replacements (at least initially). In this respect, their position is similar to that of other 'newcomers' in domestic service, such as migrants belonging to recently arrived groups who have not previously been employed in the sector. Scrinzi's (2005) findings on Filipino men in France go in the same direction, suggesting that migrant men tend to enter their jobs as temporary workers or replacements. As long as they are undocumented and do not have good linguistic skills, these men experience juridical and economic dependence on their female kin. However, our data also show how, over time, migrant men are also able to build additional and complementary skills if compared to their female counterpart; this is done, for instance, by combining female tasks with handymen work within employers' household. As discussed in Chap. 5, by acquiring language competencies and being able to offer multiple services (feminised and masculinised) to employers, migrant men can also progressively achieve better salaries and also come to be better valued than migrant women. There is also ethnographic evidence that, in Italy, undocumented migrant men tend to enter domestic/care jobs temporarily in order to regularise their juridical position, leaving these occupations after a few years (Sarti 2010). Migrant men's narratives suggest that they adopt a pragmatic approach to their jobs, perceiving them as a temporary opportunity to earn money and as a means to achieve legal status. They see their work in the sector as a compromise or transition (Scrinzi 2010). In addition, their narratives show that they aspire towards more traditional jobs in the industry, to setting up their own business, or working in catering or in hotels, which would involve similar tasks but in a public setting (Näre 2010). The location of migrant men within women-centred networks overlaps with the fact that, at least for the first years in the immigration country, they may earn less than their wives and may be dependent on their spouse's wage to support the family. Our findings partly concur with those of other studies. Bonpart-zoni (2011) reports, for instance, that migrant men in Los Angeles are not able to earn a family wage. However, this does not necessarily challenge the gendered divisions of work, as women continue either to work part-time or as housewives, with deep implications for family precariousness. We found this varied according to the temporal point in the migration trajectory.

In the first few years after their arrival, our informants frequently entered lower-paid, part-time work, while their wives were usually in full-time and live-in forms of employment. This arrangement meets different individual and family requirements. Married men are initially more reluctant to enter into full-time and live-in positions and try to devote more time to learning the language, attending training courses in local parishes or associations. They also claim time for themselves to find other forms of employment.

Nevertheless, we note how this attitude should not be generalised. Other informants were also keen to recognise that their occupation had changed their self-perception and their personal evaluation of certain tasks. In some instances, they were keen to question the naturalising association between, on the one hand, 'womanhood' and, on the other, 'caring tasks', and to appreciate the positive sides of reproductive labour in terms of housing benefits, safety against racism, and networking with the immigration society. As Chaps. 6 and 7 will show, our informants' perception and experience of paid domestic/care work also varied considerably accordingly to their migratory path, family history, as well as across class, religious, ethnic, and generational differences.

Conclusion

This chapter has explored the experiences of migrant men entering domestic/care service jobs including paid elderly care work. Our data show that female co-ethnic and native networks, especially revolving around Catholic institutions in both the home country and the immigration society, play a major role in channelling migrant men into these jobs as well as in providing them with the discursive resources, which some of them use to make sense of their employment in a 'women's job' and the downgrading of social mobility involved in international migration. Catholic 'intermediary actors' (Scrinzi 2013: 25) play an ambivalent role to the extent that they both support these men and produce racialised and domesticated notions of masculinity. Migrant men employed in paid care and domestic work, who rely on these networks to secure jobs

and opportunities for regularisation, may negotiate respectability by mobilising ideas of Christianity and Catholicism. These men perform emotional labour and experience emotional burn-out as well as a sense of lack of respect and dignity from others, which also characterises the experience of female workers. Our data also suggest that the relationship of men to paid care work is shaped by diverse patterns of migration (distinguishing between men arrived through family reunion and female kin networks on the one hand, and men arrived through other networks on the other hand) as well as by their family status, age, and life-cycle. More particularly, younger single men managed to achieve greater professional mobility in and out of reproductive labour and to maintain a distance between their work and domesticity. They entered this job when in need of employment and they would quit it whenever a better opportunity came up. Nonetheless, the involvement of men in paid care work is not only defined by a 'managerial' (Calasanti and King 2007: 520) style, keeping the 'dirty work' and emotional labour at arm's length. Some of our informants were actively involved in performing emotional labour and suffered from the lack of recognition of this work. More particularly, as the interviews with older men with family responsibilities indicate, new ideas around masculinity and care are forged through the involvement of migrant men in these jobs. In this respect, their narratives challenge essentialist view of reproductive labour as 'feminine'.

Further, based on our data, it seems that migrant men are able to access a wider range of occupations than women, working as drivers, gardeners, porters, and handymen, among other roles. Also, while many men enter the job as 'newcomers' working in the lowest echelons of the sector, over time they achieve better working conditions, including through acquiring legal juridical status, linguistic skills, and additional skills at work. Thus, men experience greater internal upward mobility than women within the same sector. Nonetheless, compared with men in other feminised jobs, the beneficial effects of masculinity appear to be limited for our migrant informants. As the following chapter shows, however, this depends to a considerable extent on the workers' capacity to withdraw from stereotypically threatening representations of migrant foreignness and to establish relations of trust (and dependence) with their employers.

Bibliography

- Andall, J. 2000. *Gender, migration and domestic service*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Anderson, B. 2000. *Doing the dirty work? The global politics of domestic labour*. London: Zed Books.
- Angeloff, T. 2000. La double marginalité du temps de travail des aides à domicile. *Cahiers lillois d'économie et de sociologie* 34: 13–38.
- Applegate, J.S., and L.W. Kaye. 1993. Male elder caregivers. In *Doing 'women's work': Men in non-traditional occupations*, ed. C. Williams. London: Sage.
- Bakan, A.B., and D. Stasiulis. 1994. Foreign domestic worker policy in Canada and the social boundaries of modern citizenship. *Science and Society* 58(1): 7–33.
- Bartolomei, M.R. 2010. Migrant male domestic workers in comparative perspective: Four case studies from Italy, India, Ivory Coast, and Congo. *Men and Masculinities* 13(1): 87–110.
- Batnitzky, A., L. McDowell, and S. Dyer. 2009. Flexible and strategic masculinities: The working lives and gendered identities of Male migrants in London. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 35(8): 1275–1293.
- Bonifazi, C., and D. Sabatino. 2003. Albanian migration to Italy: What official data and survey results can reveal. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 29(6): 967–995.
- Bonizzoni, P. 2011. Civic stratification, stratified reproduction and family solidarity. In *Gender, generations and the family in international migration*, ed. A. Kraler, E. Kofman, M. Kohli, and C. Schmoll. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- Brod, H. 1994. Some thoughts on some histories of some masculinities: Jews and other stories. In *Theorizing masculinities*, ed. D.S. David and R. Brannon. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Calasanti, T., and N. King. 2007. Taking women's work "like a man". *The Gerontologist* 47(4): 516–527.
- Castro, M.G. 1989. What is bought and sold in domestic service? The case of Bogota: A critical review. In *Muchachas no more: Household workers in Latin America and the Caribbean*, ed. E.M. Chaney and M. Garcia Castro. Philadelphia: Temple Press.
- Chell-Robinson, V. 2000. Female migrants in Italy. In *Gender and migration in southern Europe: Women on the move*, ed. F. Anthias and G. Lazaridis. Oxford: Berg.
- Connell, R.W., and J.M. Messerschmidt. 2005. Hegemonic masculinity: Rethinking the concept. *Gender & Society* 19(6): 829–859.

- Cox, R. 2012. Gendered work and migration regimes. In *Transnational migration, gender and rights: Advances in ecopolitics*, vol. 10, ed. R. Aslaug Sollund and L. Leonard. Emerald: Bingley.
- Cross, S., and B. Bagilhole. 2002. Girls' jobs for the boys? Men, masculinity and non-traditional occupations. *Gender Work and Organization* 9(2): 204–226.
- Datta, K., C.M. McIlwaine, J. Herbert, Y. Evans, J. May, and J. Wills. 2009. Men on the move: Narratives of migration and work among low-paid migrant men in London. *Social & Cultural Geography* 10(8): 853–873.
- Degiuli, F. 2007. A job with no boundaries. Home elderly care work in Italy. *European Journal of Women's Studies* 14(3): 193–207.
- Donato, K.M., D. Gabaccia, J. Holdaway, M. Manalansan IV, and P.R. Pessar. 2006. A glass half full? Gender in migration studies. *International Migration Review* 40(1): 3–26.
- Duffy, M. 2005. Reproducing labour inequalities: Challenges for feminists conceptualizing care at the intersections of gender, race and class. *Gender & Society* 19(1): 66–82.
- Durin, S. 2013. Varones en el servicio doméstico en el Área Metropolitana de Monterrey. *Trayectorias* 15(37): 53–72.
- Elrick, T., and E. Lewandowska. 2008. Matching and making labour demand and supply: Agents in polish migrant networks of domestic elderly care in Germany and Italy. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 34(5): 717–734.
- Finch, J., and D. Groves. 1983. *A labour of love: Women, work and caring*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Gallo, E. 2005. Unorthodox sisters: Gender relations and generational change in Malayali transnational marriages. *Indian Journal of Gender Studies* 12(1–2): 217–251.
- Gallo, E. 2006. Italy is not a good place for men. Narratives of place, marriage and masculinity among Malayali migrants in Rome. *Global Networks* 6(4): 159–174.
- Gallo, E., and F. Scrinzi. 2015. Outsourcing elderly care to migrant workers: The impact of gender and class on the experience of male employers. *Sociology*. Online before print 15 Apr 2015. Available at: <http://soc.sagepub.com/content/early/2015/04/28/0038038515573688.full.pdf>
- Garcia Castro, M. 1989. What is bought and sold in domestic service? The case of Bogota: A critical review. In *Muchachas no more: Household workers in Latin America and the Caribbean*, ed. E.M. Chaney and M. Garcia Castro. Philadelphia: Temple Press.

- George, S. 2000. "Dirty nurses" and "men who play". In *Global ethnography: Forces, connections, and imaginations in a postmodern world*, ed. M. Burawoy, J.A. Blum, S. George, Z. Gille, and M. Thayer. Berkeley/Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Glenn, E.N. 1992. From servitude to service work: Historical continuities in the racial division of paid reproductive labour. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 18(1): 1–43.
- Gorban, D., and A. Tizziani. 2014. Inferiorization and defence: The construction of social hierarchies in the context of paid domestic labour. *Women's Studies International Forum* 46: 54–62.
- Gregson, N., and M. Lowe. 1994. *Servicing the middle-classes: Class, gender and waged domestic labour in contemporary Britain*. London: Routledge.
- Hanlon, N. 2012. *Masculinities, care and equality*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Herbert, J. 2008. Masculinity and migration. In *Gendering migration. Masculinity, femininity and ethnicity in post-war Britain*, ed. L. Ryan and W. Webster. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Herzfeld, M. 2001. Irony and power. In *Irony in actions*, ed. J.W. Fernandez and M.T. Huber. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Huang, S., and B.S.A. Yeoh. 2003. The difference gender makes: State policy and contract migrant workers in Singapore. *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal* 12(1–2): 75–98.
- Hunt, S. 2002. Neither here nor there: The construction of identities and boundary maintenance of West African Pentecostals. *Sociology* 36(1): 147–169.
- Keeler, S. 2008. No job for a grown man: Transformation in labour and masculinity among Kurdish migrants in London. In *Gendering migration. Masculinity, femininity and ethnicity in post-war Britain*, ed. L. Ryan and W. Webster. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Kilkey, M. 2010. Men and domestic labour: A missing link in the global care chain. *Men and Masculinities* 13(1): 126–149.
- Kilkey, M., D. Perrons, A. Plomien, P. Hondagneu-Sotelo, and H. Ramirez. 2013. *Gender, migration and domestic work. Masculinities, male labour and fathering in the UK and USA*. Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Kilkey, M., A. Plomien, and D. Perrons. 2013. Migrant men's fathering narratives, practices and projects in national and transnational spaces: Recent Polish male migrants to London. *International Migration* 52(1): 178–191.
- King, R., and J. Vullnetari. 2009. The intersection of gender and generation in Albanian migration, remittances and transnational care. *Human Geography* 91(1): 19–38.
- Lada, E. 2011. Les recompositions du travail d'aide à domicile en France. *Formation Emploi* 115: 9–23.

- Lupton, B. 2006. Explaining men's entry into female-concentrated occupations. *Gender, Work and Organization* 13(2): 103–128.
- Lutz, H. 2011. Care, gender and migration: Towards a theory of transnational domestic work migration in Europe. *Journal of Contemporary European Studies* 19(3): 349–364.
- Macklin, A. 1992. Foreign domestic worker: Surrogate housewife or mail order servant? *McGill Law Journal* 37(3): 681–760.
- Macklin, A. 1994. On the inside looking in: Foreign domestic workers in Canada. In *Maid in the market: Women's paid domestic labour*, ed. W. Giles and S. Arat-Koc, 13–39. Halifax, NS: Fernwood.
- Marchetti, S., and F. Scrinzi. 2014. Gendered and racialised constructions of work in bureaucratised care services in Italy. Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies Research Papers. European University Institute. 2014/123. Available online at http://cadmus.eui.eu/bitstream/handle/1814/33879/RSCAS_2014_123.pdf?sequence=1
- Matthews, G., and M. Ruhs. 2007. Are you being served? Employer demand for migrant labour in the UK's hospitality sector.. Working Paper No. 51. University of Oxford, COMPAS. Available at: <https://www.compas.ox.ac.uk/publications/working-papers/wp-07-51/>. Accessed 13 Apr 2015.
- McGregor, J. 2007. Joining the BBC (British Bottom Cleaners): Zimbabwean migrants and the UK care industry. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 33(5): 801–824.
- McIlwaine, C., D. Kavita, Y. Evans, J. Herbert, J. May, and J. Wills. 2006. Gender and ethnic identities among low-paid migrant workers in London. Working Paper, Department of Geography, Queen Mary, University of London. Available at: <http://www.geog.qmul.ac.uk/globalcities/reports/docs/workingpaper4.pdf>
- Näre, L. 2010. Sri Lankan men working as cleaners and carers. *Men and Masculinities* 13(1): 65–86.
- Parreñas, R. 2001. *Servants of globalisation: Women, migration, and domestic work*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Picchi, S. 2012. Le badanti invisibili anche alla crisi? *InGenere*. May. Available at: <http://www.ingenere.it/articoli/le-badanti-invisibili-anche-alla-crisi>
- Pringle, R. 1988. *Secretaries talk*. London: Verso.
- Ramirez, H., and P. Hondagneu-Sotelo. 2009. Mexican immigrant gardeners: Entrepreneurs or exploited workers? *Social Problems* 56(1): 70–88.
- Rollins, J. 1985. *Between women: Domestic workers and their employers*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Romero, M. 2002. *Maid in the USA*. London: Routledge.

- Russell, R. 2001. In sickness and in health: A qualitative study of elderly men who care for wives with dementia. *Journal of Ageing Studies* 15(4): 351–367.
- Russell, R. 2007. Men doing “women’s work:” Elderly men caregivers and the gendered construction of care work. *Journal of Men’s Studies* 15(1): 1–18.
- Sarti, R. 2009. La costruzione dell’identità di genere nei lavoratori domestici. In *Badanti and Co*, ed. A. Catanzaro and A. Colombo. Bologna: Il Mulino.
- Sarti, R. 2010. Fighting for masculinity: Male domestic workers, gender and migration in Italy from the late nineteenth century to the present. *Men and Masculinities* 13(1): 16–43.
- Sassen, S. 1991. *The global city: New York, London, Tokyo*. Princeton, NY: Princeton University Press.
- Scrinzi, F. 2005. Les “hommes de ménage” ou comment aborder la féminisation des migrations en interviewant des hommes. *Migrations Société* 99(100): 229–240.
- Scrinzi, F. 2009. “Cleaning and ironing...with a smile”. Migrant workers in the care industry in France’. *Journal of Workplace Rights* 14(3): 271–292.
- Scrinzi, F. 2010. Masculinities and the international division of care: Migrant male domestic workers in Italy and France. *Men and Masculinities* 13(1): 44–64.
- Scrinzi, F. 2013. *Genre, migrations et emplois de care en France et en Italie*. Paris: Editions Pétra.
- Sherman, R. 2011. Beyond interaction: Customer influence on housekeeping and room service work in hotels. *Work, Employment and Society* 25(1): 19–33.
- Shinozaki, K. 2005. Making sense of contradictions: Examining negotiation strategies of “contradictory class mobility” in Filipina/Filipino domestic workers in Germany. In *Arbeitsmigration. WanderarbeiterInnen auf dem Weltmarkt der Arbeitskraft*, ed. T. Geisen. Frankfurt: IKO-Verlag.
- Simpson, R. 2004. Masculinity at work: The experiences of men in female dominated occupations. *Work, Employment and Society* 18(2): 349–368.
- Solari, C. 2006. Professionals and saints. How immigrant careworkers negotiate gender identities at work. *Gender and Society* 20(3): 301–331.
- Thompson Jr., E.H. 2000. Gendered caregiving of husbands and sons. In *Intersections of aging*, ed. E.W. Markson and L.A. Hollis-Sawyer. Roxbury: Los Angeles.
- Thompson Jr., E.H. 2002. What’s unique about men’s caregiving? In *Men caregivers: Theory, research and service implications*, ed. B.J. Kramer and E.H. Thompson Jr.. New York: Springer.
- Williams, C.L. 1989. *Gender differences at work: Women and men in non-traditional occupations*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Williams, C.L. (ed.). 1993. *Doing ‘women’s work’: Men in nontraditional occupations*. London: Sage.
- Williams, C.L. 1995. *Still a man’s world: Men who do ‘women’s work’*. London: University of California Press.

5

Masculinities and Work Relations in the Home

Employers' demand has been recognised as crucial in shaping gendered employment practices (Mahler and Pessar 2006) and in moulding patterns of discrimination and segregation in receiving contexts (MacKenzie and Forde 2009; Lopez-Garza 2001; Chavez 1992). However, at least in the field of the IDRL, the demand side has received scant attention (Triandafyllidou and Marchetti 2014a) and has mainly focused on female employers (Gallo and Scrinzi 2015). Within the IDRL, the term 'employers' refers to a highly internally differentiated category, depending on the type of service provided (e.g., care and cleaning), the type of family, and the specific work arrangements (e.g., full-time) (Triandafyllidou and Marchetti 2014b). These analytical differentiations enhance our understanding of how employers perceive their role and employment relations according to the tasks the worker is expected to perform and of how this varies across gender and class difference. Employers are also increasingly differentiated in terms of class. While the hiring of cleaners, gardeners, and/or caretakers has traditionally been a privilege of the upper classes (Sarti 2006), the combined effects of state cash benefits and available cheap/flexible migrant labour have made the paid services, and specifically elderly care, more accessible by

the middle and the lower-middle classes (Williams 2010; Näre 2013a; Da Roit 2007; Sarti 2008).¹

In this chapter we explore how middle-class employers construct gendered working relations with male migrant workers and how the former's family relations are reworked in the process. We focus mainly on the experiences of male employers, while also observing those of female employers. Partly drawing from a distinction between bourgeoisie, white-collar, and urban working class commonly used for understanding stratification in contemporary Italy (Barone 2009; Schizzerotto 2013),² we identify our employers in an internally differentiated middle-class milieu of skilled non-manual workers, which includes teachers and civil servants, as well as small-scale business owners, shopkeepers, and private employees.³ Among our informants, the outsourcing of tasks like gardening, driving, and caretaking (done by a janitor or porter)⁴ and, to some extent, childcare and handyman work were often considered as the privilege of the upper bourgeoisie, whereas cleaning and elderly care were viewed as an integral part of a more moderate middle-class lifestyle. Significantly, the hiring of a migrant worker was determinant in enhancing or consolidating class status, by partly emulating their upper-class counterparts (Hondagneu-Sotelo 2001) and distancing them from lower strata. However, our informants also admitted their anxieties regarding correctly managing their resources (cf. Dickey 2011) and reflected on the compromises in hiring a foreign worker. This situation of relative uncertainty, which partly results from difficult and precarious labour situations in contemporary Italy, influences the way in which employment relations are conceived and experienced.

¹ While we acknowledge the outsourcing of care labour has become less confined to an affluent professional class (Lundstrom 2012), we have also shown elsewhere that, even in the field of elderly care, class continues to influence people's ability to access different home-based services (Gallo and Scrinzi 2015).

² There categories are based on a combination of class of origin and educational attainment, and account for the rigidity of the Italian class system relative to that in other European countries.

³ For a broader analysis of employers across class difference that also takes into account the upper and working classes, see Gallo and Scrinzi (2015).

⁴ The gendered nature of jobs like janitor (caretaker for a residential building) or porter (hotel caretaker) is analysed in Chap. 7.

In the context of this analysis, we refer to ‘employers’ as those subjects who recruit, manage, and supervise a worker either for the direct consumption of a service or for the supply of services to a third party, usually their elderly parents/parents-in-law. We take into account two main typologies of work: cleaning and elderly care; 19 employed cleaners and 16 employed caregivers. The age of the employers in our sample ranged from mid-30s to late 60s. Our informants had different family situations. Out of the 35 employers, 17 were married, 9 were single, and 9 were divorced or widowed. Specific work arrangements varied considerably not only according to the task but also across time. Part-time employment was much more common in the case of cleaning services, whereas the hiring of a *badante* more frequently required the migrant worker to accept full-time and live-in solutions. In many cases, however, work conditions could change according to shifting family needs; part-time employment could be easily transformed into a full-time job in cases of family emergency or improved economic conditions, and the opposite could also take place if, for example, full-time care was no longer required, the worker changed his or her family status, or employers’ economic conditions worsened.

The chapter stresses how the analysis of male employers needs to take into account both the contextual dimension of employment relations, including hiring, management, and supervision, and the more subjective dimension of engaging with the relational and emotional side of outsourcing household-based tasks to a foreign worker. It argues for the importance of looking at the *temporal* dimension implied in the transformation of the household into a workplace, even if this process is not always recognised by employers (Moras 2008; Anderson 2007), and how this both mirrors and induces transformations in family gendered relations as well as in masculinity ideologies and experiences. By also comparing the different involvement of male employers in household-based labour across different tasks, we lay the ground for a discussion of masculinity and emotional labour. We explore the extent to which employers’ ideas of autonomy from and/or dependence on their employees shape gendered work relations, and the employers’ expectations in terms of migrant men’s trustworthiness and emotional involvement in comparison to migrant women. Different male employers’ approaches to migrant workers across class differences are further explored in the following section, which deals with the features of

personalistic and/or competitive relations between the two ends of working relations, and how this varies based on the employees' ethnicity.⁵ The final part of the chapter delves into the role played by religion in the racialisation of migrants as enacted by the employers, and in the construction of positive or negative stereotypes that underpin the acceptance or rejection of migrant men within Italian middle-class households.

Becoming Employers: Between Ideologies and Practices

The definition of the category of 'employers' requires us to take into consideration the subjective dimension of assuming new gendered roles within the household. We refer here to the work of self-transformation experienced by many of the employers we spoke with when managing home-based domestic/care services and dealing with the presence of an unknown male subject in the private space. Our data partly concur with the argument that the household arrangements related to the outsourcing of reproductive tasks to migrant workers, supervised mainly by women, end up reproducing the gender order and the traditional gendered division of work (Hondagneu-Sotelo 2001; Moras 2008; Romero 2002; Parreñas 2001). This said, our interviews show that middle-class male employers do not exempt themselves from the tasks involved in the outsourcing of reproductive work and that they emerge as active subjects in framing the terms and conditions in which gendered work relations are established. Our informants reflected on how the entrance of a migrant man into the house, while raising expectations of improved household management, also forced them to reconsider their daily routines and, perhaps more importantly, their 'ways of being and acting'—as one male employer told us—within the home. It is important to note that while employers, particularly men, initially tended to dismiss the impact of hiring a migrant man on their personal lives, during subsequent meetings with us, they

⁵The issue of paternalism is taken up again in Chap. 7, when we explore how connections with middle-upper class Italian employers and with Catholic representatives become determinant in moving out of more feminised occupations.

reflected more openly on the gradual process of adjustment that they, and their families, underwent to cope with the presence of a male worker in the home. This change of attitude partly reflects the shifting relationships established by the informants with us as female researchers. Female employers more straightforwardly established a sort of complicity with us, partly based on the perception of sharing similar concerns about how to manage work, childcare, household management, and filial duties towards ageing parents. The attitudes of male employers were initially more defensive, and swung between downplaying the relevance of the topic and commenting ironically on our interest in criticising how 'men were managing the house'. Over time, however, this attitude gave way to more relaxed and substantial conversations about how outsourcing domestic and/or care tasks had changed male employers' perceptions of their household role and had led them to become engaged in building a relationship with the migrant worker. Indeed, a focus on the temporal dimension of outsourcing domestic/care tasks serves to unravel the tension underpinning the relation between the *ideology* and the *practice* of becoming an employer.

Male employers' involvement in the process should be considered by referring both to the specific tasks the worker is required to perform and to the increased anxieties generated by the hiring of a migrant man rather than a migrant woman. In the case of hiring a part-time worker for cleaning jobs, a more pronounced division of labour tends to be established, with our male informants rejecting the role of employer at home and delegating this to their wives instead. Statements like 'I would not wish to be involved', 'my wife is better placed for this', or 'I would not know where to start from in imparting instructions' reflect men's general detachment from the organisational and managerial tasks of supervising a migrant worker. This attitude was often made meaningful by referring to the limited time the worker spent in the home, which usually overlapped with the employer's working hours, and to the lack of space and time to interact with the employee. In these circumstances, our informants tended to assign to their working status a major role in detaching them from domestic issues. Unmarried informants, who could not rely on the support of a family member to allow them to detach from the 'dirty work' completely, tended to minimise their degree of involvement with

the worker. The tension between the ideological and the practical sides of employment relations is clearly evident in the interviews. Stefano, a 45-year-old sales representative, reflected on the need to engage directly with the hiring of a migrant worker after his divorce:

All the household routine has changed... before it was Carla who looked after it, but after we separated I had to cope with the personal effects of the divorce and to organize things by myself. I have hired a man because I have long working hours and travel a lot, and cannot follow up all the issues within the house. So I need someone mainly to clean but also who keeps an eye on the technical issues of the flat, to pay the bills and so on. A man is better placed for this... My friends have made fun of me, after [the] divorce, telling me that I could have found a sexy foreign women, like those Romanians or Ukrainians that are around... but you see, these women are after money, they want to find a good partner and settle, and I am not in the right period for this, and do not want dependent people who [test] my limits with ambivalent behaviour! Diego, my Ecuadorian helper, is discrete, independent, he does his jobs and that's it. If it was a female worker she would have said 'I am not able to do this and that' and would limit herself to cleaning... With Diego [it] is different, he does everything. When I can help him I do, we chat once in a while... beyond this, we have our own cordial relationship and yet separate lives... most of the time we do not even meet each other. (Stefano, 45, Perugia)

Some elements of this passage are symptomatic of a wider tendency among male employers to strike a balance between committing to household management and the wish to minimise the terms of their involvement. Changes in personal family life impact the way men like Stefano reconsider their role within the household; coping with the emotional side of divorce combines with the need to find someone to look after the house. Narratives of personal vulnerability are threaded into the adoption of gendered criteria underpinning the recruitment process. Racial and gendered stereotypes are used to depict migrant women as hyper-feminine and as a potential threat to autonomy within the house and in the employer's personal life. This marks a difference between single male employers and single female informants who tended to reject the possibility of hiring a man due to concerns about their personal safety, rather

than personal autonomy.⁶ Conversely, migrant men are not only deemed to potentially bring with them additional benefits like the ability to do handyman work or heavy physical labour (while female employees are seen as ‘naturally’ limited to lighter cleaning tasks). Hiring a migrant man also allows the employer to minimise the degree of social interaction and mutual dependence, which, in principle, is not expected to go beyond informal conversation and occasional support. Overall, and in comparison to female employers, in the case of cleaning labour, the outsourcing of cleaning tasks is made meaningful by our male informants less in terms of competing family responsibilities, like having more time to devote to childcare, and more in terms of dealing with work commitments or unexpected family situations. The preference ascribed to the selection of a migrant man for cleaning work rests on the shared assumption that a well-instructed male worker can combine more varied skills and can more easily be transformed into a handyman. Yet, in this context, the outsourcing of reproductive tasks substantially challenges neither the gendered division of work nor male employers’ perceptions of their own masculinity (see also Kilkey et al. 2013). Our informants tended to perceive their limited involvement in managing employment relations with migrant domestic labourers as imposed to an extent by exogenous circumstances. They tended to admit that, if possible, they would have left the burden of doing so to a female relative, and questioned their own role within the family relatively rarely.

A more compelling need to rethink gendered roles within the house and masculine ideals emerges in the case of employers’ outsourcing of elderly care work. This is partly due to the fact that paid care cannot entirely substitute for informal care, and that the outsourcing of these tasks remains highly dependent on the establishment of a relationship between the worker, the person cared for, and the latter’s kinship network (Da Roit 2007). In this context, our informants stressed that the selection of a ‘good worker’ was a delicate and important task, which could not be fully delegated to the women of the family. Men’s involvement as employers in the hiring and management work was motivated in different

⁶This also varies in terms of the age and class of our informants, with the preference of hiring a migrant man being more prominent among young men in their 30s and 40s.

ways. Firstly, a distinction was made with respect to the kinship relation with the elderly person. Married employers were adamant in expecting their wives to be engaged to a greater extent if the care beneficiary was a parent or relative of the latter, but admitted that they would delegate the full range of tasks involved in the care of their own parents. Importantly, commitment to providing the elderly person with good care was often conceived as part of men's filial duty and represented an important element in the self-presentation of our middle-class informants. Disinterest in parental care needs was highly condemned and associated with the 'backward' practices of rough and uneducated individuals or seen as the 'degenerative' result of upper-class affluence.

Secondly, an active commitment to the hiring, management, and supervision of the migrant care worker was also accepted by our married informants on the premise that this reduced the risk of conjugal conflict (Gallo and Scrinzi 2015). Male employers were concerned that fully delegating informal care to their wives would charge the latter with an extra burden, especially if their wives were working and/or had other care responsibilities. In this respect, our informants did not believe that the outsourcing of care work exempted them from actively engaging with the role of 'informal care providers' (Kramer 2002: 6–7), that is, with the physical or psychological needs of others. This engagement, as the following case studies indicate, also produced changes in male employers' roles, social relations, and self-perceptions.

In 2005, Simone, 52, was running a stationery shop in Rome with his wife Giulia and had just hired Atilio, a Peruvian man, to look after his impaired father, who was living with the couple. Since Simone and Giulia considered it too expensive to hire Atilio on a full-time basis, they had found an intermediate solution. Atilio worked for the family every morning, for 400 euros per month. He had afternoons and Saturdays free (2–7 pm) to do independent jobs, but had no regular contract. When we first encountered Simone in 2005, he addressed this question quite drily, emphasising the technicalities of the recruitment process and maintaining a distance from the overall change in the family routine:

I mean, it is quite simple... I am working full time, as my wife does. None of us can fully do the job so we need someone else. As long as this man is

clean and honest, that's fine for me... I have not much time to spend on the issue, and I barely spend my time at home. So I explained what he should do and how, and that was it.

However, when we met Simone again in the following months, his attitude had gradually become more self-reflexive:

Since he started to work for us I became more conscious of the needs of my father, of the family, because you have to keep them in mind, listing, and explaining... and this changes your perspective, doesn't it? I mean for my wife maybe [it] is normal because she had always to do so, even before... but for me [it] is not only about telling things to Atilio... [it] is about realizing things you did not really see before: the everyday needs to explain, the doctor... the medicines... as well as to take into consideration Atilio's requests... his presence... you cannot just ignore him when he has finished with his job!

Another informant, Paolo, commented on the need to build good employment relations in order to ensure good quality care for his father:

It is a kind of learning process, for me, for my father and also for Ravi, our worker. Ravi is a young man, he is not very experienced but is learning fast. I have to supervise him, and to make sure that also he is happy... he has to live with my father, and I have the responsibility to ensure that it is done in a good way, and this cannot happen if Ravi is left totally alone or is unhappy because of our behaviour. So I am trying to understand day by day... (Paolo, 51, Rome)

The above passages are illustrative of a wider tendency among our middle-class informants to move from an initial self-depiction as disengaged subjects with respect to home-based management, towards their progressive inclusion in household logics. For many, becoming an employer brought with it the realisation of individual needs on the part of the care beneficiary and also the employee. Employers' involvement in the daily or weekly need to shop for home products, to take note of practical necessities, or to take the care worker into consideration become integral to the way our male informants rethink their role within the home and family

relations. In this respect, men employers make sense of the positive effects of outsourcing reproductive labour in terms of not only having someone to carry out practical tasks but also as a way to achieve better conjugal and filial models. Our data invite us to consider how changing family status transforms male employers' relationship to care and to managing paid care workers, and results in them taking up a new role in the management of care worker's presence in the home and questioning the feelings and views about care initially expressed regarding domestic responsibilities. Men's engagement with critical family situation, and with the tension that may arise in conjugal or filial relations in case of complete disengagement from care duties, urges men to reconsider their roles and to question their gendered identity. Thus, the analysis exposes the contradiction between the ideology and practice of care management.

Masculinity and Household Security

As mentioned, the perspective gained through the experience of hiring of a migrant man also plays a role in prompting the Italian men in our sample to become more actively involved in the selection and recruitment process, as well as in the management of working relations. To fully understand this, it is necessary to explore the link underpinning the social significance of the domestic space together with the public representation of migrants as problematic.⁷ The home should be conceived as a relationally built social context in which different subjects inhabit different and hierarchically organised positions (Triandafyllidou and Marchetti 2014a). The entrance of a foreigner into the home is a critical event, particularly in the case of live-in and/or full time workers, as employers have to not only rethink the daily routine but also minimise the effects of sharing their house with a stranger. In many accounts, the employers see the presence of a migrant worker as 'polluting', and as a potential source of tension, leading the employers to adopt a defensive attitude towards the possible violation of the private sphere (Macklin 1992; Ehrenreich and Hochschild 2003).

⁷ See the analysis developed in Chaps. 2 and 3.

Our data suggest that the fear of contamination, which is usually generated by the hiring of a migrant, is considerably higher in the case of a male worker. Our informants tend to identify foreign masculinity as potentially problematic in terms of domestic security, hygiene, decorum, and decency. The involvement of male employers in the management of migrant domestic/care labour was seen as a strategy to better protect the house and the family. Interestingly, a typical parallel between public security and domestic well-being recurs across different interviews. Marco, a 41-year-old teacher who hired an Albanian man to look after his mother, discussed the need for him to act as a gatekeeper in order to ensure domestic security:

It was necessary to hire a man, because the my mother is very heavy, a woman cannot do it and my wife does not [wish] to do this job. I am not always available so Alkan, our helper, has to do a tough job. I help him twice a day to bathe my mother and also I tend to support him with the medical issues. Alkan overall is good... I mean, when a friend of ours told my wife about him I felt I should know him as well. Not only because of my mother but also because I was concerned about having a man in my mum's house. See these men take advantage of women... if Alkan had to deal only with my wife he might have taken advantage of her, or think that he can behave as he wishes... Whereas I wanted to make clear that for any problem he would have to deal with me as well. Now that I know Alkan I am more relaxed... [I] do not wish to say that all Albanians are bad, and indeed he is not...but then you never know, because we do not know his friends, and he has the house keys... So, better I constantly keep an eye [on things] with regular visits to my mum. (Marco, 41, Perugia)

In the above passage, the role of the male householder is reaffirmed by assuming that stricter working conditions can be ensured by his involvement. Here, Marco's regular visits to his mother's house and his supervision of medical issues reflect not only his intention to provide Atilio with better guidance, but also to make him aware of the disciplining presence of another man. Male employers frequently drew from the visual repertoire promoted via media regarding the 'uncontrolled' flows of migrants and refugees into the country. In many instances, alarmist attitudes towards clandestinity, and the imperativeness to find a worker

that does not support the image of ‘crowds’ of migrants seizing public spaces, influence the selection criteria adopted:

With all these masses arriving now in Italy you have to be very careful... we cannot control them, we do know who they are and why they are here... they can be terrorists, criminals, and they are free to graze in our squares and parks... I would have really preferred to hire an Italian, especially in the last years I have become more concerned about all these foreigners... I have taken part in the hiring process, and went to the parish to meet some candidates... some did not really look good... they looked just unloaded from these boats... So I searched for someone who looked good, who was known by the priest or other families... (Pietro, 55, Rome)

Nowadays criminality has increased, with all these foreign men... of course you can have troubles also with a migrant woman, but it is more difficult. I had one woman from Peru for four years to look after my elder brother Sandro... But then she married and also Sandro, with Alzheimer's [he] is unpredictable, he can become aggressive, and we needed a man. But then a migrant man can more easily steal, or bring women into Sandro's house at night... these people are desperate, they can do anything... (Gennaro, 67, Perugia)

Do you see what happens in our streets? No more security... You have to be very careful when you hire a migrant man in your house. So, I told my sister, who is looking after our mother, that it was better to share the task in order to be on the safer side... she looks after the bodily care [while] I make sure that Francisco comes on time and follows the rules. (Agostino, 49, Rome)

As the above passages show, the moral panic generated by migrant inflows in Italy influences middle-class informants' concerns about the need to protect the domestic space. While the hiring of a migrant man is considered, in many cases, a necessity motivated by the need for someone to carry out heavy work, it also generates anxieties over the possibility that ‘criminal’ behaviour might be introduced into the private domain of the house. Employers' expectations regarding the ‘good worker’ are shaped by the visual rhetoric of uncontrolled flows of ‘dirty’ and ‘threatening’ migrants, and the physical appearance of potential candidates becomes an important selection criterion.

In the same line, concerns about migrant men's sexuality and the resulting need to prevent the integrity of the women of the household are common among middle-class Italian families, and were voiced by both male and female employers. Elena, a school teacher living in Genoa, comments on the anxieties underpinning the shift from employing a migrant woman to employing a man, the latter's husband:

In the end I had a good experience with him, even if at the beginning he did not speak Italian at all...but his wife was helping him, and he was also attending a school. At the beginning it was certainly embarrassing, because I have two daughters you see... I admit I have been suspicious...and I also thought he would not be able to carry out the household tasks as well as his wife, but eventually he proved himself to be even better than his wife, more skilled....more accurate. (Elena, 42, Genoa)

Another employer commented:

With migrant women it is usually easier, they know what to do... Not only that, you do not have to worry about improper sexual behaviour within the house. But with migrant men you have to be careful in this respect, you have to be sure that they are not aggressive, you have to know them better... Often they also need more training, they have to learn what to do... (Mario, 38, Rome)

The informants perceived migrant women as less threatening in their sexual conduct with respect to the employers' family members and easier to assimilate into the domestic spaces and routines. Conversely, the acceptability of a migrant man is not only acquired across a longer span of time (see Durin 2013), but has to be constantly proved against the backdrop of family suspicion.

The way in which ethnic, gender, and class hierarchies are inhabited and enacted within the domestic space is heavily influenced by the racialising stereotyping of specific groups of migrant men as either 'suitable' or 'problematic' workers. Both male and female employers in our sample tended to identify Asian men from the Philippines, India, or Sri Lanka as 'suitable' workers. Men of these nationalities tend to be valued because of their usually higher level of education, which was frequently associated

by the informants with the civilising results of past European colonial rule in those countries. Their positive reputation was also based partly on their status as married men, or on their kin connections with migrant women who had migrated previously and who are established in the sector. As discussed in Chap. 4, this acts as a powerful symbolic device in the construction of a more respectable, yet feminised, masculinity (Gallo 2006; Scrinzi 2010). Men of these national groups, in being represented as more docile and submissive like their wives, are usually deemed to be more easily accommodated within the house. Lucia, an academic, commented on his employee as follows:

I have hired a man from Mauritius... he is the last in a series of people I [have] had throughout the years... and I have a positive opinion about this experience. Sometime you begin with one person and then you go in this direction... if one has to leave they will use their networks to replace themselves and by now I rely on these contacts. Indians from Mauritius are more educated, well mannered... not at all aggressive. They had good English schools, but also since they are always coming through [referrals from other people], they do not want to disappoint their relatives and also take good care with the employer, for them [it] is a cultural question... they want to defend their respectability. (Lucia, 55, Milan)

At the same time, our informants often reflected on how their class condition did not always allow them to access more sought-after, expensive workers from the Philippines, India, or Sri Lanka, and how the compelling need to outsource cleaning or care work made them 'take the risk' of hiring less desirable candidates:

See, I am not rich, like those families who can hire a Filipino or an Indian... if you can afford them, then it is easier... I might also have avoided having to be involved in the issue... But we could only find a Moroccan man, and we hired him because he looked OK, clean and well mannered... but you never know... After a while I have relaxed a bit as no problems have emerged so far... but I cannot guarantee that they will not come in the future. (Franco, 37, Perugia)

We hired a man, from Romania... and he quit the job after only two months, and he stole money... with Filipinos these things do not happen

because they like these jobs, not like Romanians that wish to do something different—maybe illegal things—rather than having a decent job... I eventually found this Romanian man and threatened him to [get him to] give me back the money he had stolen... thank God I could intervene, but to deal with certain immigrants there must be a man in the house! (Luigi, 43, Rome)

In the passages above, threatening masculinity is seen to be associated with Moroccan or Romanian men who are considered less suitable for domestic work and as potential source of criminal behaviour. Conversely, the presence of migrant men from positively stereotyped communities is seen as reassuring by our male informants, to the extent that the latter feel that they can minimise their degree of involvement in the working relationship. Further, they constitute a symbol of an upper middle-class lifestyle.

The 'moral panic' surrounding migrant men, therefore, influences the management of working relations within the home and the 'gate-keeper' position taken up by male employers. This emerges in relation to the more contractual approach often taken by our male informants. As scholars have noted, employers' unease in adopting formal contractual behaviour within the house might be explained by referring to employers' discomfort in 'allowing market ideologies into the domain of private households' (Anderson 2007: 253). To some extent, the foreignness of the worker is used by the employer to tone down the formalities of employment relations and to construct everyday routines in terms of concessions made in the name of the employee's poverty (Anderson and O'Connell Davidson 2003). This, in turn, allows employers to 'construct the home in opposition to market ideologies', and to 'clothe power in the language of obligation, support and responsibility, rather than exploitation' (Anderson 2007: 254). While this certainly holds relevance in the context of the present analysis, some of our informants actively reflected on the need to frame work relations through the use of contractual language based on professional performance and regular 'trustworthiness checking' (Anderson 2000). In the case of migrant men, employers are still keen to adopt the role of benefactor up to a point and to provide 'civilising guidance', but at the same time they argue for the need to develop security measures to ensure that the work is conducted in a professional way.

This emerges in the following case analysed, which offers further insights into the differences and similarities between male and female employers. Maria, a school teacher in her mid-50s, had to hire an Ecuadorian man to look after her paralysed husband. In the passage below, she reflects on how the decision to employ a migrant man had to be negotiated with her husband Vittorio:

To be honest the decision [...] led me and Vittorio to clash for [a] long time... I preferred a woman, as I think a woman can more easily be integrated into the family. But my husband claimed that he is heavy to carry and he has to be helped with the physiotherapy and a man can better cover these tasks. In the first months it was not easy to find a balance. From my side, I tried to make José feel at home, to act as a mum for him... but then Vittorio warned me about the possibility that he could take advantage of this and that it was better to keep some distance and to stick to more professional rules. In the end we found a compromise: we talked a lot... the three of us... and we set some rules like being reliable on care tasks, clean the house once a week, come back on time when he has an afternoon or a day off, payment reduction if he misses work days... and so on... but we also told him that *if* he was able to be professional and to gain our trust, then he could also rely on our help and feel at home... I mean like in any other job... you need to set rules and to show your capability... if you wish then to find spaces of negotiation! Now after two years we have hired José regularly and I can say he is like a member of the family, but we keep watching him to prevent future troubles... (Maria, 56, Perugia)

For Vittorio, a more formal approach to work relations was initially generated by his sense of fragility related to his medical condition:

Since I cannot walk, I am always dependent on someone... and this is frustrating. I am not saying that I do not want José to feel at home, but this must be a gradual process. With migrant men you never know... so better to be strict at the beginning and to check the person, this makes me feel more secure given the situation. (Vittorio, 61, Perugia)

The above passages invite us to consider how market and household ideologies come to be negotiated by employers in ways which are gender-specific

and how this reflects different gendered positions within the family. In principle, Maria found it harder to frame employment relations through the language of mutual dependence and affection in the case of a male migrant worker, but nevertheless is keen to ascribe to José a 'kin-role' (Cox and Rekha 2003) as a family member. José's young age and his illegal status are implicitly taken as motivations for this kind of involvement in the household; on the one hand, the employers' potential to regularise José is downplayed, and José's vulnerability and loneliness are seen as reasons for adopting less formal working relations. On the other hand, Vittorio refrains from the kin-inspired attitude of his wife on the premise that this might go against their own interests. Ultimately, both employers equate 'care work' to any other 'normal occupation' where mutual trust and support between employers and employees can be built only after a prolonged period of formal examination of the worker's skills and performance. In the case of the Italian middle-class men of our sample, this results partly from the need to assert hegemonic masculinities vis-à-vis the entry of a potentially threatening foreigner in the house. At the same time, in other cases, especially if the employer is also the care beneficiary, a more 'managerial' approach to work relations stems from the fragilities produced by 'late life masculinity' (cf. Kaye and Applegate 1994) and by a sense of physical and psychological vulnerability, often exacerbated by the influence of media alarmism.

Importantly, as José's case demonstrates, the introduction of 'market ideologies' to make sense of the work relationship does not necessarily lead the employers to a timely regularisation of the employee's working status. Nearly 40 % of our informants had been involved in providing a worker with a regular contract or with support in completing the paperwork required for a residence permit. Yet, it is important to note disjuncture between the fears of employers concerning the flow of 'irregular migrants' into the country, on one hand, and the lack of commitment to provide the workers with the legal and contractual means to regularise their status, on the other. Indeed, among our employers, a gendered conceptualisation of the migrants' irregular status seems to be conceptualised more in terms of essentialised male qualities associated with ethnicity and (non-European) nationality than as arising from migrants' difficulties in dealing with legal and bureaucratic issues, as well as with job uncertainty.

Masculinities, Personalism, and Class

In this section, we briefly compare our middle-class sample with the data emerging from additional interviews conducted with working-class male employers to suggest that the possible adoption of personalistic⁸ approaches to domestic/care working relations varies not only in relation to the hiring of a migrant man rather than a woman, but is also highly influenced by the employer's class background.

Male employers are active in gathering information about the worker's family, sexual and social life in general, and about the urban spaces frequented by the migrant man in his free time. Our informants often reflected on the need to be engaged with what they saw as more 'manly' tasks, like setting rules and giving advice to the workers on their personal and sexual life. This in turn, is deemed not only to reduce the roughness and the potential risk of unruly behaviour associated with migrant men from certain communities, but also to enhance the superior status of the male employer who comes to be respected because of his guidance. The home emerges as a contact space (Näre 2011: 368–9) where the encounters between differently situated subjects in terms of gender and ethnicity lead the employer to reassertion of moral boundaries rather than the challenging of stereotypical assumptions about migrants. In this context, we note how opposing models of masculinity are thus reproduced not only through the polarisation between the management and the execution of domestic/care tasks, but also by assigning the role of *moral attendant* to the employer and that of *potential deviant* to the worker. This polarisation of roles translates initially into male employers' reluctance to act as benefactors, often out of

⁸ Pierrette Hondagneu-Sotelo notes how the concept of maternalism fails to adequately capture the active participation of the migrant worker in what is ultimately a two-party relationship, even if the employer holds the upper hand. She proposes the concept of personalism instead, as a '[b]ilateral relationship that involves two individuals recognizing each other not solely in terms of their role or office but rather as persons embedded in a unique set of social relations and with particular aspirations' (Hondagneu-Sotelo 2001: 172). Personalism can be a resource for the workers, who may appreciate the person-oriented work and attribute a meaning to a socially devalued job. For instance, Filipino migrant workers measure the quality of the work relationship in terms of their personal relationship with the employers: the 'good employers' are those who treat them as 'real' members of the family and can manipulate the familistic ideology to achieve material advantage (Parreñas 2001; Hondagneu-Sotelo 2001). At the same time, the personalisation of the work relationship continues to involve specific forms of exploitation and dependence (Scrinzi 2013).

the fear that the worker might take advantage of this. Benevolent attitudes were seen as more appropriate in relation to migrant women, the latter being deemed to be more fragile and in need of help. Importantly, for the Italian woman in our sample, and more poignantly for Italian men, the *foreignness* of the migrant man does not automatically help to manage the 'deep discomfort around the introduction of market relations into the home' (Anderson 2007: 254), but might initially result in employers drawing from contractual (or pseudo-contractual) working approaches as way to scrutinise the skills and morality of the worker.

Among employers, the paperwork necessary to regularise the workers is often conceptualised as a gift made to the worker after a prolonged period of examination. The prospect of regularising the worker is relatively more prominent among middle and middle upper-class employers who are able to hire full-time, live-in workers and who considered regularisation to be part of a strategy of retention of highly valued migrant male workers. As hiring a 'good migrant man' is seen as more difficult than hiring a migrant woman, employers might be inclined to 'offer' the worker a regular contract. Differently, lower-middle-class and working-class employers often considered the paperwork required for regularisation and the payment of all the necessary benefits as too expensive and time-consuming. They entered into the regularisation process for part-time workers relatively rarely. Importantly, the regularisation process is often seen as something that can be better handled by the men of the house. As one informant commented:

Savino is [a] good worker... I know him by now and after [the] three years he has been working for us I think it is time to help him obtain a regular permit. He deserves [it]... after all he has worked hard for us and we are happy about him. But I prefer to follow the question by myself, rather than leaving this to my wife. You have to deal with the police office, a lot of bureaucratic work... I know people there, as I am well connected because of my job and also I think these people take women less seriously, whereas I know how to push for a smooth process. (Mario, 38, Rome)

This extract exemplifies a wider tendency among our informants to present themselves as having the power to initiate a process which is deemed to require not only knowledge but also 'good contacts' in order to be

successful. The obtainment of a regular contract and a residence permit is portrayed here as a gift from the employer to the worker in return for years of devotion and loyalty. Drawing from a repertoire of the 'big man', that is, a subject who can mobilise clientelistic relations at his own convenience, the employer underlines his ability to turn a time-consuming task into a 'smooth process', thereby reasserting his superior position with respect to the worker. From their side, workers are often aware of the difficulties employers encounter in retaining a skilled, trustworthy employee, and may play on employers' gendered concerns about hiring an unknown man to advocate in favour of their own rights. Felipe, from Ecuador, recalled the discussions that preceded him obtaining a regular contract:

I told Mr. Simone that after years [of] working for them irregularly [*in nero*] I could not bear the situation anymore... I want to bring my wife here to Italy, and also after all these years of work without making any claims, accepting all the extra hours, and all the favours I have done... They know me by now, and I told him this. Initially he postponed and postponed, but then I had another job offer... through the parish. I honestly would not have liked to change [job], even if they were offering a regular contract... because it means restarting everything, new people, new routines, new requirements... a lot of work. But I told Mr. Simone about the offer... I was polite, I did not threaten to leave but he knew this was a possibility. And since he knew it is difficult to find a good man like me... with all these newcomers... he finally accepted! (Felipe, 31, Rome)

Rather than consistently framing their claims in terms of workers' rights, however, migrant men more frequently adopted a language emphasising how the demand for a regular contract was made legitimate by years of acceptance of flexible working conditions and by the acquisition of personal knowledge on the part of the employee. As such, accessing regularisation seems more often to be linked to the construction of gendered respectability by the employees and less to the recourse to legal frameworks, although there are instances of workers resorting to trade unions to claim their rights.⁹ Some employees cite familiarity gained with their

⁹ See the analysis developed in Chap. 7.

employers and with the household routine as a deterrent to searching for a new job, although the competition among employers to find good male workers can be used as leverage to improve the workers' own contractual conditions.

While migrant men we spoke to tended to limit employers' involvement with their private lives to some extent,¹⁰ they usually welcomed and appreciated employers' willingness to use their personal contacts to assist with practical issues, such as obtaining a certificate or a medical appointment, or, importantly, to enhance the educational opportunities of their children. One area in which more personalistic relations are constructed and displayed relates to migrants' concerns over enabling their children to attend 'respectable' state schools within the city. Migrants often reported that they were discouraged from sending their children to middle-class schools and were instead encouraged to send them to schools located in ethnic neighbourhoods where the migrant population was more concentrated. The catchment area principle is no longer compulsory in Italy, and school directors have tremendous amount of unofficial power to prevent migrant children from entering 'respectable' educational institutions (Gallo 2010). Against this backdrop, migrants' personal contacts with Italian employees (and/or with parishes) constitute a potential strategic resource for overcoming the discriminatory exclusion of their children from good schools and accessing a better educational milieu. From the employer's perspective, helping the employee in this respect serves not only to reassert the higher status of the Italian householder, but is also key to enhancing the respectability of the worker and his suitability in inhabiting the 'Italian' domestic space. This emerges clearly in the words of another employer, Ludovico:

The child of Thomas, our Indian worker, was refused by the Alighieri School... they cannot really refuse a child, it is not legal... but they act in a way that discourages the family to register the child there. I mean... I understand the school's director... with all these migrants coming now our schools are under siege, and he needs to maintain the reputation. But I was shocked when I knew that *our* worker's child had experience this. It is true

¹⁰ See the analysis developed in Chap. 6.

that the child is dark-skinned but he was born here and we know him since he was born. And Thomas is also a good person... so since I know the school director I went to speak with him, he apologized as he did not know Thomas was working for me... and I guaranteed that the child was good and that they could have accept him without fearing any consequence. (Ludovico, 56, Perugia)

Here, while the idea of a 'crisis' arising from the influx of migrants and the adoption of racist selective criteria within schools are accepted to some extent at general level, they become less acceptable to this informant if they involve a migrant worker whom they personally know. Tellingly, the refusal experienced by Thomas's child is made meaningful by referring to the inappropriate treatment the *employer* received indirectly from the school director (who was unaware of Thomas' 'good connections'). As a result, the school director not only apologised (to the employer) but accepted Ludovico's assurances and admitted Thomas' child in the school.

Among lower middle-class and working-class employers, the hiring and supervising of migrant domestic/care workers tends to be conceived as a necessity, which requires compromising and the organisation of different forms of care (Gallo and Scrinzi 2015). As such, forms of personalism, while they may still be present, are often seen as time-consuming and not fully legitimate. The need to strike a balance between class status and resource control might in certain circumstances result in the employers' withdrawal from more personalistic attitudes and in their greater participation in daily tasks. Importantly, for middle-class and upper middle-class employers (both male and female), care work is frequently understood as involving a broad range of tasks, ranging from cleaning, shopping, washing clothes, and providing personal care; among working-class employers, the hiring of a care worker is in response to the need for someone to perform specific tasks, often under emergency circumstances. This is partly the result of the need among lower middle-class and working-class families to hire a care worker on an hourly basis to limit family expenses, and therefore to orient the worker towards those activities that are felt to be particularly difficult for the employer to do.

Different employers from working-class backgrounds commented as follows on the prospect of supporting their employees in non-work matters:

To be honest as long as I pay for his job I have done my share. I mean, we also struggle to find a balance, and to some extent migrants get more rights than us, places in the kindergarten, housing facilities, I am not in the position to help anyone. (Sandro, 58, factory worker, Perugia)

I am not rich, and if I have to ask for some favour I prefer to ask it for my family, and not for the worker. Life is already complicated enough, and I have no time or resources to spend. Of course if it is a minor thing, like helping with a translation or to pass on some of my unused clothes I have no objection, but I am not like those rich families that can adopt a worker... we do not have money for this! (Riccardo, 45, nurse, Perugia)

Working-class employers' withdrawal from more personalistic working relations is often underpinned by a sense of real or imagined competition for resources with migrants; a 'risky proximity' and the sense of fighting for similar rights is particularly evident in those circumstances in which employers and employee occupy not only the same domestic space but also live in less affluent urban neighbourhoods, where the competition for municipal houses, places in state educational institutions, or precarious jobs is likely to be higher. In this context, male employers might adopt a class-based discourse to differentiate their relations with the worker from the patronage of richer families, and to identify the tendency to treat the migrant like a family member as a privilege which is not available to them. While many expressed readiness to offer some support for minor practical needs, they were keen to distance themselves from the idea of playing the role of benefactor.

On the basis of our data, on the one hand, employers' expectations regarding migrant men can be linked to them wanting an employee who conforms to inferiorised and racialised models of *emasculated masculinity*. On the other hand, in the case of migrant men, a higher degree of physical involvement in heavy work and the ability to move between highly differentiated tasks, from elderly care to household repairs, are usually expected by employers. The ethnicity and physical appearance of migrant

men are taken into consideration by employers as indicators of character, with Filipino, Indian, or Sri Lankan men usually being viewed favourably as docile, submissive, and polite, while men from 'riskier' communities are seen as being in need of morally education before they can provide good service. While in the case of cleaning tasks our employers had fewer expectations in terms of the worker's emotional involvement, in the case of elderly care, migrant men were expected to strike a balance between showing attachment and showing the appropriate level of deference towards the care beneficiary, as the following employers' words illustrate:

Of course, having to care for my mother I expect Alkan to be nice, delicate, to be sympathetic with her situation. If you are too cold the person will feel it, and will be unhappy. There is the need for these men to learn how to participate, to be present psychologically. But at the same time, being men, they also have to maintain a distance of respect, because in any case they are dealing with some old-fashioned and elderly people who might not like to be threatened like idiots by a migrant just because they are old! (Marco, Perugia, 2009)

I get really angry when I see Babu saying 'tu' and not 'lei' to my father or treating him as if he is a fool. I mean my father has Alzheimer's but I still remember the way he was and to see this young man who is less educated than my father treating him in this way makes me angry. Maybe a woman knows how to treat elderly people better, but with Babu I had to tell him that he should be nice but... I mean, not to break [down] all distances... it would not be appropriate. (Saverio, Perugia, 2009)

This attitude, however, cannot be said to exclusively characterise middle-class male Italian men, nor is it directed only at migrant men; rather, it is a general concern among employers regarding the inappropriateness of overly intimate and informal relations between young migrants and the elderly individuals they care for. A female employer commented, for instance, about her female employee's 'irritating' habit of calling her elderly mother *nonnina* ('granny'):

South Americans as soon as they meet an elderly [person] they call them *nonnina*. I cannot stand this, it really makes me furious. They should call my mother 'Mrs. Mainardi'...you are the last arrived from Ecuador and

you call my mum—who is a person who has been young, who had a career, who had her life—*nonnina*? Are you kidding? Respect must be reciprocal, this is a must. (Franca, 50, Milano)

As the above passages show, the emotional labour required of migrant men, while expected to match that of their female counterparts in terms of empathy and kindness, is also expected not to cross certain lines (thereby reversing class and gender hierarchies). This belief that care relations should remain ‘impersonal’ to an extent is shaped by both gender and class. It is particularly characteristic of middle-class and middle upper-class families we interviewed, and appears more rarely among the lower- and working-class employers of our sample. Migrant care workers are expected to ‘save’ the relationship between the employer and his/her elderly relative, by partly releasing the former from the burden of emotional care but also being able to detach themselves from potentially overwhelming situations:

I usually had [a nauseous] feeling... you cannot mask it when it happens and of course your mum realizes this. And yes, this was detrimental to my relationship with my mother... So I am fully convinced that this is not labour that can be done by the children, it has to be done by other persons otherwise you just go mad. Do you know how difficult it is not to blame a depressed person for not being able to get better? It is very difficult... it if is your mother, then you remember how she was and you try your best to convince her to behave rationally. But the person you pay to look after her—he has to accept the elderly [person] the way she is, he has no pretensions to change her. (Fabiola, 42, Genoa)

Migrant workers, in lacking a longer acquaintance with the care beneficiary, are deemed more able to assume a more neutral and less emotionally charged relationship with the beneficiary, as opposed to a close relative for whom this may be very difficult. Despite the appreciation of supposedly ‘female-like’ qualities of empathy and subservience, migrant men are also considered to be better at staying in control during emergencies or emotionally distressing situations:

With a woman you do not know... maybe she is nice and caring but if she has to face an emergency because my father has an ictus attack, or falls

from the bed, she might more easily panic. When we had a Sri Lankan woman and my father collapsed she called me in tears and was shouting, and was not even able to act...that's why we decided to hire a man. We looked for someone who was nice but who could maintain some control, and we made the right decision. (Emanuele, 52, Perugia).

While migrant men are often required to prove their respectability over a longer period, those who are able to combine feminised qualities with equally highly valued gendered capacities of emotional control, as well as to move easily from one household occupation to another, may be able to obtain better working conditions, both in terms of their legal status and remuneration:

Initially I hired Alkan for care work, but then he also surprised me because he does everything, he repairs things, he looks after technical issues...this is something you cannot find in a migrant woman. So I decided to regularise him after some time and also I gave him a raise of 200 Euros, enough to make him happy and be keen to remain. (Marco, 51, Perugia)

Migrant men's perceived potential flexibility may, thus, lead them to be more highly valued in this sector than women. It may also mean that employers more readily acknowledge their own forms of dependency on the worker.

Well, I have come to the conclusion that all the family now rely on Christopher, and we would have not expected this. I mean life is so crazy: work, children, now a grandchild arriving, and elderly people to be cared for. We delegate a lot, more than we probably should, to Christopher and other than caring for my father he also takes care of the house. Initially we knew we needed someone but we underestimated how crucial it is to find a good man who is willing to do everything. I talked a lot about this with my wife and, even though we needed to make some more sacrifices, we gave him a pay rise. It is a gift from God, and the entire family organisation would collapse without him! (Emanuele, 52, Perugia)

While the domestic worker's contribution to the household tends to be rendered invisible, to some extent, those (male) workers who can combine

the provision of good care with an ability to do handyman work at a good standard are recognised as vital to the family's welfare. In this respect, our data confirm that migrant men benefit from the 'boon' of masculinity (Williams 1993: 3) to the extent to which they access better working conditions than women in the sector. As in the past, male workers in privileged masculinised niches of domestic service are associated with professionalism based on essentialistic constructions of male attributes and skills.

Masculinities, Religion, and Respectability in Work Relations

For a good proportion of interviewed employers, religion plays a distinctive role in hiring decisions and in the racialisation of male domestic/care workers in everyday interactions. Interestingly, based on our data, it is far less of a factor in relation to migrant women as possible employees; its importance emerges chiefly in relation to migrant men. As discussed in Chap. 3, religious difference tends to be seen by many Italians as a feature that potentially exacerbates the 'threatening' behaviours stereotypically associated with migrant men. This applies especially to Islam and, although to a lesser extent, to religions such as Sikhism or Hinduism. While Christian men tend to be favoured, Muslim men are perceived as less suited to co-habitation on the assumption that they have conservative behaviours and 'strange' family habits that cannot be easily absorbed into the household daily routine. As one employer told us, following a Moroccan man's dismissal as caregiver to his older relative:

Mahmoud, this was his name, was always complaining that the meat we gave him for lunch was not...how do they call it...anyway, it was not done in the proper way...and then he wanted to pray five times a day and we could not disturb him!! And what if my father is sick or we run into an emergency? One day he left my father alone while we were alone because he had to go far away to buy his meat....See...in the beginning we took it in a funny way, he was after all a good boy...but in the long term, I will tell you, it is difficult...we are too different and my father is old and cannot

understand all this stuffs...so in the end we decided to find someone else.
(Pietro, 43, Rome)

Religious diversity seems in many instances to fuel the otherwise general fear of 'pollution' that accompanies the entry of a new employee into the domestic space (cf. Anderson 2003). As the above interview extract suggests, while the 'contaminating' presence of Mahmoud was initially tolerated by his employers through the 'exoticisation' of his religiosity, the difference between the Italian family habits and those attributed to Muslims was in the long-term seen as incompatible with the efficient performance of domestic/care tasks. Also, Islam, to a greater degree than other religions, tends to be associated by employers with what are perceived as expressions of backward masculinity. The latter is framed in relation to men's tendency to seclude women at home or to 'impose' the veil upon them.

Maria, a middle-class woman employing a Senegalese couple (husband and wife) commented ironically that when they decided to employ the husband after his arrival from Senegal, they warned him to avoid 'behaving like a Taleban'. Significantly, employers who were not sympathetic to the NLs positions and admitted support for left-wing parties drew from right-wing arguments to deny the possibility of an 'Italian' way to multi-culturalism and religious pluralism and in motivating their preference for Christian male domestics. In the aftermath of the public debate on the crucifix in schools, an Italian employer discussed the reasons why he preferred to hire a Christian in his home:

See, now those Muslims come and [presume] to decide what we Italians have to do in our schools...and they want to build mosques...I can well see one of those men coming to my house and then [presume] to convert all of us! (Emanuele, 52, Perugia)

At the same time, it would be wrong to assume that the use of Christianity as a criterion for conferring gendered respectability on migrant men also establishes the basis of a recognised proximity between employers and employees. Indeed, it is not so much the recognition of a shared set of values that allows Christian migrant men to be accepted in the house; rather, what employers perceive as the religiosity of migrant men makes

the latter *distant enough*, yet still allows them to be seen as compatible with Italian family life and values. One Italian employer was invited by Carlos, his Peruvian domestic, to a community Sunday mass. The employer commented that he was pleased to see how many men from Peru were actively employed in parish life and how devoted they were, while also stating that this reminded him of Italy as it was 100 years ago. Migrant men's religious commitment was taken by many of our male employers as a reassuring, yet backward, expression of masculinity, against which a more secularised and progressive male (Italian) identity was asserted:

I mean, I would feel ridiculous going to Church with the same dedication and commitment as my *badante*! He dresses well, he makes calls to his friends to organise events, he keeps [...] talking to me about Jesus Christ and his miracles...and I end up laughing at him asking him if he wants me to be a good Christian! (Pietro 55, Rome).

Overall I have nothing against [it]...rather, the contrary: it is a good thing to have a good Catholic in the house, as you know where they spend their time, you can always ask the priest about possible problems, and it means that after all the person has good values, doesn't it? But here in Italy we are different...I mean unless you take into account those Italian men who are part of religious sects, and there are many. But I mean, *normally*, Italian men—at least those [who are] well-educated do not show the same emotional attraction to religious stuff! (Paolo, 51, Rome)

The importance of Christian religion in defining the suitability of domestic workers is asserted in a way that inferiorises them. Excessive emotional attachment to religious activities is seen as part of what employers perceive as the lack of cultural and economic development in employees' countries of origin, whereas Italian wealth and modernity is expressed through the more controlled and rational Christianity of middle-class families. Christianity is also particularly reassuring in relation to migrant men because ideally, in the eyes of employers, religion keeps migrant men within more controllable spaces such as parishes, keeping them away from 'ethnic' areas and illicit activities. Migrant men themselves tend to sometimes subscribe to a 'politics of piety', emphasising their involvement in parish activities. This not only functions to compensate for their

lack of social life and rewarding employment prospects, but also to promote a non-threatening image of migrant masculinities in a post 9/11 context in which the use of religion as a racial marker has increased. At the same time, the fervid religiosity of Christian men is taken as reassuring by employers, in that it locates migrant men within a defined and 'safe' public space (the Church) and in a time of past religious traditions, which are lost to the Italian present.

Conclusion

The role of men as employers has been greatly neglected in the literature on the IDRL. As the analysis developed in this chapter has highlighted, men play an agentive role in the home in framing the terms and conditions in which reproductive labour is provided and consumed. Male employers' performance of domestic subjectivities in dealing with migrant men touches upon issues of household security and family well-being. Importantly, we suggest that it is the very nature of reproductive labour in a context of 'moral panic' concerning immigrant flows that serves to prompt the greater involvement of male employers. The conceptualisation of migrant men as both potentially *ideal* workers and *suspects* (Näre 2013b) necessitates, in the eyes of employers, the performance of a masculine role as defenders of the household safety and integrity. Male employers are agents in the process of racialisation of their employees, and in the forging of respectable, yet inferiorised, models of migrant manhood. Furthermore, the employers' personalistic attitudes served to increase the dependency of and control over migrant workers while also ensuring a critical distance between these and the employers' household. In both contexts (racialisation and control), religion emerges as a critical factor in shaping hierarchical employer–employee relationships, with Muslim men usually being considered an unwelcome presence in Italian domestic spaces. Male employers emerge here as 'moral attendants' who take on the role of protecting the household while taking the risk of employing a migrant man. While the employers' emphasis on shared Catholicism plays a part in the construction of the migrant men as a 'moral actor' in the employers' family, renewed hierarchies between supposedly 'Italian'

secularised understandings of religion on the one hand, and 'migrant' religiosity on the other hand, are reproduced by the employers.

Male employers' involvement in handling the outsourcing of reproductive labour also addresses (middle-class) Italian men's concerns about delegating filial and conjugal duties to someone else. This outsourcing does not exempt them from the duty to act as informal care providers and to engage with hiring, managing, and, at times, supporting the worker. The degree of male employers' involvement in the management of migrant domestic/care workers and the degree of dependence that the employers have on their employees are highly contingent upon the nature of the service required as well as on the class and age/life-cycle of the employers. Middle-class and to a larger degree, working-class employers struggle to find a balance between providing intergenerational care and retaining a suitable worker. Middle-class employers in their 50s or 60s may be readier to mobilise their own contacts and resources to enhance the economic, social, and legal conditions of their worker as a way to display class status and hegemonic masculinities. Differently, working-class male employers more frequently frame their relationship to migrant men in terms of competition and struggle to seize the limited available resources in the Italian society.

On the part of migrant men, while personalistic relations with the 'big men' of the house are accepted and sought in relation to specific health, education, and bureaucratic issues, the same personalistic approach creates tensions when it affects the migrant men's family life, sexuality, and sociability. Indeed, as the following chapter will show, employment relations in reproductive labour are highly influential in shaping the gendered nature of migrant men's family relations, ideals, and experiences.

Bibliography

- Anderson, B. 2000. *Doing the dirty work? The global politics of domestic labour*. London: Zed Books.
- Anderson, B. 2003. Just another job? The commodification of domestic labour. In *Global woman: Nannies, maids and sex workers in the new economy*, ed. B. Ehrenreich and A.R. Hochschild. London: Granta Books.

- Anderson, B. 2007. A very private business: Exploring the demand for migrant domestic workers. *European Journal of Women's Studies* 14(3): 247–264.
- Anderson, B., and O'Connell Davidson, J. 2003. *Is trafficking in human beings demand driven? A multi-country pilot study*. IOM Migration Research Series, no. 15, Geneva.
- Chavez, L.R. 1992. *Shadowed lives: Undocumented migrants in American society*. New York: Harcourt Brace.
- Cox, R., and N. Rekha. 2003. Playing happy families: Rules and relationships in au pair employing households in London. *Gender, Place and Culture: A Journal of Feminist Geography* 10(4): 333–344.
- Da Roit, B. 2007. Changing intergenerational solidarity within families in a Mediterranean welfare state. *Current Sociology* 55(2): 251–269.
- Dickey, S. 2011. The pleasure and anxieties of being in the middle: Emerging middle-class identities in urban South India. *Modern Asian Studies* 46(3): 559–599.
- Durin, S. 2013. Varones en el servicio doméstico en el Área Metropolitana de Monterrey: Ideologías de Género en la organización del trabajo. *Trayectorias* 15(37): 53–72.
- Ehrenreich, B., and A.R. Hochschild. 2003. Introduction. In *Global woman. Nannies, maids and sex workers in the new economy*, ed. B. Ehrenreich and A.R. Hochschild. New York: Henry Holt & Company.
- Gallo, E. 2006. Italy is not a good place for men. Narratives of place, marriage and masculinity among Malayali migrants in Rome. *Global Networks* 6(4): 159–174.
- Gallo, E. 2010. The dilemma of Harlequin. Migrant children and the fear of contamination in Central Italy. Secondary Schools. Unpublished Research Report – COFIN/University of Perugia.
- Gallo, E., and F. Scrinzi. 2015. Outsourcing elderly care to migrant workers: The impact of gender and class on the experience of male employers. *Sociology*. Online before print 15 Apr 2015. Available at: <http://soc.sagepub.com/content/early/2015/04/28/0038038515573688.full.pdf>
- Hondagneu-Sotelo, P. 2001. *Domestica: Immigrant workers cleaning and caring in the shadow of affluence*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Kaye, L.W., and J.S. Applegate. 1994. Older men and the family caregiving orientation. In *Older men's lives*, ed. E. Thompson. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Kramer, B.J. 2002. Introduction. In *Men as caregivers*, ed. B.J. Kramer and E. Thompson, 1–19. New York: Springer.
- Lopez-Garza, M. 2001. A study of the informal economy and Latina immigrants in greater Los Angeles. In *Asian and Latino immigrants in a restructuring*

- economy: *The metamorphosis of Southern California*, ed. M. Lopez-Garza and D.R. Diaz. Palo Alto: Stanford University Press.
- Lundstrom, C. 2012. I didn't come here to do housework. Relocating Swedish practices and ideologies in the context of the global division of labour: The case of expatriate households in Singapore. *Nordic Journal of Migration Research* 2(2): 150–158.
- MacKenzie, R., and C. Forde. 2009. The rhetoric of the “good worker” versus the realities of employers' use and the experiences of migrant workers. *Work Employment and Society* 23(1): 142–159.
- Macklin, A. 1992. Foreign domestic worker: Surrogate housewife or mail order servant? *McGill Law Journal* 37(3): 681–760.
- Mahler, S.J., and P.R. Pessar. 2006. Gender matters: Ethnographers bring gender from the periphery toward the core of migration studies. *International Migration Review* 40(1): 27–63.
- Moras, A. 2008. The private home as a public workplace: Employing paid domestic labor. *Journal of Workplace Rights* 13(4): 377–400.
- Näre, L. 2013a. Migrancy, gender and social class in domestic labour and social care in Italy. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 39(4): 601–623.
- Näre, L. 2013b. Ideal workers and suspects. Employers' politics of recognition and the migrant division of care labour in Finland. *Nordic Journal of Migration Research* 3(2): 72–81.
- Parreñas, R. 2001. *Servants of globalisation: Women, migration, and domestic work*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Romero, M. 2002. *Maid in the USA*. London: Routledge.
- Sarti, R. 2006. Domestic service: Past and present in southern and northern Europe. *Gender and History* 18(2): 222–245.
- Sarti, R. 2008. The globalisation of domestic service. In *Migration and domestic work*, ed. H. Lutz. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Schizzerotto, A. 2013. Mutamenti di lungo periodo delle strutture di classe e dei processi di mobilità in Italia. *Quaderni di Sociologia* 57(62): 127–145.
- Scrini, F. 2010. Masculinities and the international division of care: Migrant male domestic workers in Italy and France. *Men and Masculinities* 13(1): 44–64.
- Scrini, F. 2013. *Genre, migrations et emplois de care en France et en Italie*. Paris: Editions Pétra.
- Triandafyllidou, A., and S. Marchetti. 2014a. The employers' perspective on paid and domestic care work. In *Employers, agencies and immigration: Paying for care*, ed. A. Triandafyllidou and S. Marchetti. Farnham: Ashgate.

- Triandafyllidou, A., and S. Marchetti. 2014b. Paying for care: Advantages and challenges for the employers. In *Employers, agencies and immigration: Paying for care*, ed. A. Triandafyllidou and S. Marchetti. Farnham: Ashgate.
- Williams, C.L. (ed.). 1993. *Doing 'women's work': Men in nontraditional occupations*. London: Sage.
- Williams, F. 2010. Migration and care: Themes, concepts and challenges. *Social Policy and Society* 9(3): 385–396.

6

Masculinity, Reproductive Labour, and Transnational Families

Migration drives deep transformations in the way gendered family relations are lived and imagined, and in the affective codes underpinning migrants' attachment to their families and to wider social networks in different and interrelated contexts of transnational mobility (Mills 1999; Salih 2003; Boccagni 2012; Baldassar and Merla 2013; Gallo 2005). The recognition that migrants are actively involved in constructing and maintaining family ties across geographical distance has led scholars to interrogate the shifting social, cultural, and emotional meanings of migrant households in a growing transnational context (Gardner and Grillo 2002; Alicia 1997; Mand 2002; Levitt and Lamba-Nieves 2011). This work has unravelled not only how migrant households are culturally produced through remittances, movements of goods, and different forms of communication, but also how transnational practices, while challenging traditional understandings of nation-states authority (Guarnizo and Smith 1998; Levitt 2001), also continue to confront state enactment of restrictive laws and policies, which deeply affect the temporalities and modalities of transnational family connectedness (Gardner 2002a; Salih 2001; Mahler 1998).

In this context, migration and transnationalism both reflect and produce deep changes in family gender roles. Discussing Ecuadorian men's transnational migration to New York and the resulting arrangements in family life, Pribilsky (2004: 316) notes that:

Migration serves to reorient and question commonsensical and taken-for-granted gender roles and ideologies for both men and women, as they work to fit their daily routines into the new rules and priorities of maintaining a transnational livelihood. However, migration implies more than [...] simply accommodating new roles. Beyond *degendering* male and female tasks, namely removing the assignment of specific behaviour to one gender or another, couples must also work in tandem to learn existing side by side in order to meet their goals of success in migration.

As Pribilsky suggests, both men and women adopt a language of 'processual and reciprocal adjustment' (2004: 332) to novel life and working conditions. Men and women engage in the challenging tasks of reshaping and giving novel meanings to conjugal and parental relations, and struggle to find a common language and practice that allow them to succeed in their projects of international and social mobility.

In this chapter we look at how, and in which terms, migrant men's involvement in reproductive labour questions the gendered division of work and prompts changes in migrant families. We focus, on the one hand, on men who have reached Italy through legal family reunion, thanks to their wives and, on the other, on men who have arrived individually through legal or illegal means. In both cases, entry into paid domestic/care work plays a key role in the reconstitution of family ties and achievement of legal juridical status, although it also creates multiple tensions in migrant men's lives. The chapter begins by exploring how the 'waiting time' between marriage and family reunion in Italy impacts migrant men's attitudes towards paid domestic/care work and their sense of gendered selves. The second part of the chapter explores how migrant men's socialisation into unpaid and paid domestic/care work is shaped by their locations within wider gendered networks of support and control. We suggest that men's socialisation into domestic/care work is likely to begin before their arrival in Italy and is closely related to their need to

cope with female kin migration. Yet, the migrant men's entry into paid domestic/care work in the immigration society and their socialisation into emotional and care labour in the workplace results in the transfer of these new skills into their own domestic and family lives. The chapter ends by threading the discussion into the analysis of the links between working experience, conjugal relations, and migrant fatherhood.

Waiting Husbands

Ghassan Hage (2009) notes how waiting is a dimension of life in which the problematic nature of people's agency is foregrounded. Drawing from Bourdieu's work on the relationship between waiting and class in Kabyle society, Hage shows how waiting is imbricated in complex structure of power. The relation a person entertains with time, and their ability to make their own time be seen as more valuable than that of someone else, both reflect and produce inequalities in status and power. The recognition of waiting as a socially and politically relevant aspect of people's lives offers an interesting angle to understand how men's subjectivities are constructed in relation to the temporal dimension of socio-geographical mobility. The possibility to 'command' the temporal frame of a project or the need to depend on someone else in order to be able to 'leave' shaped the way in which our informants made sense of their journeys to Italy. This becomes particularly important in the cases of men who married women who had migrated previously, and who then experience prolonged delays in obtaining the visa for family reunion. The following case of Abel and Brian helps to understand that the 'stigma of waiting men' should be understood by referring to the shifting gendered culture of migration that characterises those contexts that have long experienced a feminisation of emigration flows.

In 2008, Abel was 34 years old and had just reached Rome with a regular family reunion visa. Originally from Kerala, he had worked as a computer technician in Delhi for 10 years, before marrying his wife Wileen. Influenced by some relatives from their village in Kerala, Abel's parents arranged the marriage for him. Wileen was from an economically

weak family and, unlike Abel, did not have a university degree. However, thanks to her job in Italy, she was in a position to provide Abel and his family with good emigration prospects. During the pre-marriage negotiations, Wileen's family pointed out to Abel's parents that Wileen would pay for Abel's journey and support him in finding work, but did not mention available job opportunities in Italy. As Wileen had also been able to help other male members of Abel's family, her family refused to pay any dowry¹ at the time of the marriage. The possibility of Abel's migration took the place of the dowry that would traditionally have been expected. After the wedding, which took place in 2004, Abel left his job in Delhi thinking that he would be able to migrate to Italy soon afterwards. When we met Abel in Rome in 2008, however, he recalled how months passed by with no significant progress while Wileen had promised that everything would be solved as soon as possible. Abel regretted leaving his job in Delhi, and often thought about going back to work there. However, as he admitted:

I kept thinking that the moment would arrive soon, that I should keep having faith, and that if Wileen knew that I had gone back to Delhi she would have stopped trying to get the permit...so I kept waiting and waiting, stuck in my village without the possibility to decide. (Abel, 34, Rome, 2008)

It was during this waiting period that Abel learned what 'kind of jobs' Malayali Christian women do in Italy: 'cleaning the toilets' of Italian families. Within a spectrum of migration destinations available to Indians, ranging from former African or Asian colonies, to Gulf countries, or to the more prestigious destinations of the UK or the USA, Italy was a low-profile option available to families with more limited economic resources (Gallo 2006, 2013). Furthermore, the high percentage of unmarried and married migrant women who left the village to go to Italy meant

¹In many parts of India, the bride's family is expected to provide her with a dowry at the time of marriage. Dowries can include gold, furniture, money, electronic devices, or other valuable items. Migration can lead either to a considerable rise in dowry demands, as in the case of a girl marrying a migrant man, or, as in the case analysed here, to a reduction of the dowry required (see also: Gallo 2005).

that this type of migration was perceived as morally questionable, due to the assumed weakening of family control over women's sexuality. As Gamburd (2000: 174) notes, with reference to gendered representations of men 'left behind' in the relatively similar context in Sri Lanka:

Representations of delinquent, emasculated men appear in tandem with images of promiscuous, selfish, pleasure-seeking women who neglect their husbands and children. Transformations in images of men and women reflect changing activities and newly emerging meanings surrounding female labour migration.

Abel came into contact with the demeaning representations of men who established conjugal links with women who were deemed to have an inappropriate and a degrading intimacy with their employers. As Abel recalled:

People in my village were making fun of me. One of my friends, he has a good job in Malaysia, and we graduated together...one day he came back to my village and told me that I was just wasting my time...all I was waiting for was to come to Italy to do domestic jobs! (Abel, 34, Rome, 2008)

Abel's conceptualisation of waiting is largely influenced by the gendered stigmatisation of certain migration routes and exacerbated by his deskilling as an unemployed man. His being stuck in the home village becomes, in the eyes of other emigrants, a symbol of how women's mobility and men's dependence on the wives' domestic/care labour abroad is less successful in allowing men to become mature householders and breadwinners. After 3 years of waiting, Abel started to question Wilen's sincerity and commitment and threatened his in-laws to ask for a divorce if the 'papers had not arrived'. His emotional insecurity was the result of an active reflection of having married because of family arrangements rather than from personal choice. He did not know his wife before they were married, and the unpredictable outcome of his marriage made him feel unable to build a relationship of love and trust with a person who had betrayed his expectations.

One year later, when the visa arrived, Abel had already started taking psychopharmacological drugs prescribed by a doctor in Kerala. The 4

years that elapsed between his marriage and his arrival in Italy deeply undermined Abel's self-confidence and compromised his ability to build a stable conjugal life in Rome. He admitted that he initially rejected any possibility of working in the domestic/care sector. After nearly 9 months of unemployment and irregular low-paid work in an Indian restaurant in Rome, he finally capitulated and accepted a full-time job as a caregiver for an Italian family. Interestingly, when we met him again in 2009, he explained that one of his reasons for accepting this job was to be able to help other male relatives to come to Italy:

It has been a hard process...to get rid of all this frustration and anger for literally having no life for four years...no job, no family, no social life, just there praying that your fate would change...but now I want to show off to my village that I can also contribute to its well-being; I have two cousins who made fun of me but now are desperate, that is why I have accepted this job...for my family of course but also to somehow...to make sure that the situation for me has changed. (Abel, 35 Rome, 2009)

Abel's first year in Italy can be seen as a time during which he tried to transform his long-lasting sense of impotence by framing the times and contours of his migration history into a renewed form of agency. It is in this context that we need to analyse his ambivalent engagement with paid care labour; while the latter triggers memories of years of emotional distress and isolation, it also offers pathways of 'redemption' with regard to social ostracism in both contexts of migration by allowing migrant men to regain a degree of agency in shaping their own family destinies.

The story of Abel is paradigmatic of the relationship underpinning international migration and the production of subordinated masculinity in a context where transnational marriages confront restrictive migration laws and unequal socio-economic access to international mobility. The case of Abel reminds us that migration has gained importance in many Asian contexts (and beyond) not only as a strategy of economic mobility but also because it has become an integral part of a gendered collective culture of modern transformation—an opportunity for migrant men and women to experience the world, to acquire a degree of cosmopolitanism, and to access different symbolic and material resources in order to enhance personal, household,

and community status (Ahmad 2008; Osella and Osella 2007; Margold 1995; Gallo 2005; Gardner and Osella 2003; Gardner 1995). Migration has become an important dimension of men's identity crafting. Indeed, the relevance of waiting should be understood by taking into consideration how international mobility partly constitutes a life-cycle stage, a strategy to shorten the transition to adulthood and the role of householder, as well as part of a more appealing and less 'provincial' form of masculinity, and therefore is a constitutive process in the accomplishment of mature and successful masculinity (Osella and Osella 2000; Sinatti 2013; Gallo 2006). Prolonged delays in the temporal materialisation of projected mobility deeply unsettle, in this respect, men's access to life-cycle stages and to self-transformations, and contribute to their sense of being stuck in a sort of 'dependent immaturity'.²

In this context, marriage may be considered a key source for men's international mobility and for their role as active breadwinners (Palriwala and Ubeori 2008; Charsley 2006). Yet, structural difficulties are often encountered in realising its promises of mobility and happy family life, which often upset 'the gender order that articulates the migrant selfhood, forcing a change in men's public status and their role within the household' (cf. Haggis and Schech 2009: 67). The masculine identity of migrant men is affected by their inability to take the role as the family breadwinner (Fresnoza-Flot 2011) and by their difficulties in facing social delegitimation in sending contexts. Importantly, while the difficulties discussed above are not unique to the context of the IDRL, men's entry into often stigmatised forms of feminised migration seems to exacerbate their difficulties in reconciling ideals and realities of gendered family and working roles. This process has an important temporal dimension, with waiting for a regular family reunion visa becoming an important element in shaping migrant men's attitudes to future employment opportunities and family life. Institutional difficulties encountered in obtaining legal permits bring men to question their wives' trustworthiness and to view their wives' working and social lives in the receiving context more critically.

²This does not necessarily imply that migration leads men to successfully achieve the role of mature householder. In the case of Pakistani migrant men analysed by Ahmad (2011), migrant men experience prolonged periods of forced single status.

Masculinity, Illegality, and Domestic/Care Services

The same tensions arising from 'being stuck' in the home country and the appeal of moving forward to Italy are what motivated some other informants' decision to find alternative forms of mobility and to enter Europe illegally. Based on our sample, we found that illegal migration has considerably increased among men in the last decade.³ While the women in our sample (particularly those from India, Sri Lanka, the Philippines, Ecuador, and Peru) were active agents of family reunification until the mid-2000s, this role has significantly decreased for those who arrived in Italy after 2002.⁴ While in some cases illegal migration is motivated by ethnic conflict and/or religious persecution in sending countries, for instance Sikh Punjabis in India, Sri Lankan Hindus, and Muslim Tamils, the majority of our male informants decided to attempt illegal entry out of a set of complex and interrelated motivations. Generational difference played a role—in the case of married and more mature men it was the difficulty in obtaining a regular family visa that triggered the decision to 'take the initiative' to find other source of mobility, whereas among younger men it was their location within a wider networks of promises, information, and male complicity that played a bigger role in convincing them to 'take the risk' of moving on.

Nobil Ahmad's analysis of the link between illegality and masculinity that underpins Pakistani migration to Europe is relevant here. By going beyond the purely economic interpretation of labour migration, Ahmad highlights how the role of masculinity is especially visible in illegal migration and smuggling:

³ Among the 74 men we interviewed, 39 came between the late-1980s and the mid-2000s: of these, 28 reached Italy through a family or tourist visa, whereas the other 11 entered the country illegally. Among the remaining 35, only 13 reached Italy with a regular visa, whereas the other 22 entered the country illegally: this mainly involved men from South Asia and Africa.

⁴ Out of the 94 migrant women we interviewed, 59 arrived before 2002, and among these, 60 % were able to bring their spouse or other male and female relatives to Italy through a family reunion visa. Among the 35 women who arrived after 2002, only 22 were married, and of these, 8 were able to bring their husbands to Italy.

Illegal migration (...) is imbued with a male ideology of travel which thrives off exchanges of information within all male networks. This ideology has been further masculinized by restrictionist migration policies and the resulting difficulty of family-reunification, which have made travel abroad ever more expensive, risky, attractive to youth and inaccessible to women of all backgrounds. (Ahmad 2008: 128)

Illegal migration can be frequently undertaken without the approval of the migrants' family, although our data show that economic support is often given to young migrant men despite family criticism. Nevertheless, this consideration addresses our informants' concerns about the need to regain a form of masculine agency through bypassing of family constraints and legal restrictions. The following interview passages show how in men's narratives of conjugality, personal desires and influence of gendered networks are threaded into the decision to reach Italy illegally:

I have been waiting for two years to obtain my family visa. My wife has been working in Rome as a carer for many years and told me many times that thanks to the help of the employer she was completing all the paperwork...but this employer's help never materialised and I had enough of being in this situation. Some male friends told me that it was possible to reach Italy in other ways and without consulting my wife I decided to go...I told her that her way did not work and I left...she had to accept [it]. (Sepala, 47, Sri Lanka, Perugia)

Many of my male friends have left in this way...I had nothing to do in my village and I had three sisters and then also my wife working already in Perugia and living there...they could not help me because now family reunions are even more hazardous than travelling illegally...you enter the process and you never know if and how it will end...so I told myself, listen Ahmed...better you take the initiative and try to change your life like your friends have done, and that's how I ended up in Italy...you must be somewhat foolish to try this, I know, but it could not work otherwise. (Ahmed, 25, Morocco, Rome)

Although from different generational and life-cycle perspectives, both of these accounts illustrate migrant men's ambivalent attitudes towards their dependant relationships with their wives and kin women working in Italy as well as their growing distrust about the possibility of reaching

Italy through regular family reunion. In these accounts, the dependence on the 'ineffective' employment relations of migrant women is contrasted with the capacity to be located within a (riskier) male network, which enhances the otherwise inhibited forms of socio-geographical mobility and to act effectively 'like men'. The mixture of distrust and disdain for migration routes associated with female mobility co-exists, particularly among migrant men with relatives who have previously migrated to Italy, with the awareness of domestic/care labour as potential routes to regularisation after illegal entry. Before and after migration, in this respect, migrant men continue to face the fact that, contrary to a long-term policy tradition favouring men through work in the formal economy, women tend to be privileged in the move from illegal to legal status in countries like Italy, France, or Spain (Schrover et al. 2008; Ruspini 2000; Calavita 2006).

However, even among illegal migrants who draw from male networks, the circulation of information through female-centred networks plays a role in shaping future settlement strategies, as the following interviews show:

My sister told me that if I somehow managed to come to Italy then I could benefit from the amnesties and I could find a temporary job as a domestic to regularise my position. I was not very keen to do the job my sister does in Italy, but I thought that it could be useful to adjust for a while after having managed to reach the country. (Egzon, 29, Albania, Perugia)

Here [...] is my philosophy...if you have to reach Italy then [it is] better [to] rely on men...but to get good information about Italy and to survive once you are there...then definitively those men who can rely on good female connections are favoured!! (Idrissa, 34, Morocco. Perugia)

Egzon's and Idrissa's words mirror wider tendencies among the migrant men we interviewed to draw from a broader gendered repertoire of information and networks in their conceptualisation and practical engagement with migration. While the journey is conceptualised as a masculine endeavour replete with risks and uncertainty, the post-arrival and settlement period is—sometimes ironically and provocatively, sometimes seriously—depicted as requiring the development of links with pioneer

migrant women, who indeed are often valued as a source of information, particularly about domestic labour and related regularisation processes.

Our data prompt us to consider how the entrance of migrant men into paid domestic/care labour should be understood in relation to men's often traumatic journeys and highly exploitative relations with smugglers and brokers of migration. While men's narratives about the time preceding their departure emphasise the active agency of overcoming the sense of 'being stuck', co-existing narratives about fear, starvation, and violence accompany the recalling of their journeys across different countries. In these narratives, a register of emotional insecurity, suffering, and impotence re-emerges, together with a feeling of complete disconnection from support networks in the first few months after their arrival. Most of our informants who had arrived illegally had frequently stopped to work in earlier destinations in order to earn money and to fund the next step of their journey.

Before leaving I was very excited, of course I was scared but I tried to take it as an adventure. I was strong and in good health and I thought I could manage. But then during those months I feared I was not able to make it. I ate very little, we were beaten...and I often regretted this decision [to leave]. (William, 37, Kerala, Rome)

I thought I would never be able to see my wife, my son...I prayed [to] God to let me arrive safely, but I saw men being raped and killed. I was continuously asked for more money, and I felt so little and miserable, like an insect that could easily [have] been squashed without anyone noting my disappearance (Rizal, 34, Philippines, Perugia)

Physical vulnerability and panic are central to accounts of men's journeys and deeply challenge men's identity in many ways, by calling their role as family providers into question and exacerbating their insecurities about being able to provide for their families in case of their death (Walter et al. 2004). Being smuggled generated a sense of *invisibilisation*, where existing social and affective relations were suddenly made inaccessible and where the men themselves could be 'squashed' (as Rizal put it) just as quickly. Importantly, the sense of insecurity does not disappear on arrival, as men have to deal with the difficulty of reaching their wives,

relatives, or friends in Italian cities and/or must re-establish networks of support in order to settle in the new location. As Ambrosini notes regarding migrant men and their wives in Italy (2012: 4–5):

If couples follow the legal channels, they still have to deal with strict constraints of income and living space in order to rebuild the family unit; if the reunification takes place outside the regulatory framework, as is often the case, there is a risk that the couple will live under a sword of Damocles with permanent uncertainty and the risk of expulsion, after all their efforts to resume life together.

Migrant men thus seem to be trapped by structural constraints, which blur the lines between the outcomes of regular and irregular entry. Beyond this, an increasing number of migrants in Italy swing frequently between periods of regular and irregular status, even after many years in the country. This leads them to perceive insecurity as a structural condition of their lives as migrant men. Twelve of the men we interviewed had been deported after years of living and working in Italy, but had re-entered the country illegally in order to reunite with their families.

We suggest here that the vulnerability our informants had experienced during their journeys and in the aftermath of their arrival influences the ways in which they related to the prospect of domestic/care labour. For many, the jobs available in this sector were a strategic stepping stone to formal regularisation, and then to other forms of employment. For others, regularisation was preceded and followed by temporary experiences of domestic/care employment, but finding jobs in the construction, agricultural, or service sector remained the priority. Finally, for some others, domestic/care employment was accepted and valued as an occupation, as well as a way to heal family tensions. The reasons usually advanced by those in the last two groups took into consideration the fact that paid domestic employment provided a safe space in relation to public visibility and the risk of deportability. Emotional and psychological factors played a role too. Among our informants who entered Italy illegally and who subsequently worked in the sector, nearly 40 % emphasised the reassuring nature of this kind of work in terms of housing and relational security in comparison to the traumatic experiences of

journey and initial settlement arrangements. As already noted in Chap. 4, association with Italian families, and the possibility of having a job while hiding from stigmatised and dangerous public places, plays a role in the positive, albeit often ambivalent, evaluation of paid domestic/care labour.

The story of Jules is paradigmatic of a wider tendency adopted by men who had reached Italy more recently. Jules is a 39-year-old man from Senegal who entered illegally to join his wife, and who subsequently worked as a care provider for an elderly man in Perugia. He regularised his position during the 2009 amnesty. Between 2009 and 2012, he worked for the same family, and then found another job in a sweet factory in the countryside and moved out of the city with his wife and 1-year-old child.

Jules: It was not bad...although I admit I would have not considered those kinds of jobs before coming here...But in the first 3 months after I reached Italy, [first] in Sicily, then in Calabria, then in Naples and finally in Rome I often slept in the street, I have been beaten a couple of times, and I really did not know what would have happened next. I was already debilitated after the journey. It seemed incredible to me: my wife was living and working in Perugia and it took me three months to see her after I reached Italy. In Rome I ended up in a migrant association of Senegalese but could not receive much help...then a friend of my wife, a woman from Albania, found a job for me for an Italian family in Perugia. I speak French and English and I had learned decent Italian by that time, so the family was happy because I could also help their son with language once a week...It seemed a miracle to me after months [of being] treated like an animal... And after [a] long time I had a safe bed to sleep [in], [somewhere to] stay away from troubles.

Question: Why did you change?

Jules: Not really because of the job...but after all the experiences I was tired of living in the city. Violence is growing even in small cities like Perugia and people look badly at me because I am black...also I wanted to take my family to the countryside, where life is less expensive and people are more welcoming. So when I was offered this job in the sweet factory I thought I

could live in the nearby village, and of course also [...] have a flat of my own. Many migrant families who live there work in the factory and it is like a small community. My wife also found a new job as a care giver to an elderly [person] there. People know each other and also trust us because we work in the factory. On Saturday, however, in order to raise some money I work for the family where my wife works once a week, to do the heavy cleaning jobs to clean their house. I do not do [it] only for money...at the end it is thanks to these kinds of jobs that I could improve my conditions and I have learned also how to do things! (Jules, 39, Perugia, 2012)

An instrumental approach to domestic/care labour, emphasising its material and legal outcomes, coexists with an appreciation of the relative improvements that this work might bring after prolonged periods of high vulnerability in men's lives. For Jules, entry into this sector allowed him to regain a degree of security and well-being, as well as allowing him to be closer to his wife. Furthermore, Jules stresses how working for the family allowed him to use his language skills and to enter into a collaborative relationship with the employer. This was in contrast with the brutal and dehumanising conditions he experienced prior to domestic/care employment. The move to another occupation is explained less in terms of a shift towards a more masculinised job, although the achievement of residential independence plays a role in the process, and more in terms of moving out of the city, where life is less stable, triggering memories of vulnerability and concerns about the future. Part-time work as a caregiver is made meaningful here not only in terms of monetary advantages but also as a strategy to support the acquisition of skills and living conditions that are relatively more secure.

Deskilling, Gendered Networks, and Debt Repayment

In contexts where the feminisation of migration has deeper roots, as in some Southeast Asian, South Asian, and Latin American states, the emigration of women has long produced deep shifts in gender relations and in the household division of labour, with men taking up various domestic/care responsibilities and reconsidering their role within the

family. This is reported by Sheba George (2005) in the context of Kerala (South India), in relation to women migrating to the USA to work as professional nurses. Nursing as an occupation is usually stigmatised by upper castes and non-Christian communities in Kerala, and men who are left behind encounter discrimination. However, they are not necessarily negative about the changes in their household roles, and appreciate the care and affective labour required of them as the main parent at home. Similarly, in a study by Fresnoza-Flot (2011), Filipino husbands coping with the absence of their wives were more concerned by the fact that their wives were the main family earners than by having to handle domestic tasks themselves. On a different, but related, note, Menjívar (1999) has shown that in the Guatemalan context, migrant women's status as higher earners does not pose a threat to gendered family relations, as it comes to be easily inscribed within a more egalitarian family culture. Furthermore, patriarchal relations may not necessarily inhibit women's mobility, but might, in some circumstances, more ambivalently invest in women agentive role as emigrants and earners as a way to achieve family modernity and enhance household and collective status (Devika 2007; George 2005; Gallo 2005, 2006; Mills 1999).

The framing of women's migration within an analytical context emphasising the overwhelming nature of patriarchal relations is furthermore often premised on *timeless* representations of gendered hierarchies in migrants' home countries (King and Vullnetari 2009).

These considerations are relevant to our understanding of how men relate to the work and family arrangements that follow their arrival in Italy and that result from their entry into paid domestic/care work. Migrant men's expectations of conjugal life and the gendered division of work in the family were significantly transformed by having engaged with shifting cultures of migration—that is, the cultural framework through which the mobility of people is made meaningful and represented in a specific context in their home countries even before migration. A significant number of the young men we interviewed, particularly those from Asia and Latin America, stated that they were keen to marry a woman who had experience of working abroad rather than one who had never left her village/city before, as this would allow the family to achieve greater independence from parental authority and improve their status

life more rapidly. Among older and married men, long-standing relations with emigrant women were often recognised as determinant in compensating for men's loss of work or for their precarious working conditions in either the home country or other migrant destinations. Furthermore, Catholic informants from countries like India, the Philippines, Ecuador, or Peru had often become familiar with the likelihood of family change and with women's working status in Italy through the transnational work of local parishes, who acted as agents of information and pre-migration socialisation into the new context.

The reworking of gender and household relations and the challenges posed to men's status upon their arrival in Italy were not driven simply by an incompatibility between patriarchal family values and women's emancipation in the new context, although, as we will see, both migrant men and women perceived women's roles as having been significantly transformed through novel work situations. Rather, men's self-confidence and their household roles in the new context were challenged also by the combination of men's juridical insecurity, their deskilling, and class demotion, as well as their being located within female-centred networks of labour and social life.

The process of deskilling should be understood by referring to the different (and more prolonged) emigration and working experiences of migrant men. In comparison to the migrant women in our sample, migrant men had greater previous experience of labour migration in different destinations and/or had held jobs in their home country. For many of the migrant women we interviewed, domestic/care labour was similar to the unpaid work they did in their own households in the home country and/or to paid jobs they had done in previous migrant destinations. While migration to Italy often amounted to a form of deskilling in terms of their level of education, for the majority of these women, it did not represent a form of downward occupational mobility. This does not automatically imply that women viewed job opportunities in Italian households under a more favourable light. Migrant women from India, the Philippines, Sri Lanka, and South America, in particular those who had attained higher levels of education, often stressed how their occupations in Italy contrasted with their degrees and with the fact that their own families employed domestic/care labourers. Yet, women were also keen to

recognise that working in Italy constituted a means of achieving a degree of autonomy and personal independence by allowing them not only to enter into occupations that were better paid than those in their country of origin, but also to experience new life opportunities in the new context (Mills 1999; Hondagneu-Sotelo 1994; George 2005).

In contrast, among men, migration to Italy constituted a form of deskilling in relation to previous work experience in their home countries or in the diaspora. Many stressed their acquired competencies as technical labourers (e.g., as carpenters, electricians, tailors) or in ethnic businesses, while for many moving to Italy meant leaving skilled or semi-skilled jobs at home or in the diaspora. Factors such as family reunion, difficulty in reaching or living in other migrant destination, and the fact that Italy is still seen by many as relatively safer compared with the Gulf countries or Northern Europe affected men's attempts to strike a balance between family and work projects, and available routes towards these. Men who had previous emigration experience were keen to stress the contrast between their own cosmopolitanism and the provincialism of the Italian locations where they eventually settled. This was seen in the difficulty they encountered in capitalising on their acquired skills in the new context. A comparative analysis of the migrant narratives of Aadrian and Alfreda, a married couple from Kerala, offers some insights into how migrant women and men differently make sense of their conjugal experiences and domestic working lives in the new context.

Alfreda left Kerala for Italy when she was 18 years old and had worked as a care provider for Italian families for 12 years before getting married. Aadrian worked in Saudi Arabia, Malaysia, and the UK for 20 years. After experiencing heavy physical and psychological harassment in Saudi Arabia, he went back to Kerala. His family arranged his marriage with Alfreda, and he came to Italy in 2001. In a joint conversation with Aadrian and Alfreda, different gendered subjectivities emerged in relation to their migrant trajectories, along with several similarities:

For me Italy is like my second home... I felt that I was a baby, I did not know anything of the world... I had no working experience, and everything I have learned, the good or bad, I have learned it here: to recognise good employers from bad ones, to survive in the city, to move around, to speak good Italian... I

have lived and worked alone for many years sending money home, but I have also bought a house here for my family. I have bought it with my own work, and with the help of no one! And now after years of saving I also have the fancy to shop [for] nice things for myself!! [...]. I have now asked for citizenship as I meet all the criteria, and I think I will get it!! (Alfreda, 49, Rome)

For me it was very different...I have been very independent for many years. Like Alfreda I have been working alone for many years, away from my family. But I did different jobs, I travelled, I earned money...for myself and also I started to help my family in Kerala. I speak Malayali, English, Arabic...and I have learned many occupations: I have worked as [a] carpenter in Saudi Arabia, I was running [a] business in Malaysia with some friends...I have seen the world. Here no one speaks English, and before I learned Italian I was totally cut off the world! I mean, there are many positive sides of having come here: life is safer for us, compared with the UK or Saudi Arabia, there is racism but not so much violence like [there is] there...and also we are Christian and living in the Gulf has become more threatening these days...but when I came here and I started to work as a domestic I just felt that everything I had learned throughout my life had been somehow wasted [or thrown away] (Aadrian, 55, Rome)

Importantly, in both Alfreda's and Aadrian's accounts, migration is made meaningful by referring to a nuanced mixture of individual aspirations and family commitment, although in seemingly different temporal developments: Alfreda emphasises how her initial commitment to family duties did not prevent her from investing in a house for herself later on, which was bought before her marriage. In Alfredo's words, the pleasure of earning money for himself and being independent gives way to family commitment as a mature man. For Alfreda, domestic work and life in Italy was a means through which to gain personal independence, language and inter-personal skills, and adult status, whereas for Aadrian it challenged his working skills and also his identity as a cosmopolitan man. Like many other men we interviewed, Aadrian stressed the fact that he could not really capitalise on his accumulated working experience or demonstrate his skills in the new context. Frustration with language barriers partly emerged in relation to the lack of knowledge of Italian, and partly in relation to not being able to make use of existing multi-lingual

skills. For Aadrian and many others, knowing Italian was deemed important not only to handle relations with their employers, but also to prove that they were 'as good as their wives' in acquiring language skills. Many men were concerned about the risk of appearing parochial or backward if they did not master Italian. The example of Aadrian and Alfreda is also important in relation to their different legal statuses, which might also generate tensions and exacerbate the sense of dependence and inferiority in migrant husbands. For Alfreda, citizenship seemed an achievable goal, whereas for Aadrian, the prospect was to struggle for several years with the renewal of working permits. This situation is similar to that encountered by other couples, with the percentage of migrant women having obtained citizenship or holding a long-term residence permit being significantly higher than that of migrant men, and with illegal status being more common among the latter.

Men's entry into a predominantly female network is another important aspect to consider in making sense of men's experience within domestic/care labour, not least because the gendered nature of migrant networks is a constitutive, albeit often neglected, element in the forging of men's and women's identities (Ahmad 2011; Phizacklea 2003). As discussed in previous chapters, in women-centred networks, moral surveillance has a generational dimension, with migrant men becoming accountable not only to their 'more experienced' wives, but also to older women who have gained the status of 'big women' within the community (Gallo 2005, 2006). This has profound implications for how conjugal relations are conceptualised in the new context. Married men were usually expected to accept the terms and conditions of domestic employment and of shifting women's lives. In the case of Peruvian, Indian, and Filipino women we spoke with, many were adamant in stating that their husbands would need to understand that their own lives had changed during years of separation and working experience, and migrant men were often discussed in terms that emphasised men's difficulties in orienting themselves to the new context. An extract from a conversation we had with a couple from Peru illustrates how men's identities are reworked through their location within feminising women's networks. Victor came to Italy in 1999 to join his wife Gabriela, who had been working there since the late 1980s. Victor's journey was made possible, thanks to Gabriela's earnings and to

her aunt, who had been living in Italy for many years and who were one of the few people in the wider kin network to hold Italian citizenship. In Peru, Victor owned and ran a small shop, but when he arrived in Italy he was expected by his wife and in-laws to contribute to the family budget by working as a domestic. In the extract below, Victor engages critically with the expectations of Gabriela and her relatives:

Gabriela: Poor Victor, he was totally lost...the change has been very big for him, he did not want to talk to people and he was cutting himself out of social relations and with me also. I understood this, but at the same time I tried to make him understand that it was also difficult for me to come here, to accept these jobs...to learn how to live with Italian families and to smile and be happy even when you feel exhausted!! I tried to tell him that I did not expect to see a husband who, after all these years of separation, had come here to keep silent all the time!! I wanted him to recognise how my life was there, the many sacrifices and satisfactions that my work has bought to me. Also, my family here was very disoriented by his reluctant behaviour and started to put pressure on me to make him act properly (Gabriela, 53, Perugia, 2008)

Victor: Don't call me 'poor', I am not stupid...But when I came here I had so many people expecting so much from me: my wife, her sister, her aunt... all telling you what to do and what not to do. I already had a big debt with them because they paid for my travel expenses, and also for all the rest in the first month...but we are not machines, are we? It is not that you come here and you start acting as if all your past life has not existed...My wife came here when she was young, I was 45! And it was not easy to go to work for a family with the anxiety that if you do not clean properly, [if] you do not behave well they will tell your family [...] and they will scold you. At least when I was working in Peru and I was making mistakes I was answerable to myself...not to a mass of women!!! (Victor, 55, Perugia, 2008)

Gabriela draws from her personal experience as a working woman to empathise with Victor's disorientation; like him, she also had to rethink her life and daily attitudes due to often restrictive working conditions and to employers' expectations of the 'efficient and happy domestic'. Yet, she also stresses her frustration with Victor's actions in distancing himself rather than willingly sharing his experiences or involving himself in her

working and family life. By calling Victor 'poor', Gabriela highlights her husband's shortcomings in being unable to adjust to the new context and provide her with the solace she needed after years of conjugal separation. Victor rejects demeaning representations and stresses the difficulties in being located at the centre of a gendered network of requirements and expectations. Rather than resorting to a repertoire of strong masculine behaviour in response to challenges from his in-laws, Victor emphasises that he is not a 'machine' and that adjusting to the new context required him to reconsider his past and present role within the family and in relation to previous working experiences.

Although moments of conflict were often reported, migrant men were concerned with the need to compensate for years of separation by making compromises and trying to adjust to new conditions. In many instances, men used their salary from the first months' work to repay the debts contracted with kin women.

Crucially, in cases of illegal entry into Italy, domestic employment allowed men to repay additional debts contracted with smugglers and brokers. Compared with previous generations of migrant men within the IDRL (see Gallo 2006), in recent years, even migrant men who work in the domestic/care sector are located within multiple gendered networks, from the women-centred kin networks of support and control, to the more masculine networks of smuggling, exploitation and blackmail. In this context, being located within a women-centred network, while providing men with a relatively safer space, often puts them in conflict with the other debt relationships they may have entered into in order to reach Italy. Family tensions often arise due to men's need to pay brokers back out of their earnings and the resulting delay in fulfilling their duties towards the wider kin network.

We should note that general expectations about migrant men accepting available job opportunities are not only based on economic concerns in the context of a limited labour market. Of equal importance is the fact that many migrant women we interviewed considered men's acceptance of domestic/care labour, and of the resulting life arrangements, as a form of acknowledgement of women's achievements, social relations, and renewed lifestyles. Without denying the many sacrifices required and the burdens they accepted in the workplace, women were keen to stress the positive relationships they could sometimes establish with employers,

and their acquisition of a familiarity with Italian food, daily habits, and dress codes, which were associated with a respectable middle-class Italian lifestyle. Often expressing pride in the changes that had occurred in their lives, they also expected their husbands to show interest, empathy, and curiosity towards them. For migrant women, being placed within a wider network of intergenerational female support and/or peer sharing in many cases is a source of validation of their lives and choices. In contrast, while migrant men were not necessarily critical of their wives' working conditions and life choices, the need to deal with a wider milieu of gendered expertise and connections made them at once more anxious and more critical in their approach to their own working experience.

Shifting Conjugal Relations and the Gendered Division of Work

The ways in which men make sense of domestic/care labour and capitalise on their working experiences have important implications for conjugal life in the immigration context. In many circumstances, migrant men are socialised into the organisational and affective requirements of domestic/care labour and are made aware of the positive effects of women's work long before their departure from the home country. While they acknowledge the challenges posed to the gendered division of work in the private sphere by the absence of women, and adopt critical stances towards 'absent women', migrant men are also often ready to recognise the positive contribution of their emigrated wives to the development of the family, or the country of origin.

Our interview with Miguel, a 58-year-old man from Peru, reveals how stories of conjugal change should be understood within a context that takes into account both the working experience of women within the IDRL and the resulting arrangements undertaken by men in the gendered division of work.

My wife, when she came back home she always told me how difficult was to find a job for men in Italy. Not only my wife but all the women contribute to the development of their families and the country, they work a lot. My wife had been working as a nurse in Italy and I was staying in our country.

I was looking after the kids, and [I had] temporary jobs when they called me. My wife sent money home because I was not earning more than, say, 120 USD a month. Our four children, included one daughter, they all study thanks to my wife...she was the support for all our expenses, and I could not take up far away jobs because I had to look after the kids. My wife has come here in Italy to give a future to our children, we talked a lot about this: shall I go? Will you go? But she knew the situation better thanks to a friend of hers who had migrated to Italy...then my wife lost her job as a nurse and started to work as a domestic, she is 56 years old. I am now 58 and I can only do temporary jobs here in Italy...but we both adjust (Miguel, 58, Peru, Milan)

Gayan, 37, told us of his experience:

When my wife was away and I was still living in Colombo I could rely on other women in the house, and often I certainly did. But for me it was also an occasion to be more present at home, to manage things by myself rather than relying on others...and also the kids needed my help. I tried to negotiate with my employer in Colombo to work part-time: I told them that I had to be a father and a mother...given the situation. [...] [H]e did not agree, but I could still manage to stop work two hours early every day in order to cook for the kids and clean the house before the dark time. My wife has been determinant in moving all of us on. (Gayan, 37, Sri Lanka. Perugia)

In both accounts, migrant men reflect on the processual nature of their acquaintance with unpaid domestic/care labour resulting from their wives' absence. Importantly, rather than emphasising the inappropriateness of such tasks for men, Zachariah and Gayan emphasised that as men they would have been able to prove their autonomy in managing domestic/care tasks without exclusively relying on the help of kin women. In both circumstances, they accept either temporary working conditions or rearrange their working hours in order to take on renewed roles as care providers and domestics. In this context, the breadwinning role assigned to their wives does not necessarily lead men to perceive their status as demeaned or marginal. Rather, by praising the active contribution women have made to family improvements, they also reinscribe their agentive role within the family as adaptable husbands and fathers, who strike a balance between compensating for their children's emotional loss and providing them with a clean and reassuring domestic environment.

Pre-migration experience of unpaid domestic/care work in many cases helps migrant men in their often difficult entry into the sector. While for young men, socialisation into domestic/care labour more often constituted a rupture with respect to previous gender roles within the home, more mature and married men who followed their wives frequently drew from previous experiences. Interestingly, some older men were irritated by the disciplining attempts enacted by the parish or by kin women in the new context to turn them into 'good husbands' and 'good fathers', assuming that they needed to change. Arsenio, for example, stated his pride in being a 'house-husband' (*marito casalingo*):

That Catholic volunteer thought that [...] because I came from Ecuador I beat my wife and climb the *lianas* like Tarzan! I felt insulted. It took me a while in Ecuador to accept the situation and to learn how to do things within the house, and now I come here and people treat me like a brutal man who has to be educated in good manners. Also my wife laughed at the situation and told the man that I [had] already learned many things in these years... Indeed I am a good "house-husband!" (Arsenio, 35, Ecuador. Perugia)

Migrant men thus claim a masculine identity, which is also enacted within the house; the difficulties they face in reconsidering their roles co-exist with claims that they are able to run the home successfully in the absence of their women. Accepting that we should avoid over-emphasising the novelty of men entering unpaid paid care work in the receiving country, migrant men's entry into paid care has implications for men's understanding of their masculinity, for conjugal life, and for the gendered division of work. Men often reflected on the differences between the ways in which they carried out tasks in their own homes and the higher standards required by their employers, and were sometimes keen to import things back into their own houses. This was a way for them to not only acknowledge the acquisition of new skills but also to show their wives that they understood women's perspectives:

Well, when I [cleaned] in my house I cleaned [it] in my own way...then my landlady tells me that this is not good. I am quite pissed off [...], as I thought I was doing it well...when you do not do some tasks it is bad, when you do it is not enough, it is irritating...as women are never happy.

After a while you try to learn and to give a better service to the employer... but then once you have learned [it is] better to do [the same] in our home as well, no? Otherwise why did I learn? (Gayan, 37, Sri Lanka. Perugia)

It is not only a matter of cleaning...for me it was to realise many sides of the job: what people need, what do they feel, how to approach a person who is not well. For my wife it was easier: before coming to Italy she was looking after her mother and also she has a handicapped sister...but for me it was difficult to understand how to hold an elderly [person], to recognise if he is happy or sad if he cannot speak...all these little things which are important but no one tells you as a man because you are not expected to know them, are you? But then when my wife was sick after a car accident... I knew how to take care of her (Abdou, 37, Senegal. Perugia)

The interview helps us to understand how migrant men cope with the transference of acquired working skills into their own family lives. Gayan reflects on the opportunity to capitalise on the skills learned at work to enhance his contribution within his own house. In this respect, migrant men linked the service quality provided to their employers with the better accomplishment of household tasks in their own homes. Abdou reflects on the different trajectories undertaken by him and his wife. While his wife is deemed to have been facilitated in her work by the unpaid care work she did at home in the past, for Abdou care skills were acquired at work and then transferred back into his family. In common with other older men working in care services whom we interviewed, looking after an impaired elder was made meaningful not only by referring to practical or physical tasks, but also to the emotional labour required to capture the needs and desires of the person cared for. The acquisition of these skills at work plays an important role in migrant men's reconsiderations of their nurturant role within the house. As Hanlon (2012: 6) notes, 'Care relations expose important contradictions and tensions in men's lives: between the hegemonic dictates of masculinities and the intimate, compassionate and empathetic experience of our inherent human vulnerability'.

In this respect, men's experiences of domestic/care work, while being partly perceived as a challenge to their masculinity, might also be valued insofar as they allow them to gain awareness of the multi-layered emotional, practical, and organisational investment such work requires.

Some migrant men told us that their working experience allowed them to better understand the struggles of their wives: the racism experienced at work, the need to develop interpersonal skills at home in order to cope with demanding employers, and the emotional distress encountered in looking after an elderly person.

After I replaced my wife at work I realised how difficult has been for her all these years to look after the old woman and then come back home to look after the kids and send money back home to me. We had many fights at the beginning because I did not want to do this job...I preferred cleaning a house to looking after an old person because really I did not know what to do! Then I realised that it was important for to keep the job so I replaced her for 9 months when she was pregnant...but slowly I have come to appreciate some parts of the job: to give some relief to the person, to do something good I mean...When my wife took up the job again, I decided to stay at home with the child and then I also looked for a paid care job when we sent George to the kindergarten. (Thomas, 36, Kerala. Rome)

For Thomas, the swing between paid elderly care and unpaid childcare both reflects and produces changing in his marriage; it allows him to reduce the distance from his wife created by years of separation, and to minimise the conflicts that might arise from his resistance to certain occupations. Men's socialisation into unpaid care labour within their own families was also shaped by the constraining nature of domestic/care work. As women tend more often to be in full-time and live-in occupations, particularly in the first few years after the husband's arrival, men are compelled to fill the gaps left by their wives in the management of the house and in care provision.

I know that Wednesday is my day to do the house cleaning, as Maria is at work. Then Saturday afternoon I am again free and I do the shopping for the Sunday lunch and the following week. I mean you have to be *into* this...keeping records of what is needed, what is missing...I cannot wait for my wife to remember for me as [she did] when we were living in the Philippines! (Kyle, 51, Philippines. Perugia)

At home we both need to be present if we do not want to mess up our schedule...This is what I am trying to repeat to my employer: they have a

busy schedule and my work is crucial for them, but I also have a busy schedule in my own house...it is not because I am a man that I can just leave everything to my wife. Here life is different, my wife is even busier than me as she works for two families...so we try to manage equally as much as we can. (Gayan, 37, Sri Lanka. Perugia)

Migrant men were usually expected to take on childcare or other family care responsibilities while their women are at work; these might include accompanying their own children (or relatives' children) to school and picking them up, doing the weekly shopping, or cleaning the house. As time passes and men acquire language competency and working skills, they may be willing to move to full-time jobs in domestic service or, more frequently, in paid care work. Live-in occupations are less preferred by older and married migrant men, but might be considered by younger men as a temporary money-saving solution. The move to full-time work usually allows men to earn salaries similar to their wives, but they may also begin to earn more, particularly when they are appreciated by employers for being able to cover different tasks within the house.⁵

Men were explicit about rethinking their gendered roles within the family by drawing from their experiences of paid domestic/care work. They reflected on how the tight working schedules of their wives combined with their own, often difficult, relations with demanding employers, necessitated a more equal distribution of tasks within the migrant family. Significantly, Gayan equates his own busy schedule with that of his employer and reflects on the fact that while the latter can rely on a domestic worker, in his own case, 'the man' has to do domestic tasks for two households. Thus, our data lead us to consider how migrant men's socialisation into domestic/care tasks and emotional labour in the workplace are accompanied by the transfer of these new skills to their own domestic lives. This transfer is in many instances valued by more mature men as a sign of their active and processual adjustment to novel conjugal and family situations (cf. Pribilsky 2004), although it does not exempt migrant men from regarding the constraining effects of new working and life conditions with deep ambivalence. Male domestic workers' progressive

⁵ See the analysis developed in Chap. 5.

engagement with domestic life involves (to some extent) a transformation that is the opposite of that experienced by female domestic workers. As previously noted in this chapter, migrant men are socialised into domestic/care labour prior to their emigration, in the absence of their wives. Paid domestic/care labour in the immigration society produces a further socialisation of men into this work in the public sphere of work, which may result in men transferring the skills acquired at work into a relatively more egalitarian division of work in their household.

However, a more equal gendered division of work within the migrant family cannot be generalised; based on our sample, these changes are often conditioned upon differences related to the generation and life-cycle stage of migrant men, as well as their class background, previous migration, and working experiences. Younger unmarried men or young men who joined their wives soon after marriage can perceive their new working and living conditions as demeaning, and may be reluctant to share domestic tasks at home:

I hold a university degree in my own country and I did not come here to clean toilets all the time!! I am already doing this at work, but when my wife expects me to do it at home again then I get really angry....this is not my duty, I am already adjusting too much at work and she should recognise this! (Egzon, 29, Albania. Perugia)

A man has his own needs after work...I mean more than a woman he should have his own free time, meeting with friends, think of himself... Here spaces for yourself are very limited with work and families often demanding a lot from me...I am 26, you see! Of course I work and spend time with my wife, but she cannot ask me as soon as I can back home to clean and iron!! She can do it! (Mason, 26, Kerala. Rome)

For some younger men we interviewed, the need to accept demeaning feminised jobs led them to reassert their masculine identities by refusing to do similar work in their own homes. Migrant men often referred to their educational level in order to emphasise that the fact of having adjusted to a demeaning occupation should in itself suffice to exempt them from doing such tasks at home. In this respect, younger migrant men distinguished between paid domestic/care labour and

unpaid domestic/care work; while the former was tolerated as a survival strategy in the new context, the latter was kept at a distance by reaffirming naturalising associations between womanhood and social reproduction. While younger men also considered the possibility of transferring paid care labour experiences into their own domestic lives, they usually applied stricter selection criteria. More masculinised tasks such as repair work or heavy shopping could be accepted. Childcare could be contemplated as an enjoyable activity linked to their own sense of fatherhood. However, they kept a careful distance from more feminised tasks like cleaning, washing, or ironing in their own homes. Migrant men in their 30s often encouraged their wives to move to part-time occupations while they searched for better jobs for themselves in order to reproduce a traditional division of work. In many instances, however, we observed that this usually met with the explicit criticism of migrant women who promoted more egalitarian gender relations:

When my husband tells me that hanging wet clothes is rather demeaning for him I remind him that, like him, I also have a university degree and that for me as well it has been anything but easy to adjust to these occupations in Italy...So, I told him that [if] he does not want to hang *our* clothes then I do not wish to wash *his* socks, and that each of us can look after our own laundry, cooking, ironing when we are back from work. (Shilpa, 29, Kerala. Rome)

What is the point in having a part-time occupation if I earn less money and then still have to do all the housework once I am back at home? Honestly I am not keen after all these years to earn less money than my husband...I think it is much cleverer if we both work full-time and that, since we cannot hire a domestic here as we would have done in the Philippines, we share the tasks in our own flat. We earn more money and we avoid fighting all the time at the weekends!" (Michelle, 31, Philippines. Rome)

Migrant women were often reluctant to accept their husbands' claims regarding the covering of domestic/care tasks. Indeed, they emphasised how for them too, reproductive labour constituted a step down in terms of their educational and professional qualifications. In the process, the younger women we spoke with also often challenged any naturalising associations between womanhood and reproductive labour which were

voiced by their husbands. Similarly, like Michelle, they questioned the unsuitability of switching to part-time occupations in order to comply with their husband's demands to take on more domestic/care chores in their own homes. Younger women saw such moves as reassigning them a dependent position in relation to their husbands, involving a renunciation of their equal or higher salaries.

Male Domestic/Care Workers and Changing Experiences of Fatherhood

Fatherhood is another important field in which migrant men have to confront changing family and work situations, and relationships of dependence with employers. Before analysing the role of employment relations in shaping migrant men's experiences of parenting, we should recognise that, like conjugal relations, the experience of fatherhood is transformed before, during, and after migration, and is also greatly affected by the absence of wives and/or mothers. As we have seen, migrant men often take up childcare responsibilities when their wives are not present, in both the home country and the immigration society. While the men in our sample often admitted that they relied to various extents on wider female-centred networks in the home country, thereby confirming the gendered working of the 'global care chain' (Hochschild 2001), this also suggests that the outsourcing of parenting from migrant women to women left behind in the home country does not capture the full picture. Migrant men's narratives highlight how fathering had to be reworked not only in terms of taking up daily tasks but also by rethinking the affective and bodily aspects of being a father. The following accounts are from men who raised their children while their wives were working in Italy:

It was hard for me to accept that my wife was looking after other people's children...I mean children that she did not know, I do not yet know...and that she put all that effort into caring [for] them by also denying this care to our own children....this was hard, it was hard for her but also for me... because in the end she was away and she could not see our kids...but I *saw* them, *every day*, sharing their crying, listening [to] their questions about

where mummy is...It was not enough to delegate everything to others...I had to be there...otherwise to the children it would have appeared as a second betrayal [...]. (Xavier, 39, Philippines. Perugia)

You realize things that you really do not see before...how much your behavior can hurt the children...after my wife left I realized I had become like an elephant which has to learn [to] walk on crystal glasses...because as a man you are not trained to be so, let's say, sensitive...not in my family at least!! But then you have to fill the gap for them, to be a mother and a father for them. Your wife is looking after other children....and you as a father have to double your love in order to give the same treatment those children have on the other side of the ocean to your own children.... (Mendis, 41, Sri Lanka. Milan)

I was asking my wife...How do you do [deal] with the kids over there? Also, by working in that family in Italy, they are very rich...she had become very particular about clothing...they had to be only cotton. Medicine, she sent the medicine her employers advised...she instructed me on what to cook for [our son], and she was not always happy with our usual way of being. She told me that in Italy families do it differently, like they do not give the child broccoli at three months...So I was learning from my wife and from her employers at the same time!! (Macijec, 35, Poland. Perugia)

These accounts illustrate the tendency among some of our informants to compare the care provided to the employers' children in Italy with the care received by their own children. Migrant men often sought to compensate for their wives' absence and to partly fill the gap in terms of caring for 'children left behind'. In comparison with their wives, our interlocutors claimed that they had come to know more about their children in everyday life, and to have become more aware of the affective challenges posed by separation. While they admitted that their educational background and family culture had not prepared them for the tasks of childcare, they were not necessarily keen to withdraw from paternal responsibilities or to delegate childcare to other women. On the contrary, it appears that the physical absence of their wives made them rethink their care responsibilities by assuming both maternal and paternal roles. Fathers often drew from the working experience of their migrant wives to gain knowledge

about Italian employer's family culture and childcare habits, and try to carry out the instructions they receive (as in the case of Macijec) in order to reduce family tensions and to provide their children with better care. In this respect, wives often act as moral instructors of their male partners in the matter of childcare and influence men's actions as fathers:

Question: Was it difficult to handle the kids by yourself?

Felipe: I did not have economic problems, I just had to find a job near the house, otherwise I could have not accepted. The children were at a very difficult stage...adolescence...and my wife was always criticizing me on the phone. She was telling me, 'you have to be with them', but I was always with them!!! I was going to the school assembly...80 % were mothers and then some [were] fathers like me. Separation was really hard...because for us staying together was the most important thing, after 13 years of marriage we have always done everything together. After my wife, my daughter left, and then our two sons, the younger [did not] because he was still at the University. When my wife was sending money I never touched anything... everything was going to the kids, nothing should have been taken away from them. (Felipe, 35, Peru. Milan)

Overall, fatherhood, in the absence of the mothers, prompts novel understandings of men's care responsibilities, which develop in a context in which they also emotionally struggle to cope with distance from their wives. After their own emigration, men often capitalise on these experiences to assert their parental authority. If the family reunites, for example, fathers are keen to remind their wives that they have spent a longer time with the children than them and thus they know their needs better. In those cases in which migrant men left their children in the home country, they were often very much involved in transnational care activities through sending remittances and gifts, making video calls, and, when possible, coming to visit them. In this respect, narratives of fatherhood show the deep imbrication of migrant men's masculinity within a wider network of relations, which can require challenging emotional labour. In this respect, our data concur with recent findings highlighting migrant men's involvement in transnational care, showing that 'emotional labour and sacrifice is not the exclusive domain

of transnational mothers' (Schmalzbauer 2014, 2015; see also Kilkey, Plomien and Perrons 2013).

Experience of unpaid or paid care also promotes a generational shift in the way migrant men understand fatherhood (Brannen et al. 2013). In common with the Irish and Polish migrants analysed by Brannen et al. (2013), many of our informants, particularly those from India, the Philippines, Poland, and Peru, emphasised how both unpaid and paid care work had complicated their views about what they identified as traditional authoritarian parenting, or about the physical distance usually expected from fathers as opposed to mothers. Being involved in the 'dirty work' of intimate care in some circumstances led men to reflect on the need to be physically more present with their children, to engage with the cleaning and washing of the body, and to show physical affection in everyday life. As one informant from Kerala stated:

In our family men were never supposed to engage with this dirty thing of cleaning, partly because you know in India there are also these pollution things...also for the Christians, albeit less than for the Hindus...And also fathers are not so much expected to kiss and cuddle the children, this is women's business...My father never did this with me...It is sad, but this is how it was...But then I started to change during the years I was alone, and also through my work...yes, I was caring for an elderly [person], not a child! But in these jobs many barriers actually have to fall...and if they fall for the elderly, then, let them fall also for your own kids!! (Babu, Kerala. Rome)

Importantly, working experiences give rise to reconsiderations not only of father-child relations but also of wider family culture. In the example above, Babu distances himself from the generational model of his own father. However, while involvement in the IDRL might generate considerable shifts in caring ideas and practices among migrant men, employment relations are also frequently seen as an obstacle to the privacy and independence of family life. This is particularly evident in cases where the migrant family lives with the employer. Rich employers are often able to accommodate the couple in a separate flat or in another area of the house, but remain vigilant with regard to the migrant family's dynamics. Employer interference in issues such as how to feed or dress children, or how to treat them when they are sick is

sometimes less welcomed by migrant men than by migrant women, if it overlaps with close physical proximity to the employer. Men see this interference as challenging their householder role and putting into questions the expertise they have gained during years of independent parenting. Furthermore, it is also often seen as linked to interference by employers in migrants' conjugal affairs, and to employers' reluctance to allow women greater independence by allowing her to work without living-in:

The other day the landlord scolded me because he heard from my wife that I had shouted at the child...actually I did not really shout, but I was tired, and the child kept crying so I got irritated. We are human beings...but here you always have to be careful in your behaviour, not only at work but also in your own life. My wife tells me that they are good people...that they care for the child...but I am the one who cares first for the child, with my wife of course...and I know what I am doing...[...] they should also respect some limits. (Xavier, 39, Philippines. Perugia)

Xavier's account clearly addresses the delicate dynamics underpinning the cohabitation between employers and employees, and how migrant parenting is reworked in the process. The arrival of husbands is often perceived as a critical stage by employers not only due to the fear of contamination of the house (Anderson 2000; Gallo 2006) but also because of the potential disruption of household routines by inappropriate gendered behaviour, the latter ranging from men's sexuality, but also conjugality or fathering. Frequently employers were keen to dispense advice on what they considered to be good modern children's education, in order to turn the working subject into a harmonious presence within the household and to educate the entire migrant family. On the contrary, while migrant men are keen to build on personalistic relations in order to promote mobility in terms of children's schooling,⁶ political activism or associationism, or to find better jobs, they are far more reluctant to accept employers' interference in the intimate lives of their own families.

⁶ See Chap. 5.

Conclusion

Migration brings with it the reformulation of different cultural codes of affection across geographical distance (Ryan 2008; Ewing 2005) and locates the subjects ‘in between’ different, and often in conflicting, individual, family, and collective expectations of gendered family relations, of care provision, and of related cultures of emotions (Baldassar 2008; Gallo 2015a; Maehara 2010; Baldassar et al. 2007; Baldassar and Merla 2013). Men’s engagement with pioneer women migration, and their location within the IDRL, deeply challenges customary family roles and requires men to engage with renewed forms of care provision and of emotional labour within their families, as well as through employment relations. As in the context analysed by Pribilsky (2004), men enter into a process of reciprocal adjustment with their wives and of redefinition of the affective and organisational frames of conjugality and parenthood.

This adaptation goes well beyond the shifting assignation of domestic tasks to gendered subjects. It brings with it profound changes in how the household comes to be understood, experienced, and transformed through transnational conjugality. In this chapter, we have explored how men’s entry into the IDRL, and their resulting commitment to paid and unpaid domestic work, both results from and produces changes in marriage and family life. We have argued for the need to understand migrant men’s adjustment to the life and working conditions underpinning the IDRL by looking at the wider *temporal* and *spatial* dimensions of their international mobility. In particular, we looked at how migrant married men engage with migration flows, which are either predominantly feminised or where the emigration of women co-exists with and challenges traditional gendered forms of men’s migration. The understanding of how women’s migration impacts men and how men cope with their locations within women-centred networks is essential in order to challenge the ‘separate sphere’ approach (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005; Brod 1994) to men and women that often characterises men’s studies. We have located the understanding of migrant men’s conjugality within a context where transnational marriages confront socio-economic, legal, cultural, and affective constraints. The latter often produce delays, disillusion, and traumatic experiences in men’s lives, and this, in turn, shapes their

subsequent engagement with paid and unpaid domestic/care work. The importance of novel working experiences goes well beyond economic or legal 'advantages', and addresses the need to consider the deep shifts these experiences generate in men's gendered understanding of their identities, family roles, and emotional experience.

We have suggested that men's socialisation into domestic/care tasks often precedes their emigration, with men taking up care and domestic responsibilities in the home countries in the absence of their wives and female relatives. However, migration also requires men to engage with new work-related expectations and to cope with newly acquired skills, producing changes in their identities as husbands, householders, and fathers. Migrant men's location within women-centred networks combines with their initial employment in jobs that may be less well-paid (in comparison to their wives) and which are often part-time, leading them to take on childcare and domestic responsibilities within shared houses. Working experiences also feed into the ways migrant men understand care and domestic requirements and dilemmas. While men's socialisation into care/domestic labour produces a more equal distribution of work within the household, our data also indicate that this process is highly influenced by migrant men's generation and by their stage in the life course. Senior married men who have more experience of transnational conjugal life may be more inclined to rethink their organisational and emotional contributions to household life and to paid and unpaid domestic labour equally with their wives in the new context. In contrast, among the younger couples we interviewed, men's reluctance to share domestic work was more pronounced and more frequently appeared to lead to emotional distress and conjugal conflicts.

Overall, the flow of migrant men into the IDRL through conjugal relations emerges as having both enabling and constraining effects on men's lives. On the one hand, marriage locates migrant men within a safer kin-based network of information, material provision, and emotional solidarity. On the other hand, gendered networks and resulting housing strategies combine with constraining employment relations in limiting the extent to which migrant men can live their lives as husbands and fathers. Younger men's narratives often emphasise the need to carve out spaces not only for individual autonomy but also for more intimate

lives with their wives and children. Older men more poignantly stressed their anxieties over how their failures at work might negatively impact their respectability, and sought private spaces in which to share their anxieties and dilemmas. It is in this context that we need to understand men's strategies to move away from 'women's work', —something that applies to both older and younger migrant men. This move, the following chapter suggests, aims at withdrawing men from more feminised and feminising occupations and social milieus, and at carving out spaces in which personal independence, collective visibility, and family well-being can be better achieved.

Bibliography

- Ahmad, A.N. 2008. Human smuggling and illegal labour: Pakistani migrants in London's informal economy. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 34(6): 853–874.
- Ahmad, A.N. 2011. *Masculinity, sexuality and illegal migration: Human smuggling from Pakistan to Europe*. Farnham: Ashgate.
- Alicia, M. 1997. "A chambered nautilus": The contradictory nature of Puerto Rican women's role in the social construction of a transnational community. *Gender and Society* 11(5): 597–626.
- Ambrosini, M. 2012. Migrants' entrepreneurship in transnational social fields: Research in the Italian context. *International Review of Sociology* 22(2): 273–292.
- Anderson, B. 2000. *Doing the dirty work? The global politics of domestic labour*. London: Zed Books.
- Baldassar, L. 2008. Missing Kin and longing to be together. *Journal of Intercultural Studies* 29(3): 247–266.
- Baldassar, L., and L. Merla. 2013. Locating transnational care circulation in migration and family studies. In *Transnational families, migration and the circulation of care*, ed. L. Baldassar and L. Merla. London: Routledge.
- Baldassar, L., C. Baldock, and R. Wilding. 2007. *Families caring across borders: Migration, ageing and transnational caregiving*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Brannen, J., A. Mooney, V. Wigfall, and V. Parutis. 2013. Fatherhood and transmission in the context of migration: An Irish and Polish case. *International Migration* 52(1): 165–177.

- Brod, H. 1994. Some thoughts on some histories of some masculinities: Jews and other stories. In *Theorizing masculinities*, ed. D.S. David and R. Brannon. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Boccagni, P. 2012. Practising motherhood at a distance: Retention and loss in Ecuadorian transnational families. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 38(2): 261–277.
- Calavita, K. 2006. Gender, migration, and law: Crossing borders and bridging disciplines. *International Migration Review* 40(1): 104–132.
- Charsley, K. 2006. Unhappy husbands: Masculinity and migration in transnational Pakistani marriages. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute (N.S.)* 11: 85–105.
- Connell, R.W., and J.M. Messerschmidt. 2005. Hegemonic masculinity: Rethinking the concept. *Gender & Society* 19(6): 829–859.
- Devika, J. 2007. *Engendering individuals*. Hyderabad: Orient Longman.
- Ewing, K.P. 2005. Immigrant identities and emotions. In *A companion to psychological anthropology*, ed. C. Casey and R. Edgerton. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Fresnoza-Flot, A. 2011. Le Vécu Masculin de la Migration Des femmes: Les cas Des Maris Philippins Restés au Pays'. *Cahiers du Genre* 3(2): 199–217.
- Gallo, E. 2005. Unorthodox sisters: Gender relations and generational change in Malayali transnational marriages. *Indian Journal of Gender Studies* 12(1–2): 217–251.
- Gallo, E. 2006. Italy is not a good place for men. Narratives of place, marriage and masculinity among Malayali migrants in Rome. *Global Networks* 6(4): 159–174.
- Gallo, E. 2013. Migrants are not all the same. Families, remittances and morality in southern India. *Migration Letters* 10(1): 33–46.
- Gallo, E. 2015a. The irony of kinship. Conflicts and the control of emotions in migrants. Intergenerational memories. *Emotions, Space and Society*. Online before print 27 Dec 2014. Available at: doi:[10.1016/j.emospa.2014.12.001](https://doi.org/10.1016/j.emospa.2014.12.001)
- Gamburd, M.R. 2000. *The kitchen spoon's handle. Transnationalism and Sri Lanka's migrant housemaids*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Gardner, K. 1995. *Global migrants, local lives. Travel and transformation in rural Bangladesh*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Gardner, K., and R. Grillo. 2002. Transnational households and rituals: An overview. *Global Networks* 2(3): 179–188.
- Gardner, K., and F. Osella, F. (eds.). 2003. Migration, modernity and social transformation in South Asia. Special issue of *Contributions to Indian Sociology* 37(1 and 2).
- George, S. 2005. *When women come first. Gender and class in transnational migration*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

- Guarnizo, L.E., and M.P. Smith. 1998. The locations of transnationalism. In *Transnationalism from below: Comparative urban and community research*, ed. M.P. Smith and L.E. Guarnizo. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers.
- Hage, G. 2009. Introduction. In *Waiting*, ed. G. Hage. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press.
- Haggis, J., and S. Schech. 2009. Migrants, masculinities and work in the Australian national imaginary. In *Migrant men. Critical studies of masculinities and the migration experience*, ed. M. Donaldson, R. Hibbins, R. Howson, and B. Pease. London: Routledge.
- Hanlon, N. 2012. *Masculinities, care and equality*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Hochschild, A.R. 2001. Global care chains and emotional surplus value. In *On the edge*, ed. W. Hutton and A. Giddens. London: Vintage.
- Hondagneu-Sotelo, P. 1994. *Gendered transitions: Mexican experiences of immigration*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- King, R., and J. Vullnetari. 2009. The intersection of gender and generation in Albanian migration, remittances and transnational care. *Human Geography* 91(1): 19–38.
- Levitt, P. 2001. *The transnational villagers*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Levitt, P., and D. Lamba-Nieves. 2011. Social remittances revisited. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 37(1): 1–22.
- Maehara, N. 2010. Emotional ambiguity: Japanese migrant women in mixed families and their life transition. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 36(6): 953–966.
- Mahler, S. 1998. Engendering transnational migration: A case study of Salvadorans. *American Behavioral Scientist* 42(4): 690–719.
- Mand, K. 2002. Place, gender and power in transnational Sikh marriages. *Global Networks: A Journal of Transnational Affairs* 2(3): 233–248.
- Margold, J.A. 1995. Narratives of masculinity and transnational migration: Filipino workers in the middle-east. In *Bewitching women, pious men: Gender and body politics in Southeast Asia*, ed. A. Ong and M.G. Peletz. Berkeley: Berkeley University Press.
- Menjívar, C. 1999. The intersection of work and gender: Central American immigrant women and employment in California. *American Behavioural Scientist* 42(4): 595–621.
- Mills, M.B. 1999. *Thai women in the global labor force: Consuming desires, contested selves*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.
- Osella, C., and F. Osella. 2000. Migration, money and masculinity in Kerala. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 6(1): 115–131.

- Osella, F., and C. Osella. 2007. "I am gulf": The production of cosmopolitanism in Kozhikode, Kerala, India. In *Struggling with history: Islam and cosmopolitanism in the Western Indian Ocean*, ed. E. Simpson and K. Kresse. London: Hurst.
- Palriwala, R., and P. Ubeori. 2008. Exploring the Links: Gender issues in marriage and migration. In *Marriage, migration and gender*, ed. R. Palriwala and P. Ubeori. New Delhi: Sage.
- Phizacklea, A. 2003. Gendered actors in migration. In *Gender and ethnicity in contemporary Europe*, ed. J. Andall, 23–40. Oxford: Berg.
- Pribilsky, J. 2004. "Aprendemos a convivir": Conjugal relations, co-parenting, and family life among Ecuadorian transnational migrants in New York city and the Ecuadorian Andes. *Global Networks* 4(3): 313–334.
- Ruspini, P. 2000. Living on the edge: Irregular immigrants in Italy. In *Irregular migration: Dynamics, impact, policy options*, ed. D. Cinar, A. Gachter, and H. Waldrauch. Vienna: European Centre.
- Ryan, L. 2008. Navigating the emotional terrain of families "here" and "there". *Journal of Intercultural Studies* 29(3): 299–313.
- Salih, R. 2001. Shifting meanings of home: Consumption and identity in Moroccan women's transnational practices between Italy and Morocco. In *New approaches to migration. Transnational communities and the transformation of home*, ed. N. Al-Ali and K. Koser. London: Routledge.
- Salih, R. 2003. *Gender in transnationalism. Home, longing and belonging among Moroccan migrant women*. London/New York: Routledge.
- Schmalzbauer, L. 2014. *The last best place? Gender, family and migration in the New West*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Schmalzbauer, L. 2015. Temporary and transnational: Gender and emotion in the lives of Mexican guest worker fathers. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 38(2): 211–226.
- Schrover, M., J. van der Leun, L. Lucassen, and C. Quispel. 2008. Introduction. Illegal migration and gender in a global and historical perspective. In *Illegal migration and gender in a global and historical perspective*, ed. M. Schrover, J. van der Leun, L. Lucassen, and C. Quispel. Amsterdam: IMISCOE/Amsterdam University Press.
- Sinatti, G. 2013. Masculinities and intersectionality in migration: Transnational wolof migrants negotiating manhood and gendered family roles. In *Migration, gender and social justice: Perspectives on human security*, ed. T.D. Truong, D. Gasper, J. Handmaker, and S. Bergh. Berlin/Heidelberg/New York: Springer.
- Walter, N., P. Burgois, and N.M. Loinaz. 2004. Masculinity and undocumented labour migration: Injured Latino day labourers in San Francisco. *Social Science & Medicine* 59(6): 1159–1168.

7

Moving Out of 'Women's Work'

Notions and experiences of work are crucial for the forging of masculinity and reproduction of inequality across class, gender, and ethnicity (Hughes 1958; Morgan 1992; Farmer 1985). The way in which masculinity is constructed at work is highly relational—while the worker might emphasise the importance of specific tasks and skills in order to legitimise the importance of 'lower-status' occupations, society might also project stereotyping and racialising images onto the worker (Ashforth and Kreiner 1999; Ramirez and Hondagneu-Sotelo 2009; Chusmir 1992) in order to reaffirm the inferior or minority status of subordinated men. In the workplace, men often engage with 'body-based masculine stereotypes' (Hall et al. 2007: 550), which differently contribute to construct gendered occupational cultures, and, in the process, gendered subjectivities are generated through interactions and resistance. As Hernandez (2011: 87) suggests in the context of Mexican *jardineiros* in the USA, the ways in which masculinity is performed at work are the result of 'specific cultural constructions and deployment in the context of citizenship hierarchy and racialised nativism'. Mexican workers are actively 'doing' masculinity by stressing the value of devotion and hard work, and yet face social constructions of maintenance work as a form of 'dirty work'

(*ibid.*); the characterisation of ‘dirtiness’ goes beyond the tasks undertaken by *jardineiros* to also symbolically characterise the moral existence and bodily appearance of the person.

In line with these existing studies, the analysis developed so far in this book has shown how migrant men’s experiences within female-dominated occupations within the IDRL are tainted with ambivalence. On the one hand, paid domestic/care work often involves downgrading mobility for these men. This combines with the reframing of family-gendered relations in the new country; being located in women-centred networks and having to meet the expectations of employers challenge men’s understanding of their role as breadwinners. Migrant men also face a situation where the training, hiring, and management of paid domestic/care labour is highly racialised, with different Italian (institutional and informal) actors constructing the ideal ‘migrant domestic man’ as embodying virtues of devotion, submission, and family morality. Complying with this ideal allows migrant men to be accepted as trustable, yet inferiorised, ‘non-citizens’. On the other hand, migrant men also engage in strategies that differently attempt at achieving new respectability at work and in the family, and that simultaneously challenge a straightforward association between femininity and reproductive labour. Equally important is the fact that migrant men also identify in the networks established through the IDRL a source of potential (yet limited) social mobility for themselves and their families.

In this last chapter, we analyse the conditions under which migrant men move away from female-dominated occupations and the networks that are mobilised in the process. In the first part of the chapter, we explore migrant men’s engagement with jobs as porters/concierges in upper middle-class buildings, and the extent to which this job allows changes in the ways in which migrants make sense of their masculinity as well as in their family and working lives. While the role of porter or concierge, like the role of handyman or gardener, constitutes an ‘internal move’ towards masculinised occupations within the IDRL (cf. Kilkey 2010), we also explore the extent to which the networks developed through men’s location within the IDRL allow them to step into other employment sectors, and the role of Catholic networks in this process. In the second part of

the chapter, we explore a more symbolic form of 'moving out'—migrant men's engagement with associationism and political activism. While a detailed analysis of migrant associationism and/or political activism is beyond the remit of this chapter, we are interested here in a twofold process linking domestic/care work with other social spheres: first, the extent to which personalistic networks develop through domestic/care work are determinant in achieving public visibility; second, how masculinities and family relations are reworked through men's attainment of new public roles within their community and vis-à-vis the Italian polity.

Migrant Porters: A Specialised Niche

Since the end of the twentieth century, in Italian cities like Rome and Milan, concierge work has often been undertaken by internal migrants from rural and southern areas of the country. While porters were present in lower middle-class neighbourhoods in the past, in recent decades this figure has been progressively eliminated to limit tenants' expenses, and remains a marker of more prestigious residential areas.¹ The work of the porter in Italy has been officially removed from the statistical category of domestics (Sarti 2010), and formally assimilated into the typology of the guardian. Nevertheless, the Italian national contract assigns to the porter different tasks beyond the control of the stable, ranging from administrative, maintenance, and cleaning work (Gallucci 2010). Beyond this, the work of porter also involves a differentiated set of informal tasks which can be defined as 'errand services' (Sherman 2010: 83), including daily shopping, payments, escorting the tenants and their families, or dog-sitting. The current national contract in Italy gives the porter the right to receive free accommodation within the building and fixes the working hours to 48 per week. Yet, it also requires the porter to be available for the tenants for an additional 12 h in case of emergencies (Gallucci 2010). Traditionally, the porter is accountable to a 'set of employers', including all the tenants living

¹ For comparative analysis on the work of porters in Europe see: Gul (2009), Stébé and Bronner (2010), de Villanova and Bonnin (2006).

in the building as well as the owners of the flat. The hiring, managing, and supervising of the worker is understood to be a collective duty, although it is often assigned to a selected individual (building administrator).

According to our data, since the 1980s, this occupational niche has witnessed an increasing inflow of Catholic migrant men, particularly from India, Sri Lanka, and the Philippines, although we also recorded some cases of migrants from Eastern Europe (Poland and Romania in particular) or from Latin America being employed as porters or concierges. While it seems to us that competition for porter jobs between nationals and migrants is higher than for household-based care and domestic work, the employers we spoke with pointed out that in the 1980s and 1990s, it was more difficult to find Italian workers who were willing to take up these jobs due to the conditions of being bound to the building and the requirements of tenants. In the past 7–8 years, however, partly due to the economic crisis, jobs as porters have newly appealed to Italians, and competition with migrants has often led to racist episodes against ‘foreign porters’. Two of our informants had experienced verbal racism and physical assaults from Italians on the premise that they were stealing jobs from nationals. Concierge work is relatively well remunerated, although the salary varies according to the qualifications and experience of the worker and the socio-economic status of the tenants—while the average in the case of our informants was between 900 and 1200 euros a month (in addition to free accommodation), some Asian porters in luxury areas could earn up to 1600–1800 euros a month.

As in feminised paid domestic/care work, the combination of Catholicism and Asian ethnicity worked as a (positive) stereotype to render migrant men from these destinations more acceptable. Racialised criteria also worked against the (Catholic and Muslim) migrant men from Africa, or Muslim men from Asia (Pakistan or Bangladesh) we spoke with. Men from these communities were often rejected due to their physical appearance or their religion, as well as due to employers’ prejudices regarding their (real or assumed) lower levels of education. The work of the porter, while involving different ‘invisible and largely miscellaneous work necessary for household, family and individual reproduction’ (Sherman 2010: 82), is invested with higher official status in comparison to domestic/care work. This is exemplified, on the one hand, by dress codes (porters are frequently

required to wear a uniform in luxury city areas) and by the higher language competencies and interpersonal skills required by the tenants. On the other hand, it is also reflected in the fact that porters obtain regular contracts more frequently than domestic/care workers, as tenant employers feel that they are more vulnerable to government checks on irregular employment. Of the 74 men we interviewed, 22 were able to obtain permanent or temporary jobs as porters, of which 16 held a regular contract. Our data show that established gendered constructions of skill still operated in the job, as migrant porters' employers considered that this job required a certain specialisation, whereas this was rarely the case with feminised domestic/care jobs. Employers tended to draw a distinction between the lower skilled profile of a household-based domestic/care worker and the more demanding tasks of a concierge. Crucially, past experience in domestic/care work is in many occasions deemed to be a welcome bonus for migrant men, not only because it endows the latter with cleaning skills but also because it means they are known to other families and can be more easily recommended. While the informal reference system holds relevance here, however, the employers we spoke with also adopted a more formal language, stressing the need to have written proof of the worker's skills, such as a CV or a language certificate. While formal criteria are important, they also must be supported by what employers defined as 'suitable' behavioural and aesthetic criteria, which eventually work against the hiring of 'black' African candidates.

While, in contexts like France, the nineteenth century witnessed a progressive feminisation of porter jobs that seems to persist to date (Stébé and Bronner 2010), our data suggest that in Rome and Milan the sector has seen the participation of both Italian and migrant men. Porter work was rarely conceptualised by our employers as exclusively a 'women's work', contrary to Sherman's (2010) suggestions. Interestingly, women porters were often associated by our upper middle-class informants with more popular stable in urban peripheries and with rougher management. Conversely, gendered stereotypes worked in favour of male porters insofar as the latter were deemed to provide the building with better security and more professional management. Porter work was conceptualised by employers (and employees) as involving more complex skills if compared to household-based paid domestic work. Employers expected migrant men to sustain the building's administrator in managing the stable, as well

as to develop the interpersonal skills that were necessary to handle internal tensions (between tenants) and to welcome visitors. Porter work was thus conceptualised as multi-layered in nature, as it combined more masculinised tasks like ensuring building security, dealing with common building expenses, technical maintenance, or gardening, with more feminised ones like cleaning, occasional cooking, or providing temporary childcare to tenants' family members. Porters were expected to move smoothly between masculinised and feminised tasks. Married men were preferred over single ones, because tenants considered the porter's wife as a suitable potential employee for household-based cleaning jobs, if needed. Thus, the porter's wife was often considered as an additional 'asset' by tenants. Porter's wives were also appreciated by employers for their potential capacity to support their husbands in the daily maintenance of the building and in providing tenants with (free) daily services like cooking, stitching, or last-minute shopping. Indeed, the hiring process involved not only the individual evaluation of the migrant man, but also the latter family's situation and relationships. Further, the porters' married status was widely considered by tenants as morally reassuring; conjugal status was deemed to reduce uncontrolled sexual behaviour, which was particularly feared in relation to migrant men, and to enhance the capacity of the worker to conform to middle-class ideas of moral conduct and respectability.

Asian Porters in Rome and Milan: Changing Conjugal Relations

Concierge work was considered the most valued occupation within the IDRL by the migrant men we interviewed, and this preference was in many instances shared by their wives. One important reason for this is that this job allowed migrant men to detach from the constraints of co-habitation and excessive personalism of household-based domestic/care labour without losing the opportunity to be associated with an upper middle-class milieu. Migrant men stressed how their capacity to gain personal respectability through domestic service allowed them to achieve a certain degree of mobility within the sector. In turn, new working status was deemed to produce novel social relations not only with

one employer but with a range of different tenants in the building, and sometimes in the wider neighbourhood. Most of our informants entered concierge work after several years of domestic/care employment within Italian families. In some cases, this was the result of lengthy negotiations with the former employer to obtain a job that allowed the migrant family to achieve a degree of independence while remaining 'close enough' (Hondagneu-Sotelo 2001) to continue providing the family with some services. In many cases, tenants referred a trustworthy migrant couple to their own or a nearby building administrator for concierge work, with the mutual understanding that the woman would continue working for the family on a part-time basis at least.

For migrant men, the move to concierge work was considered a major personal and family achievement insofar as it allowed migrant men to make a 'double move'; that is, they moved away from co-habitation with Italian families and from previous housing arrangements in shared flats with co-nationals, which often involved the intrusive presence of senior kinwomen. Men's narratives emphasise the important step towards the reacquisition of an independent householder status, and the prospect of privacy in their daily lives as husbands and fathers. Family routine had to be framed by taking into considerations the tenants' expectations, and building regulations were usually applied more strictly to the migrant porter's family than to the tenant's family. Yet, the possibility to relate to more than one employer allowed migrant men larger margin of negotiations on employment relations and a relatively higher degree of carefreeness about their or their family member's daily conduct. Furthermore, as the passages below show, building regulations might in some circumstances work in favour of migrant men's wishes to put some limits to kinfolk's interference:

It has been like a liberation you see... after years living like in apnoea and feeling controlled in everything, we could have our [own] flat for free, in a good area, and go back to some normality. No one telling me how to treat my wife or to raise my children... (Thomas, 35, Kerala. Rome)

Of course you have to be sure your family life and routine will not be a problem for the building. We were told that we should not shout, especially at night times. That our kids should learn to respect the building regulations...but their children also have to do so, and I should say that

our children are much more polite than theirs, not least because we pay more attention to give a good impression and not to enter conflicts. But it is different from when you have to live in the same flat with many people... it is really very different! Here we have a normal life, husband, wife and kids. (Romeo, 31, Philippines. Milan)

It is different from when you live inside an Italian family and you work only for them. Here if a tenant complains about my children or my work, of course I will take [it] into consideration...but since I am sure I do a good job, that my family is a good one and that some tenants are just capricious, I know that I can always count on the support of other tenants. (Aadrian, 45, Kerala. Rome, 2010)

We can still invite family members and friends here...but the tenants have been clear that there should not be a crowd in the building all the time, because it is not good and they have this idea that migrant families are so crowded!! So, the other day, when I was alone with the building administrator and the tenants I told them my feelings: I am a migrant man, but they cannot even imagine how happy I am to be far away from the crowd, and that I am the first one interested in limiting family visits to weekend days...and no more than once a month! With my wife's family I have used this excuse of the building regulations, and told them that if we wish to see her family we will [...] go outside, or visit them at our convenience from time to time. (Zachariah, 49, Kerala. Rome)

Migrant men's narratives highlight the importance of balancing the reacquired ownership of their family roles and daily routines with the persistent disciplining criteria imposed on the migrant family. Indeed, tenants had a considerable degree of power in directing the migrant family towards what they consider as appropriate behaviour, by limiting the social life and leisure conduct of the employees and their family members. Yet, migrant men also actively tried to counterbalance tenants' criticism by adopting a more equal attitude towards the behaviour of the tenants' children and that of their own. The fact of being formally assigned the responsibility to ensure that all tenant families respect the regulations gives the porter the chance to adopt similar critical stances towards employers in cases of inappropriate behaviour, although employees often stressed that would require the capacity to 'make a critique' without formally breaking with

the deferential attitude usually expected of porters in upper middle-class dwellings. Migrant men who had previously worked in household-based domestic/care service positively emphasised the difference between former exclusive relations of dependence on one employer and the actual position of having to refer to multiple and simultaneous employers. In their accounts, multi-employer relations allow migrant men to strike a better balance between possible dissatisfaction with their work on the part of some employers and the appreciation of others, and to build selective, valuable alliances within the building. Migrant men were also actively able to turn the limits imposed on their social life to their own advantage. This could be done by adopting the employers' discourse on the unsuitable 'crowded life' of migrant as well as by setting practical boundaries with regard to the intrusive presence of in-laws.

On their part, migrant women often admitted to having been relieved of the burden of mediating between their husbands and their own families when tensions arose while they lived together in the same flat, and many shared with their husbands the appreciation of a more independent and private family life. However, some of the women we spoke with also lamented how the move of their husbands to concierge jobs also allowed these to have greater control over their working and social lives, and sometime conceptualised this move as involving a loss of autonomy for themselves and of daily support from kinwomen:

I cannot say I am not happy, it has been a big change in terms of salary, accommodation, housing and life style...my husband now earns more and we do not have to share the bills with other relatives for the house we were renting...We have our own accommodation and we can spend much more time together alone with the kids. Sometime it is more tiring because I have no one to help me here at home...Zachariah does some things at home but he is also often busy with his work, so sometimes I feel a bit lonely in the daily effort...(Maryam, 42, Kerala. Rome)

It looked really good...for instance the first Sunday we spent in the new house my husband told me...no family lunch or commitments today, we will be tourists in Rome, just me, you and the kids. We could never afford this because there was always something to do in the house we were sharing before and it appeared rude just to leave and have some romantic tour of the city leaving the others to clean and cook. But in the new flat we became

a couple for the first time after years!! It is not all roses I should say...for instance my husband has become more jealous and more openly asks me where I am going or when I come back, whom I met!! I make fun of him saying that he really takes the role of the guardian seriously, but I am not fully comfortable with his attitude...he did not use to be like this and I am not accustomed to being checked [up on]!! (Teresa, 47, Philippines. Rome)

Migrant women often positively valued the renewed intimacy with their husbands and the opportunity to escape from kin duties during their free time, both of which were more difficult in the context of co-ethnic flat sharing. The new salary was equally important; migrant women were glad that their husbands had obtained well-remunerated work, as this was deemed to produce less competition and more harmony within the couple. Yet, at the same time, they were often concerned with the changing attitudes of their husbands who, having regained the role of breadwinner might begin to show more authoritarian behaviour and attempt to re-establish patriarchal relations within the family. While women often ironised about men's attitudes (for instance, by stressing their husbands' attachment to their gatekeeper role) as a way to de-legitimise their husband's authority, they also shared their anxieties about increased loneliness, family quarrels, and the need to defend their autonomy. In terms of the gendered division of work, migrant men's entry into concierge work produced some shifts. In the new work-life setting, migrant men subscribed to the need to carry out feminised labour within the building, like cleaning or shopping, but they often withdrew from doing so in their own home. While migrant men were keen to engage in childcare, they expected their wives to take up cleaning, ironing, and cooking once the latter were back from work, by claiming that they were already covering different tasks for the building. While women did not always accommodate these demands and also referred to their heavy work hours in expecting their husbands to do some cooking and cleaning for the family, porter's wives were often subject to a *triple burden* in the form of the need to combine their own jobs with unpaid services within the building as well as household and kin work. In most of the cases we encountered, women had or intended to quit their live-in jobs in favour of live-out full-time or part-time occupations. Migrant women married to porters usually preferred to work for tenant families or to work elsewhere in the same neighbourhood, so as to avoid long commutes. This was not always possible, particularly if nearby families

only required part-time or low-paid services. As such, wives sometimes took on daily jobs for more distant employers, meaning that they returned home very late. Women also encountered difficulties in drawing a line between their roles as working women and as porter's wives, and were often expected to do unpaid labour for the building during their free time:

When I am back home, sometimes it is a 8 pm...I have not seen the kids all day, and I just wish to go, eat and relax...and then I encounter one family or the other, and [they] tell me... 'Oh, Alfreda, you are back, would you mind doing this or that?' I mean, my husband is employed in this building, not me...or at least not for the building or not for *that* family...and they know I am working outside...But they do not care and [they] ask [anyway]. (Alfreda, Sri Lanka. Milan)

One day I said in a polite way... 'Madam I am tired, could you please ask my husband who is here every-day'...and they said that he had cleaned the stairs in the morning, but that as a woman I could do it better and that I could have easily give a hand to him...I was very pissed off... (Shilpa, India. Rome)

Employers often approached migrant women in relation to tasks which were seen as more *feminised*, in order to complement the masculinised work of maintenance and surveillance of the concierge.

Porter work, thus, produced important changes in conjugal relations and in the gendered division of work in the migrants' family. In many circumstances, migrant men were able to effectively regain a breadwinning role by securing a new, higher salary (higher than that of their wives) and independent accommodation for their families. In this respect, although migrant men employed in household-based reproductive labour have a certain degree of flexibility in terms of salary, working hours, and networks,² there are important differences with migrant men in masculinised niches of reproductive labour. As in the case of handyman or gardening work (Kilkey et al. 2013; Ramirez and Hondagneu-Sotelo 2009), migrant men in porter jobs benefit from the 'boon' of masculinity (Williams 1989) to secure the best positions and salaries in the sector if compared to migrant men in more feminised occupations in reproductive labour, who share

² See the analysis developed in Chap. 5.

lower positions within the hierarchy with their female colleagues. Yet, as we have suggested, as in other masculinised jobs within reproductive labour, men's location in concierge work is determinant for the reproduction of class difference and of different access to family life compared with upper middle-class employers (Ramirez and Hondagneu-Sotelo 2009). Porters, for example, do not have the same degree of freedom to leave the building and are expected to be available night and day to respond to tenants' requirements or emergency issues, often much beyond their official working hours. Different rituals of subordination (Rollins 1985) are also enacted by employers in their daily relations with porters. During our visits to porters' families in Rome and Milan, we often saw tenants handing over small and light bags for porters to carry, which they could easily have carried themselves; porters were often embarrassed in front of us and commented on how employers often abused their patience by requiring them to do unnecessary work. Similarly, porters were often disturbed during dinner and lunch breaks by minor requests or caprices, such as requests to go out and buy desired foods or other items. Social hierarchies were also reflected in the architectural placement of tenant and concierge dwellings, with migrant men and their families usually living on the ground floor and with employment relations often being spatially conceptualised in terms of 'upstairs and downstairs' (Gul 2009: 47).

Nevertheless, porters sometimes expressed a greater degree of confidence in asserting their rights and negotiating their work-life balance, prioritising tasks and claiming space for their own family issues, than we observed on the part of men in more feminised and live-in occupations. As we have already seen, migrant men often draw from their awareness that the 'right combination' of language and interpersonal skills, long-term trustworthiness, family status, and 'good appearance' increases their value in the job market. Employers were often reluctant to spend time negotiating between themselves to find another concierge or to pay an agency for this, and that the idea of firing a concierge after years of employment was usually disliked. Furthermore, unlike migrant gardeners in the USA who remain 'permanent outsiders' (Ramirez and Hondagneu-Sotelo 2009: 147) with respect to middle-class American families, it is possible for porters to set their everyday lives in less stigmatised neighbourhoods and acquire a greater intimacy with middle-class Italian families. Further,

the spatial convergence between the workplace and the place of residence releases porters from the need to commute long distances and allows them to save time for their families and children. In this respect, we found that migrant men's location in concierge work created fewer family–work conflicts and obstacles to attaining a successful breadwinning role (cf. Ramirez and Hondagneu-Sotelo 2009) compared with other masculinised occupations within the IDRL. Migrant men emphasised the advantages of being able to spend more time with their children, to be at home when they returned from school, and to support them with their homework (sometimes by also asking for help from some of the tenants and from their children). In some circumstances, migrant men felt confident of the fact that by working in the building they could supervise their children's play and social life, by getting to know their friends. Porters' children were sometime invited into tenants' homes to play or to study, and occasionally friendships among the younger generations were built across class and ethnic lines. Migrant men were also strongly aware of the fact that their jobs allowed their children to attend good schools in the neighbourhoods where they worked, often thanks to the intercession of tenants.³

Porterage, Masculinity, and the Management of Social Relations

As implied above, obtaining concierge work is key to migrant men's continuing engagement with a model of respectable masculinity, which, at the same time, comes to be partly purified from the emasculating stigma attached to household-based domestic/care work. Specific forms of masculinity through concierge work are constructed through daily tasks and social relations (cf. Ramirez 2011), which ambivalently construct the porter as a person dealing with dirty work associated with cleaning and maintenance and yet also as someone fulfilling a more valuable role as the material and symbolic gatekeeper of the building, upholding security and respectability. Migrant men actively work to detach themselves from more stigmatising tasks and to make public their guardian role. This can

³ See the discussion developed in Chap. 5.

be achieved by asking their wives to do some cleaning as well (when possible) and doing cleaning and maintenance tasks during hours when tenants are not around, so as to render dirty work less visible to tenants and visitors. Tenants often require the stairs or the widows to be cleaned, and/or the common rubbish to be removed early each morning or every night in order to ensure the building looks good before the day begins. For migrant men, however, this may also allow them to feel more comfortable with respect to more demeaning tasks:

I usually wake up at 5 am, and the first thing I do is to clean the common areas of the building and the garden. It is good, no one is around and I do not have people telling me to move away to let them go in and out...I feel humiliated when I am folded on the ground cleaning and you see one tenant all dressed elegantly and with high heels just asking me to move aside because she is in a hurry...so I thought better to do some tasks alone in silence! (Romeo, 31, Philippines. Milan)

Migrant men tend to organise their daily working schedules and the multi-layered tasks they are expected to do in such a way that the more masculinised tasks, such as handyman work, building supervision, or dealing with payments, are made more public and visible to the external gaze, while leaving the more feminising tasks for those times when the circulation of people is limited. Class hierarchies are reproduced across gender lines in men's bodily postures related to cleaning work. Romeo, for example, refers to being 'folded' on the floor in order to do the cleaning properly while a female tenant in high heels steps past him in a rush. Men's narratives emphasised their particular discomfort in showing themselves doing feminising tasks in front of tenant women because this reminded them of their uneasy experiences working as domestics within Italian families, and they often preferred to deal with male tenants in the building rather than with women. Indeed, rituals of subordination more often gave rise to tensions or embarrassment if enacted by female employers, and more frequently inspired ironic comments.

The other day, *la signora* Ginevra [*Madam Ginevra*] came down dressed all elegant in black and white...like a penguin!! It was only 4 pm and she looked like she was going to a big party!! I found her quite ridiculous, but I asked her where she was going and if she needed any help...she did not even reply

but asked me to give a second clean to the elevator's floor...It was already clean!! Then I cleaned it again but it was a bit slippery...but then I thought that penguins usually like to slip!! Her husband is not like that...more classy and polite, a real gentleman, not pretending all the time, and he does not make you feel inferior...Overall with the men of the building I can have a more reasonable conversation!! These upper-class women are so capricious, particularly those who are not working! (Sebastian, 41, Philippines. Rome)

Irony often allowed migrant men to cope with the embarrassment and challenges linked to their subordination to a female authority, and to question the latter. Here, Sebastian contrasts the arrogance and capriciousness of 'these upper-class women' with the truly gentleman-like behaviour of male employers. In the same line, migrant men often delegitimised female tenants' requests for additional cleaning to be done, and associated these with the demanding attitude of middle upper-class housewives who did not have to concern themselves with busy working schedules and commitments. Indeed, porters often sought a degree of understanding and complicity with male tenants, and often deemed it easier to establish frank and harmonious relationships with them than with female tenants. Nevertheless, porters' relationship with tenants remained framed by an overall tension between *proximity* and *distance*: migrant men's capacity to strike the right balance between these two poles was valued by migrant men as part of their working skills and masculine identity. Indeed, masculinity was reasserted by our informants by stressing how women would have been less suitable in taking up porter work full-time. They were deemed to face more difficulties in keeping calm in instances of specific tensions between tenants, in maintaining detachment from tenants' gossiping attitudes, or showing openly their sympathies and antipathies for Italian tenants:

As a porter you have a delicate task...you cannot be too emotional but also not too cold. You have to be there when some tenants would like to have a chat or make a confidence...in a way you have to show your understanding or try to give an advice if this is accepted. But then you have to forget, and keep the secret in the corner of your mind...you also cannot let one tenant intend that you have some private knowledge about other tenants...I think a man is better suited for this task. A woman would not be able to maintain the detachment, she would be too much involved in gossiping, and she might lose her job for this if she abuses her role... (Ignatius, Kerala, 51).

Of course my wife is also involved in the building life, even if she is working officially in another part of the city. People talk to her but I make sure that she keeps her mouth close, and that she lets me handle delicate situations within the building...she sometimes has the tendency to show openly whom she likes within the stable and whom she does not...a good porter should not do this. It is like when you are working for a company...even if you do not like the client, you have to smile and be kind, even if you have to make some critical remarks. (Diego, Ecuador, 52)

In defending their professionalism as porter, migrant men often used a language that combined a managerial approach to employment relations, by, for instance, paralleling tenants to private company's clients, with reflections on the emotional work required to handle tensions within the building, personal problems, and gossiping practices. This side of employment, while requiring sensibility and interpersonal skills much beyond the official contractual tasks, is nevertheless conceptualised as masculine, as women are deemed to lack the necessary balance between empathy and detachment that ensures the correct handling of potential discontent. The capacity to handle multiple relationships with employers was a relevant factor in the construction of concierges' identities. Hughes' pioneering work on janitors (1958) offers us several useful comparative insights. The author is concerned with analysing how working-class men made sense of the 'dirty' nature of their work and of their marginalised social status through interaction with upper-class men and women. He notes how the nature of their work allowed porters to gain knowledge of the intimate sphere of tenants' lives, for example, being aware of their conjugal clashes, love affairs, monetary problems, job failures, or psychological distress. This gives porters a kind of 'magical power' over the tenants (Hughes 1958: 51), which is often instrumentally manipulated by the worker to challenge the status claims of upper-class men (and women), as well as their assumed cultural superiority. In parallel, the hypocritical façade of employers is contrasted with the solidity of working-class values and morals. Important similarities and differences emerge in the context of Asian porters in Rome and Milan. Migrant men often drew from their long-standing experience in the building to present themselves as the repository of intimate knowledge about the building and, in some circumstances, the neighbourhood, thanks to their acquaint-

tance with other concierges. While this also occurred in the context of household-based services, employers were deemed to feel more comfortable in sharing their concerns, as they felt reassured by the externality of the worker (the latter not being based in employers' homes). Migrant men's peculiar location as insiders–outsiders in relation to domestic business gave them the opportunity to observe tenants' routines and habits as well as their problems and interpersonal relationships. They often shared with us information about tenants' personal lives and relationships, comparing these with their own lives and values:

At the beginning they all look polished and [look like] saints...some in effect are good people, but many, when you come to know them...they are very different from how they appear. In this building both husbands and wives have [...] love affairs...they give advice to me on my family but they are not really well-positioned to do so...Italians are much less caring about their families, they are more free, probably too much! In the Philippines it is not like this, men have the duty to respect their wives...and vice versa. It is not that I do not like women, and I had many affairs before marriage, but when you marry life should change... (Sebastian, 41, Philippines. Rome, 2011)

The tenant on the last floor, he plays poker in [a] nearby luxury house with some friends...I believe he lost 3,000 Euros [a] few weeks ago...he came back at 5 am, while I was cleaning. There was no one around. I know he cannot say this to other people in the building...not to mention his wife! He sat down to complain about his destiny and stupidity...he regretted this but he also justified himself by saying that a man like him, who is working a lot and earning a lot of money, can indulge in some hobbies to kill the time...Well, I said to him openly that I did not agree...that a lot of people work hard and do not have to dissipate money if they have a family...I said this in a kind way... me I am sending money to Kerala every two months, and I find [it] really indecent that a man [should] waste his earnings on poker...I feel very ashamed and pity him when I see him since what happened on that morning. (Ignatius, 51, Kerala. Rome)

The above passages well exemplify migrant men's willingness to distance themselves from what they perceive as the weaker family values of their employers and to condemn their frequent love affairs. The latter are

deemed to compromise employers' claims of moral superiority and are used to challenge the role of moral advisor usually inhabited by higher-status men. Migrant men often drew from essentialised notions of their original family culture and tradition to make moral claims of their own. In addition, working-class values were contrasted with upper-class decadence. In doing so, porters often located themselves in opposition to both reified models of carefree and immoral upper-class masculinity on the one hand, and of threatening hyper-masculinity of other migrants and minorities on the other hand, and identified with alternative models of gender by emphasising a more balanced combination of breadwinning responsibility and experienced sexuality and yet mature loyalty towards the wife and the family. Upper-class men who fail to find a similar balance often lose the respect of porters and are somewhat inferiorised in discourses emphasising the pettiness and immorality of certain forms of behaviour.

In comparison to the analysis developed by Hughes (1958), migrant men overall often mobilised a distancing discourse based on class as well as ethnicity and cultural tradition to delegitimise the superiority claims of employers, and sometimes felt confident in expressing criticism of their behaviour and ideas. In some cases, the loss of respect towards the employer could also lead to the porter becoming more negligent in terms of service provision (cf. Dant and Bowles 2003) and being less deferential in the employers' presence. At the same time, in the context of the present analysis, migrant men's access to secrets combined with their role as guardians of internal regulations leads them to emphasise their managerial role regarding the daily life and harmony of the building. The capacity to spatially and relationally move within the building and to manage different family situations and complaints is a distinctive trait associated with concierge work and plays a key role in the construction of migrant men's masculinity. Porters often emphasised the importance of ensuring tenants respected the rules by managing delicate situations and having the know-how necessary to avoid further tensions. They were often aware that should clashes erupt (e.g., as a result of noise complaints), they would probably be blamed, and therefore justified their more assertive behaviour by referring to their official duties and to their knowledge of the written regulations. By positioning themselves as mediators between different tenants and as managers of human relations, porters offered

another interpretation of their work. Again, this can be seen to include an attempt to marginalise or render less visible those tasks that are heavily associated with feminised occupations.

Overall, porter work constitutes an important occupational niche for migrant men; it offers opportunities for (limited) social mobility within the IDRL towards more masculinised occupations while it retains some of the advantages usually associated with household-based domestic/care work. Analysing this niche offers insights on how migrant men 'respond and actively shape the environment in which they operate' (Kilkey et al. 2013: 92). Although competition with Italians is high, in both Rome and Milan, men of Asian origins were able to carve out considerable space for themselves, often developing networks of information and recommendation which allowed jobs to be passed on to ethnic fellows. Migrant men were offered more flexibility in terms of working hours, and in some cases their exotic appearance as 'well-educated' and 'good-mannered' Indian or Filipino men led to them being preferred to Italian men by the working-class and/or in the southern areas of Italy. Migrant men's entry into porter employment was often based on them complying with racialised stereotypes of trustworthiness and docility associated with feminised Asian ethnicity. Yet, the highly differentiated nature of concierge work also allowed migrant men to invest in those tasks which are considered more edifying from a moral and practical point of view while keeping their exclusive association with dirty work. Obtaining a higher salary and the combination of residence and workplace also allowed migrant men to regain a breadwinning role and to distance themselves from female kin networks, although this often translated into heightened work and family burdens for their wives.

Moving Out of Household-Based Domestic/Care Services

According to our data, migrant men who obtain and are able to retain concierge work rarely search for other jobs in other sectors. Our informants who lived in cities like Milan and Rome appreciated the work for economic and social reasons. With regard to the building or service sector, men were also concerned about the higher level of competition with Italians over

jobs. Direct confrontations with nationals and other foreign communities within specific occupational niches within these sectors were sometimes seen as a potential source of racism and violence.

Men in feminised niches in domestic/care service were keener to carve out spaces of social mobility outside the sector and were actively considering the alternative (limited) labour possibilities available to migrants. In all of the four cities considered, the constrained labour market tended to channel migrants towards the service/restoration sector (restaurants, hotels, shops) as well as to ethnic businesses, the latter being particularly developed in bigger cities like Rome and Milan. The building sector and small-scale industry offered employment opportunities, particularly in Perugia, Milan, and Genoa, while the latter also offered some opportunities to migrant men in the port industry. In Rome, the concentration of Vatican offices and private Catholic institutions such as hospitals, nursing homes, kindergartens, schools, as well as research and administrative centres also offered some alternative occupations to migrant men. According to our data, movement away from the IDRL was rather limited and mainly involved men moving to unskilled and semi-skilled occupations.⁴ Nevertheless, and importantly, Catholic migrant men from Latin America and Asia were more easily able to move to semi-skilled occupations such as office secretary or trade-union employee, thanks to their religious networks with Vatican and local church institutions. The move from domestic/care paid service to office work produced important changes in men's lives. It implied a distance from the 'dirty work' associated with manual labour within Italian houses and the acquisition/recognition of skills which had remained hidden in previous forms of occupation. Our interlocutors stressed how it helped their self-esteem to finally have their university degree recognised by Italian actors beyond the issue of 'domestic respectability':

When I started to work for the ACLI I had the feeling I went back to my own self...I mean, after 15 years of care work someone at last thought that being graduated in sociology and having a master in International Relations

⁴ In our sample, nearly 36 % of migrant men (31 of 74) were able to move to other occupations: these mainly involved men from Africa (9), Albania (5), Eastern Europe (4), and, to a lesser extent with respect to the internal ethnic distribution of the sample, Latin America (5), and Asia (8).

in India, maybe I could have done a good jobs also within Italian institutions!! My previous employers were always repeating me, oh Paul is good, he is educated, he has a master....but then my tasks did not change... Then my last landlord understood that I was wasted for this job and contacted a friend in his parish who is a catholic unionist...and here I am doing office job! (Paul, Kerala, 39. Rome)

The case of Paul is paradigmatic of a wider tendency among the migrant men in our sample who could achieve a certain degree of social mobility towards low-level clerical occupations to stress the regenerating process of moving out from domestic occupations while also significantly drawing from the social capital of relationships developed through paid domestic/care labour. Catholic networks, alongside relations with previous domestic employers, remain determinant in providing migrants with opportunities of class mobility, although according to our data, this seems to involve Catholic Asian and Latin American migrants to a large extent. Importantly, forms of social mobility, more than being constructed around a straightforward appreciation of migrant men's educational and professional background, tend to result from a long-term acquaintance with migrant men's attitudes in Italian households and, to a large extent, in local parishes.

The obtainment of clerical jobs also produces important changes in migrant men's positioning within and beyond their ethnic network, insofar as it allows men to question, or at least to complement, the 'traditional' role of pioneer women in being a point of reference for the community (Gallo 2006) and in acting as 'matrons' in the allocation of resources for newly arrived migrants. With time, men like Paul were able to not only build a solid reputation within their own community but also to widen their non-co-ethnic networks as well as their networks with other migrants. Like others who found employment in Catholic associations, he was in a position of potentially supporting other migrants to obtain information about work contracts, to solve employment problems, and to claim their rights as employees. They were sometimes in the position to extend the word-of-mouth search for jobs outside the domain of paid domestic/care services and to provide work opportunities in local (religious or secular) institutions, NGOs, or the service sector.

More detailed reflections are necessary to unravel the persistent importance of Catholic networks in the context of migrant men's mobility outside social reproductive labour. A certain degree of social mobility towards better paid and/or semi-skilled occupations outside paid domestic/care work is achieved by men who are located in masculine ethnic networks, as well as by those who can establish connections with local parties, NGOs, or migrant associations. In cities like Perugia or Genoa, which have a longer tradition of left-wing local governments subsidising local associations and projects supporting 'intercultural' dialogue, as well as developmental projects with African countries, Muslim men from Africa can, in certain circumstances, move 'up' to NGO jobs, thanks to their political affiliation. However, we found this to be less likely in Rome or Milan, which have recently shifted towards centre-right and populist radical right governments. According to our data, Catholic networks, while being particularly pronounced in the Rome province, remain significant in the other research contexts we looked at. Our data also suggest that prolonged experience within the domestic/care service sector, combined with men's involvement in Italian parish life, is an important resource in migrant men's potential movement out of feminised occupations and in the obtainment of higher-status occupations in Catholic institutions and associations. Such jobs do not necessarily imply better salaries or permanent positions. As such, they are usually accepted by migrant men who already have a permanent or long-term residence permit and who can take the risk of having their contract renewed every 6 months, or every year.

Migrant men may also combine part-time jobs in Italian families with office work in order to increase their monthly salaries. Particularly among Asian and Latin American men who have a higher level of formal education, even part-time occupations for Vatican or Catholic institutions, in general, represented a way to 'turn back' towards their earlier aspirations for more rewarding occupations. Jobs in trade unions, research centres, or Catholic offices often require men to act as cultural mediators between Italians and other migrants, to conduct small-scale research on migrants' problems, or to travel within the region in which they are based, accompanying higher-status Catholic representatives (such as bishops). Vincent, a 46-year-old man from Kerala, started to work as a secretary for a Catholic

representative who was often sent on missions to India and Asia. We met Vincent several times between 1998 and 2008. During these 10 years, he enacted different strategies of social mobility, thanks to his long-term connections with Vatican and Catholic actors. Having arrived in Italy in 1988 to join his wife, Vincent worked hard in the domestic sector for 10 years before obtaining work in the Vatican as a driver and as a translator, at weekends. In 2002, he was able to quit domestic employment and obtained a permanent job as a personal secretary. In 2006, he obtained Italian citizenship. Discussing his experience, he told us:

You see...I cannot say it has not been difficult...I have a university degree in Kerala, but when I first came here I could only find domestic work...it was a shock...but then I did not give up...I have learned Italian, I also have a certificate...I was studying at nights, even when I was looking after elderly people I kept studying...thinking that God would reward me one day or the other...I was not simply sitting and waiting for a job, like my friends from Kerala do: I was asking the priest and the people I came to know if there was something more decent for me...I kept informing them that I was a graduate, that I spoke four languages and that I could be a resource for them...One day I remember I said to a cardinal for whom I was driving...“You see *Monsignor*, Indian men are not only good for cleaning as many of you think, you know?” He laughed but then he also helped [me] to find translation work...because Italians still do not understand that we can be a resource [...] So I started with driving, then translating, then office work...and here we are... (Vincent, 46, Kerala. Rome)

Vincent's words exemplify relatively widespread tendencies among men who have moved out of the IDRL to distance themselves from ethnic fellows whom they deem unwilling or unable to capitalise on their location within Catholic networks in order to detach from unmanly representations and feminising work. Tellingly, Vincent challenges racialising stereotypes of Asian men frequently adopted by Catholic actors, assertively presenting himself as a man with many skills and a great deal of potential beyond domestic employment. Similarly, Vicente (from Peru) and George (from the Philippines), both in their 50s and both living in Perugia, were able to get jobs in the ACLI (*Associazione Italiana Lavoratori Cristiani*) and in the Catholic trade union association CISL

(*Confederazione Italiana Sindacati Lavoratori*). For Vicente and George, cleaning work for the parish and a local priest's residence constituted a form of 'apprenticeship' that allowed them to pursue other occupational possibilities. Importantly, they both stressed that they were better placed as trade union workers for household-based services than Italian men due to their direct knowledge of feminised working experiences:

My Italian colleagues are not aware of the problems, the humiliations, the conflicts that men like us have to experience in these occupations...at the same time migrant men who arrive here are not aware of their rights, and of the problems they can encounter at work...I have 15 years of experience as [a] care provider, as [a] domestic...I have done so many jobs that I know very well all the important issues...and the demands and abuse of the employers...So I really speak out of a grounded knowledge...not like many trade unionists who fill [their mouths] with big words and then have never used a vacuum cleaner or cleaned a toilet themselves!! (Vicente, 51, Peru. Perugia).

I tell my Italian colleagues in the trade union...I am *more modern* than you...I am a man that can do everything at home and outside...and that is why I am a better unionist than you!! How can you represent domestic workers if you do not have working experience in the field yourself? And for the ACLI you also need to be a good Catholic, which many of my colleagues are only on paper...You have to have [a] spirit of sacrifice which men like us [have], who have struggled for years to handle humiliating jobs. (Giorgio, 52, the Philippines. Perugia)

It is important to note that some migrant men capitalise on their experience in feminised occupations to construct novel forms of professionalism; in this respect, they dissociate themselves from their male Italian colleagues who are seen as lacking the 'grounded' experience of demeaning work situations, and of all the practical, emotional, and family dilemmas encountered by foreign workers in dealing with Italian employers. 'Real men', they suggest, are able to cope with the moral and material hardship of working in domestic service. At the same time, migrant men also transform the terms of their intimate knowledge of Italian families from a more clientelistic acceptance of personalistic relations into a more open critique of employers' domestic abuses and exploitations, thereby

acquiring a new public role as defenders of workers. In the process, migrant men claim for themselves superior and 'modern' models of masculinity. In a similar vein, religious ethnic and gendered modernity is claimed to reverse stereotypical representations of Asian men as backwardly pious, and to assert the modernity of sacrifice and hard labour as a way to acquire broader working skills and greater adaptability.

The detachment from menial work and the achievement of semi-skilled status allow migrant men to retain the aura of respectability frequently associated with Catholic milieu and also to rebalance the gendered power within more feminised communities. This is done by questioning the 'exclusive' status and authority of pioneer migrant women who, as already discussed, often act as 'big women' within the community. Migrant men often become sources of information and advice on work-related issues (including job prospects outside the domestic/care sector) as well as on family or other problems. To some extent, this new influential role within the community 'replicates' the disciplining attitude of pioneer women towards new arrivals, insofar as it tends to direct migrant men towards the domestic/care sector on the basis of the advantages this sector is seen to allow. Men draw from the example of themselves as 'patient and sacrificing men' who, after many years and the accumulation of the necessary skills and connections, have been able to step away from feminised occupations, and invite youngsters to follow their path. However, more than 'big women', migrant 'big men' tend to adopt a language of workers' rights and to encourage other men to negotiate with employers, provided that they have acquired a decent knowledge of Italian and have proved themselves to be good workers during the months after their arrival. Senior migrant men also seem to be more receptive towards younger men's complaints about the need to adjust to feminising occupations, and also more frequently mobilise their networks to carve out alternative possibilities for younger generations.

Ethnicity and religion played a role in migrant men's evaluation of occupational mobility, although other variables such as life-cycle stage, generation, and family status were no less important in shaping men's attitudes. Catholic informants from India, the Philippines, and Sri Lanka, and, to a more limited extent, from Latin America, were in some cases more reluctant to accept jobs in the building sector or in ethnic businesses. They deemed these to be riskier in physical and economic

terms, respectively, exhausting in terms of working hours, and with few benefits in terms of connectedness and housing. Differently, within our sample, men from Albania, Romania, and Senegal or Ghana were more willing to appreciate the greater independence from co-habitation and personalistic relations that jobs in the service industry, small-scale firms, or ethnic businesses allowed. In addition, they appreciated the fact that these sectors better allowed them to share spaces of homosociality across ethnic lines, due to the high proportion of Italian men and men of other foreign backgrounds, and also to engage with more masculinised tasks like economic management and entrepreneurialism (ethnic businesses) and technical skills and physical strength (small-scale industry and the building sector). While they were also concerned with the higher risks of these jobs in terms of personal and financial security, they emphasised these risks as inherent to a model of regained masculinity.

See, before I was waking up and the only move I was making was from my small bedroom to the bathroom and then to take charge of the house and the granny. I rarely went out for myself for a walk or to meet friends. Now, it is true, I wake up earlier to travel up to the construction site but I feel free that I can take the bus, meeting other people going to work, and then at 5 pm in winter the work is finished...and I have my free time to meet with others. (Selim, 29, Ghana. Perugia)

I worked as domestic for a family for four years, and since I was not married I was able to save money. But it was not for me...always at home, you end up not being a man but a pet....The job was not really tiring but [it] was boring, always the same. Then one friend from Senegal asked me if I wished to join him [in] a business with an Italian man, and we opened an African restaurant. The Italian guy put [in] 50 % of the money and me and my friend [gave] the remaining part so we are partners. It is risky because one day you have clients and then for days no one shows up...but at least you manage your own life, I work harder than before but it feels good...what man are you if you do not take risks? (Ahmed, 38; Senegal, 38. Rome)

I am not like these men from India or the Philippines...just sitting in Italian houses and not knowing the world...I wanted to know Italy, to taste different opportunities, even if to foreign men Italians do not offer much, but after working as [a] care provider for a family I got a job in a [factory]...

I was just assembling pieces, but after three years I took some training and moved to be semi-killed, and I am earning more. At 6 pm the work is done, all free weekends to go around... (Stevio, 36, Romania. Perugia)

Spatial metaphors are often used to make sense of new gendered identities. Limitations to physical movement is a characteristic of jobs in household-based domestic service, whereas the more tiring, but liberating, possibility of travelling and having free time out of work is associated with regained masculine behaviour. Men from more heavily stigmatised communities, such as African or Albanian men, often experience discrimination at different levels. Within the domestic/care service sector they are less able to command higher salaries or to access more masculinised occupations like concierge work (unlike their Catholic Asian or Latin American counterparts); they are also more frequently targets of discrimination and racism due to perceptions of them as associated with hyper-masculine and criminal behaviour. During interviews, men from these communities often distanced themselves from the respectable (yet feminised) image of Asian domestics by emphasising their more masculine attitudes towards risky and tiring jobs, as well as their entrepreneurial strengths in building working and life opportunities for themselves outside the IDRL.

The possibility to permanently move away from household-based occupations should be understood in relation to the multiple shifts between regular and irregular status often experienced by migrant men. Migrant status mobility between regular and irregular status is particularly high in Italy (Schuster 2005). As such, even among those migrant men who do not see themselves as fitting into the domestic/care service sector, moving to other occupational sectors are often counterbalanced by moving back to feminised jobs. This often happens when employment in other sectors is not supported by a regular contract. In addition, we found that the increased instability in businesses, small firms, and the service sector resulting from the financial crisis frequently led to migrant men who were employed in these areas being fired or losing their jobs. Men from Africa, Albania, Pakistan, or Bangladesh far more frequently experienced periods of unemployment, deportation, suddenly return to the home country, or movement to other European countries. To prevent this, some men considered going back to feminised occupations temporarily, with the intention to step out again as soon as the labour market conditions allowed it.

Migrant Fathers Engaging in Associations and Political Activism

The interviews often expressed migrant men's concerns about cultural transmission to new generations. While this cannot be said to be unique to men in household-based feminised occupations, experiences of paid domestic/care work were frequently threaded into men's fears of 'losing' their connections with personal or collective traditions and cultural practices. Our informants often stressed their lack of time to engage with artistic performances like dance, music, or painting, to read and to teach the youngsters popular writings or the history of the home country. Importantly, by drawing from paternal metaphors, many informants conceptualised this in terms of a weakening of intergenerational duties. The older men were withdrawing from their responsibility to educate younger generations, and therefore the latter were losing connections with the values and morals of their countries of origin. In this context, the moral discourse of acquired respectability, which is usually adopted to legitimise migrant men's associations with Italian families, is somehow reversed in the context of intergenerational transmission and cultural politics. Here, intimate association with an Italian background and long working hours within Italian houses come to symbolise the loss of migrant men's public paternal duties as educators, as well as the cultural impoverishment of the new generations:

I realised over the years that I had become more concerned with the uses and habits of the families I was working with...this is normal, as you want to retain the job and also you wish to learn new things to become accepted by people here...I was young and I did not really care about this until I started to have children...Then I started to feel that something was missing, somehow stolen by my job, which had brought me away from many of the cultural activities I could have done in India. My father was a *sitara* player, and he would have liked me to learn...So when I turned 40 I decided that I had become too selfish and too detached from my history...and I founded a small association with other people from South India. (Neil, 48, Tamil Nadu. Perugia)

In many narratives, the acquisition of paternal responsibilities is made meaningful by referring not only to men's own kin relations but also,

symbolically, to all the children born in a context in which working conditions are deemed to limit men's active participation in community cultural life. Close association with Italian domestic habits and needs is deemed to have detached migrant men from the way of life of their fathers, and to have produced cultural loss in their personal histories. This awareness is frequently more pronounced among migrant men who have acquired a maturity as householders and fathers, although it also depends on the pre-migration experience. Young migrants who were active in cultural and/or political activities in the sending context may also share with senior men an active interest in promoting collective activities.

In this context, the establishment of associations partly responds to men's need to compensate for the cultural loss associated with their working experiences and, in turn, to fulfil private and public duties towards the family and the community. At the same time, migrant men also stressed that, beyond the racialising stereotypes adopted by employers to identify a 'good domestic/care worker', Italian families knew very little about the histories of the home countries of migrants. Perhaps, more importantly, they knew little about the differences *among* migrants:

When Italian families know that we are Filipino, they usually repeat the same things...oh, "Filipinos are good people!" but this is just because we clean well and we are Catholic! There is very little interest by Italian families in our culture. Take an example: while working with the Italian family for eight years I have learned their habits, how to cook, what books they like, what TV programs they watch, I mean basic things you normally observe because you are curious about other people's lives. But they have rarely showed interest about my culture, how we cook, what we read, what our music or festivities [are like]...In the end, for them, whether I am a Filipino, a Moroccan or an Indian, does not really matter in substance.... (Xavier, 50. Perugia)

While complying with Italians' 'positive' or 'negative' stereotypical representations of migrant communities in order to build good working relations, migrant men are also often very critical of Italians' use of essentialised racialising stereotypes, particularly if they do not lead through domestic co-habitation to any subsequent interest on the part of employers in what is perceived as the 'real' cultural background of the employee. Employment relations are made meaningful by referring to the differing

attitudes of employers and workers with respect to cultural difference. Hierarchy is expressed in the lack of reciprocation by employers in coming to know the habits, traditions, and history of the migrant worker. Employers' perceived indifference about distinct ethnic communities leads men to feel that they are easily confused with migrant men of other nationalities. The fear of homogenisation via the ignorance of Italian employers is an underlying factor in motivating men's participation in associational activities.

The initiative of women in establishing migrant associations is particularly pronounced among communities where they have played a pioneer role in the migration process and in establishing relations with the Catholic Church. In places like Rome and Perugia, for instance, the support of Catholic institutions is important in obtaining office space, telephones, and fax machines, and many migrant associations (Filipino, Polish, Cape Verdean, but also Indian or Latin American) have been established and/or primarily run by women. Nevertheless, family reunion and migrant men's inflow into the labour market provided renewed impetus for the cultural associations and, even in more feminised communities, migrant men participated with equal, and sometimes higher, visibility. In the case of the Latin America Dance Association, for instance, the board consisted of equal numbers of men and women, and the presidency had also been held by both men and women. This implies that the creation of migrant associations can, in some circumstances, be a response to the need to overcome conjugal and family problems by creating spaces where downward forms of mobility and migrant men's possible negative reactions to this can be redressed.

Participation in local politics witnessed a greater number of migrant men's presence in comparison to the migrant associations, where migrant women often shared leading roles. In our sample, this mainly involved migrant men from North African and Sub-Saharan African countries. This participation could take different forms, from individual involvement with local (usually left-wing) parties, to the establishment of political associations interested in supporting migrants or in enhancing developmental projects in the home country. Migrant men's narratives emphasised the need to strike a balance with present or previous working experience in feminised occupations, and considered involvement or interest in local or transnational politics as a means of regaining masculin-

ity. Yet, political participation was also seen as a way to detach themselves from Catholic networks and 'women's communities'.

We are actively working with the local administration to get funding for our projects of support to African politics and society. There are many civil wars in Africa and we want people to be aware of this in Italy, as well as helping our compatriots at home. In other communities you just see them commuting between Italian families and then home, they have associations but they do not do much...and men are assimilated to women's life. I have also worked as a cleaner for a family, but I have never lost my interest in political participation, it is a man's duty (Paul, 37, Ghana, President of Ghana Associations. Perugia)

All of our informants who were more active in local politics were aware and critical of the limited spaces for local and national political participation given to migrants in Italy. They saw the impossibility of voting in local elections as a major concern for their future existence in the country. This partly motivated their engagement with transnational politics and their investment in developmental and educational issues related to younger generations in Italy.

Conclusion

Migrant men often consider their own location within feminised occupations as a source of downward mobility and as an unmanning experience. In many cases, the men's relationship to these occupations is temporary and instrumental, as they seek to move to masculinised and better-paid jobs, both within and outside the IDRL. At the same time, as this chapter has shown, it is through their employment in paid domestic/care work that migrant men access opportunities to establish networks which might allow them to move out of feminised occupations. In particular, concierge work enables men to achieve social mobility, to fulfil their role as breadwinners, and to improve their work/life balance; at the same time, this job maintains the key ambivalence of domestic service, assigning men to a public as well as a private role. This also varies according to the ethnicity—men from more stigmatised communities are less able

to capitalise on paid domestic/care work to achieve greater mobility, and they can less frequently rely on Catholic networks to enter semi-skilled better-paid jobs. In this context, contacts and networking with non-co-ethnics and participation in local politics through engagement with left-wing parties may offer an alternative to the path followed by other communities where Catholicism and women-centred networks remain particularly strong in promoting the migrants' forms of social mobility and public visibility. Migrant men strategically use the values of 'connectedness' and 'respectability' to enhance their prospects of social mobility within and outside the IDRL. In this respect, migrant men actively capitalise on their engagement with feminised occupations by constructing an image of themselves as trustworthy and respectable, while simultaneously trying to achieve public visibility and to counterbalance their confinement within Italian homes. Through involvement in associations and political activism, these men differently attempt to construct wider masculine networks outside women-centred networks, but they also interact with migrant female activists, within and beyond their national groups. This, we argue, allows men to partly negotiate alternative models of masculinity both in the private and the public sphere, thus questioning the gendered processes of unmanning and criminalisation on which racism is crucially based in contemporary Italy. However, migrant men's exclusion from political enfranchisement continues to combine with the limitation of job opportunities which are available to them, limiting their agency and reproducing a representation of migrant men as respectable, yet inferiorised, outsiders.

Bibliography

- Ashforth, B.E., and G.E. Kreiner. 1999. "How can you do it?": Dirty work and the challenge of constructing a positive identity. *Academic Management Review* 24(3): 413–434.
- Chusmir, L. 1992. Men who make non-traditional career choices. *Journal of Counselling and Development* 69(1): 11–15.
- Dant, T., and D. Bowles. 2003. Dealing with dirt: Servicing and repairing cars. *Sociological Research Online* 8(2). <http://www.socresonline.org.uk/8/2/dant.html>

- de Villanova, R., and P. Bonnin. 2006. *Loges, concierges et gardiens. Enquêtes en Europe : Paris, Londres, Barcelone, Milan, Oslo*. Paris: Creaphis.
- Farmer, H. 1985. Model of career achievement orientation for men and women. *Journal of Counselling Psychology* 32: 363–390.
- Gallo, E. 2006. Italy is not a good place for men. Narratives of place, marriage and masculinity among Malayali migrants in Rome. *Global Networks* 6(4): 159–174.
- Gallucci, A. 2010. *Contratto nazionale dei portieri di edifici*. Rome: Petra Edizioni.
- Gul, O. 2009. The doorkeeper, the maid and the tenant: Troubling encounters in the Turkish urban landscape. In *Fragments of culture. The everyday of modern Turkey*, ed. D. Kandiyoti and A. Saktanber. London: Taurus.
- Hall, A., J. Hockey, and V. Robinson. 2007. Occupational cultures and the embodiment of masculinities: Hairdressing, estate agency and firefighting. *Gender, Work and Organization* 14(6): 534–551.
- Hughes, E.C. 1958. *Men and their work*. Toronto: Collier-Macmillan.
- Kilkey, M. 2010. Men and domestic labour: A missing link in the global care chain. *Men and Masculinities* 13(1): 126–149.
- Morgan, D. 1992. *Discovering men*. London: Routledge.
- Ramirez, H. 2011. Masculinity in the workplace: The case of Mexican immigrant gardeners. *Men and Masculinities* 14(97): 97–116.
- Ramirez, H., and P. Hondagneu-Sotelo. 2009. Mexican immigrant gardeners: Exploited workers or entrepreneurs? *Social Problems* 56(1): 70–88.
- Rollins, J. 1985. *Between women: Domestic and their employers*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Sarti, R. 2010. Fighting for masculinity: Male domestic workers, gender and migration in Italy from the late nineteenth century to the present. *Men and Masculinities* 13(1): 16–43.
- Schuster, L. 2005. The continuing mobility of migrants in Italy: Shifting between places and statuses. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 31(4): 757–774.
- Sherman, R. 2010. Time is our commodity: Gender and the struggle for occupational legitimacy among personal concierges. *Work and Occupations* 37(1): 81–114.
- Stébé, J.M., and G. Bronner. 2010. Figure et Metamorphoses des Concierges. *Les Annales de la Recherche Urbaine* 88: 95–104.
- Williams, C.L. 1989. *Gender differences at work: Women and men in non-traditional occupations*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

8

Conclusion: Migrant Men's Strategies in the IDRL

Migrant men are distributed across a wide range of occupations throughout Europe. Yet, they are far from being absent as care providers in the IDRL. Domestic/care services represent a crucial context in which to analyse (native and migrant) men's experiences and masculinities at the intersection of the 'public' and 'private' domain. Responding to the need to develop a more relational analysis of gender in neoliberal economies and to understand how masculinities and femininities are constructed through reciprocal influence within the IDRL (Yeates 2009; Connell 2014; Connell and Pearse 2015), this book has proposed an innovative understanding of how gender, migration, and care regimes shape the lives of migrant men. The analysis developed in this book fills a gap in feminist literature on the IDRL and in masculinity studies. The book moves beyond a still pre-dominant understanding of the 'global nanny chain' (Hochschild 2000: 33) as a 'women's business' and explores the experiences of migrant men in paid care and domestic work, and how the men's engagement with reproductive labour shapes constructions of masculinities through their relationships with (male and female) employers and with their wider kin and ethnic network.

We argue that the invisibilisation of men as providers and consumers of domestic/care services in the global world, which is dominant in the existing literature, has the paradoxical effect of validating the idea that masculinity can only be constructed in the public sphere. Our analysis unravels the complex ways in which men come to actively participate in the IDRL, and how this constitutes an important context where to map conflicting experiences and models of masculinities. It is important to remark here how the growing involvement of unskilled migrant women within global migration flows as domestics and care-givers deeply transforms not only the frame of intergenerational and conjugal relations—the latter being stretched across countries and carried out ‘at a distance’ (Parreñas 2005a, b; Boccagni 2009a)—but also shapes the lives of those men who come to be involved within the IDRL through their kin women. Beyond the relevance of kin networks, women’s presence within the IDRL has also produced renewed gendered cultures of migration in both contexts whereby migrant might start considering paid care and domestic service as a temporary (or prolonged) strategy to achieve social and geographical mobility. The link between pioneer migrant women and ‘trailing men’ is worth discussing in order to go beyond the tendency to analyse masculinities by focusing solely on men and relationships among men, to challenge the ‘separate sphere’ approach which often characterises masculinity studies, and to avoid focusing on masculinities as representations in order to inscribe them within structural patterns of the gendered division of work (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005; Brod 1994; Hondagneu-Sotelo and Messner 1994; Kofman and Raghuram 2015).). We stress that the presence of migrant men employed in reproductive labour remains minoritarian, and that their presence does not substantially challenge the underpinning gendered structure of power. Indeed, based on our data, we note that, despite shifting relations of gender across the public/private divide and the emergence of more egalitarian patterns through the combined impact of international migration and of men’s employment in (paid and unpaid) reproductive labour, the gender order is not subverted.

Our analysis, based on data concerning men of different nationalities, provides insight into the global cross-cultural nature of patriarchal structures associated with the division of work and sustained by essentialist

assumptions. In Italy, migrant men's gendered micro-practices and strategies are shaped by the local and global contexts of racism, gender, migration, and the IDRL; they are informed by the actions of institutional and informal actors intervening on the issue of migration at the national and local levels, and they are located within the context of Italian immigration policies; further, they are defined by differences between migrant men in terms of social capital, class/education, age, and family status. Migrant men contribute to both sustaining and destabilising dominant models of masculinity and the gendered division of work, in the family as well as in the workplace. They also actively contribute to manipulating and questioning notions of racialised masculinity and gendered cultural difference through their involvement in practices and social interactions where categories of gender, class, and ethnicity are mobilised. These dynamics are inscribed within a socio-economic and political context in which restrictive migration policies and processes of racialisation combine with the ongoing economic crisis and with national constructions, patterns, and policies of care across Europe.

We believe that the empirical and conceptual frameworks used in the book can illuminate the relationship between domestic work, migration, and gender beyond the specificities of the Italian case, providing a basis for future studies of gender and globalisation in other national contexts. More specifically, the wider relevance of the Italian case relates to the following four under-researched topics: *Men, Masculinities, and the Feminisation of International Migration*; *Racialised Masculinities and Religion in Immigration Contexts*; *Migrant Masculinities, Social Mobility, and Occupational Cultures*; and *Men, Masculinities, and Reproductive Labour at the Local and Transnational Level*.

Men, Masculinities, and the Feminisation of International Migration

The book produces a truly relational analysis of gender and migration, thus contributing to the collective effort of theorising gender and migration. We show how the increasing presence of women among international migrants has an impact on men's experiences and strategies; the analysis

of migrant men as ‘followers’ of female breadwinners questions the (still dominant) approaches that contrast female family migration with male labour migration. In doing this, we partly follow feminist scholarship in questioning the feminisation of migration as a recent and growing trend. Women have always migrated on their own, and not necessarily as a result of family reunion. At the same time, men’s migration through family reunion has also long existed. These recognitions allow us to go beyond the dualism that casts men as ‘individual migrants’ and women as ‘following subjects’, and beyond the association of male migration with economic interests and motivations on the one hand, and of female migration with personal and family reasons on the other hand. This dualism reproduces sexist representations of migration and marginalises the relational nature of gender in the context of international mobility. Our analysis advances the understanding of how men’s and women’s migration intertwines and reciprocally influences each other, and how masculinities and femininities in migration are produced through interactions in a context of unequal access to mobility, labour, socio-economic status, and so on. Our book has shown that models of masculinities as hegemonic, respectable, feminised, or threatening are not monadic entities but relational processes (cf. Connell and Messerschmidt 2005: 837); while they aim at disciplining men’s behaviours, they cannot pre-determine or fix such behaviours. Rather, they are produced at the intersection of different global, institutional, national, and local factors, and are open to contestation by male and female subjects. In addition, our book responds to a call, expressed by feminist scholars, to develop and apply a gendered perspective in studying men and masculinities in the neoliberal globalisation of the economy and work (Acker 2004). Much of the work on gender and globalisation is actually research on women, work, and family under current conditions of economic transformation. This research may include men in so far as their actions and practices shape the lives of women, but the bulk of the research on men, work, and the restructuring of the economy is cast as gender-neutral.

Instead, in our book, we analyse how women’s positioning within global mobility influences men, their migration strategies, and their understanding of masculinities at work and within the family. More specifically, we develop this analysis in Chap. 4, where we explore the impact of gendered

immigration policies and the role played by Catholic discourse and religious actors and by female-dominated networks in shaping the migration and employment of men; and in Chap. 6, where we explore how women's pioneering migration impacts migrant men's experiences of international mobility, as well as the gendered division of work in the migrants' families. We also show that men's socialisation into care work is not exclusively related to their migration as 'trailing husbands' but is a long-term process; men take up care responsibilities even before international migration, in the home country, in the absence of their women. In so doing, they reflect on the need to adopt both paternal and maternal roles to compensate for the 'care deficit' experienced by their children while their mothers are away.

Racialised Masculinities and Religion in Immigration Contexts

The book also explores how racialised masculinities are shaped by global as well as institutional national forces; in particular, it investigates the prominent role played by the majority of religious and faith institutions, as well as by other political actors such as parties and the media, in shaping racialised masculinities in public debates in the immigration society. While much research is concerned with the analysis of gendered representations of Muslims, our data point to the relevance of gendered constructions of Catholic/Christian (male) migrants in shaping social relations, and more specifically work relations, in the immigration society.

On the one hand, Italian-gendered political and public discourses increasingly depict migrant masculinities as threatening. On the other hand, migrant men can, under certain circumstances, be tolerated and accepted within Italian homes. How is this possible? As the Italian case shows, the great importance assigned to domestic/care labour in Italian political debates highlights the specific role ascribed to migrants within the national territory—that of subordinate workers. Chapter 3 details the important role of security policies, the criminalisation of migrants, and 'moral panic' related to migration in shaping the experience of migrant men. We suggest that in the last decade, this discourse has been hegemonised by 'Populist Radical Right'. In Europe these parties share nativism,

populism and authoritarianism as the core elements of their ideology (Mudde 2007) parties with the implicit assent of left-wing parties. Of course this cannot be generalised, as different European states present different tendencies. However, the Italian case may be seen as symptomatic of wider European trends, given the central role that the NL has gained in the migration discourse over the past decades. As in other European contexts, in Italy, the construction of the racialised Other draws from longer colonial roots, with the 'Black Venus' inhabiting the stereotypical representation of inferior, yet sexually appealing, women, and with men depicted as bearers of an aggressive masculinity (Andall 2005). Importantly, both 'modern' and contemporary 'cultural' racisms co-existed during the Italian colonial period; people from the African colonies were represented as subjects who could not be assimilated due to cultural traditions that differed too widely from those of the Mediterranean (Duncan 2005).

Catholic institutions have played a key role in polarising, on the one hand, the multi-layered responsibilities and identities of Italian women as mothers, wives, and workers, and on the other hand, the monolithic identity of migrant women as labourers. Indeed, in the Italian debate on migration, 'migrant women's labour identity has been privileged over other social identities' (Andall 2000: 23). We suggest that this also applies to some extent to (some) migrant men. It is possible to push Andall's argument further, in two directions. First, our research findings suggest that along the (limited) spectrum of job possibilities available to migrants in the Italian labour market, paid domestic/care work is perceived by many Italians as one of the few legitimately available to 'non-nationals'. This leads to our second point, which concerns Italians' gendered perceptions of migrants' presence in public spaces, and the related ascription of legitimacy to 'household-based occupations' as places of employment as well as of social control of the migrants' lives. We argue that male domestic/care workers constitute the complementary figure of the hyper-masculine/criminalised male migrants, thus holding an important position in the cultural formations which support the 'transnational political economy of care' (Williams 2012: 364) at meso-level. As in other sectors of employment in the globalised economy (Acker 2004), this 'domesticated' masculinity is used to construct desirable workers in the context of contemporary gendered and racialised divisions of work.

We also show that religion is important in the racialisation of migrant masculinities. Current studies have been mainly concerned with how discourses on Islam are used to racialise the Other. Our work offers original insights into how the positive, yet equally ambivalent, stereotyping of migrant Catholicism is functional in the construction of respectable and subordinated masculinities. Chapters 4 and 5 map out how racialising discourses are apprehended across the public/private divide at the institutional level (through the discussion of the role of the Catholic Church and NGOs in the social construction of migrant masculinities) and within Italian households, by providing insight into social relations and practices of the workplace (where ideas of religion play an important role, for instance, in recruitment). Engaging in reproductive labour becomes a way in which migrant men can withdraw from the stigmatised representations of migrant masculinities as aggressive and embrace a model of feminised respectability. In agreeing to do 'women's work', migrant men also subscribe to the widespread idea that being employed in a 'respectable' Italian family may bestow respectability on the employees themselves.

Migrant Masculinities, Social Mobility, and Occupational Cultures

Our book investigates how subordinated masculinities are associated with forms of deskilling and downward social mobility resulting from international migration; in this (transnational) context, migrant men can develop strategies leading to improved social mobility, redefining gender relations across the public/private divide. In so doing, it contributes to gendering our understanding of 'occupational cultures' (Hall et al. 2007). Indeed, the connections between racism, ethnicity, and masculinity in feminised occupational settings are undertheorised (Hibbins and Pease 2009; Poster 2002; Wingfield 2009). Our findings in Chap. 4 partly comply with existing studies, emphasising that migrant men who enter women's work tend to reassert their masculinity by stressing physical strength and technical skills. However, we diverge from these studies in showing that male domestic/care workers may also adopt more nuanced understandings of

‘women’s work’ and that their narratives may challenge essentialist views of ‘women’s work’ and ‘women’s skills’. As Donato et al. (2006: 6) have noted, migrants often become particularly aware of the relational and contextual nature of gender as they attempt to fulfil expectations of behaviour that may differ sharply in the different places where they live and work. The paradoxical negotiations of masculinity enacted by these men in the workplace may challenge dominant notions of ‘women’s work’, uncovering the socially constructed nature of ‘feminine qualities’ such as patience and sweetness, among others. Men’s narratives end up questioning such naturalised and supposedly ‘innate’ ‘feminine qualities’ by pointing to the skills that they are able to gain through experience. Further, the demeaning effects of taking up ‘women’s work’ are kept at a distance by migrant men to some extent by stressing on the opportunity such work offers them both to fulfil their role as breadwinner and to attain better social status through their association with a ‘respectable’ Italian family. Beyond this, however, through their involvement within the IDRL, migrant men also gain greater awareness of the care needs within their own houses and families, and may renegotiate their relationship to unpaid care work through performing emotional labour in the workplace. Finally, Chap. 4 shows that men mobilise constructions of cultural difference to claim their superiority over other migrant groups. More specifically, our informants claim for themselves not only qualities such as honesty and a strong work ethic, as observed in other studies, but also specific qualities which are traditionally constructed as feminine, in an attempt to dissociate themselves from stigmatised migrant masculinities.

If the employment of migrant and racialised men in feminised occupations has received limited scholarly attention, the existing scholarship on masculinity in the IDRL is mainly concerned with masculinised jobs such as gardeners or handymen (Ramirez 2011; Kilkey 2010). Yet, the work of men within female-dominated occupations presents an interesting context in which to apprehend how men confront social stereotyping at work and engage with ‘women’s work’ while trying to reaffirm their masculinity (Simpson 2004) or are ready to accept and value the gendered role which is assigned to them (Villeneuve 1994; Robinson and Hockey 2012). Men’s employment in feminised occupations is a source of concern and anxieties, particularly in those circumstances in which men are under the scru-

tiny and judgement of other men (Kimmel 1994). In these circumstances, while both men and women might experience minority status through their working locations, men are deemed to develop other career aspirations more frequently than women (Williams 1993). Yet, as Simpson (2004) notes, men in feminised occupations might also feel comfortable with 'female discourses' of care and service in order to overcome minority status, and are also likely to actively choose to further develop the affective domain of their lives (see also: Schann 1983; Galbraith 1992). Men might also work to de-emphasise their masculinity and to be less masculine gender-typed than men in traditional occupations (Simpson 2004; Chusmir 1992; Villeneuve 1994). Harriet Bradley (1993: 17) identifies three patterns of men's employment in feminised jobs: 'takeover', 'invasion', and 'infiltration'. 'Takeover' and 'invasion' are associated with structural changes leading to female labour being replaced by male labour. In the 'infiltration' pattern, men enter 'women's jobs' and remain in the sector as a minority while the feminised sex-typing of the job persists. The concept of 'infiltration' is associated with absence of choice (e.g., unemployment can lead some men to take up women's jobs) or with specific groups of workers with different gendered aspirations and expectations in terms of employment, such as migrants. Migration may be a factor that challenges the sex-typing of employment: in the migrant's country of origin, for instance, the same job may not be exclusively feminine and is not sex-typed. For example, Asian men in the UK infiltrated jobs in the hosiery industry that were shunned by British men (Bradley 1993). Other scholars (Bagilhole and Cross 2006), however, point to the need to expand the concept of 'infiltration' to encompass the diversity of the personal and occupational reasons behind men's entry into such jobs. Another grid to interpret men in women's job is offered by Williams and Willemez (1993) who, with reference to the US context, identify three categories: 'leavers' (those men who relocate to another job outside feminised employment sectors), 'seekers' (the minority who actively seek such jobs), and 'finders' (the majority who end up in these jobs when faced with alternative choices or while looking for other kinds of work). Taking into account the career history, motives for choosing the job, and the aspirations of men in feminised jobs, Simpson (2004) identifies one further category, namely, the 'settlers', who are those men who have moved into a feminised job from a

male-dominated occupation and are reluctant to take on managerial positions in their new situation.

On the basis of our data, we suggest that 'infiltration' can be used to describe domestic/care services in Italy, where men remain a minority and have to cope with derogatory attitudes regarding their masculinity. While the work remains feminised, men mobilise notions of masculinity to enhance their career chances or, we would add, to try to leave their jobs altogether. In the light of our data, we define the trajectories of some of our informants as 'strategic infiltration'. This involves an instrumental attitude towards a job which is seen as useful in a specific context, but that is otherwise despised and kept at a distance, through the emphasis on its economic value and its 'honest' nature as a source of income, as opposed to the illegal and deviant activities of other (criminalised) migrant men. Further, a substantial proportion of the men we interviewed fall into the category of 'finders', who are those who were in principle looking for other jobs but ended up in female-dominated occupations. In these circumstances, domestic/care service jobs are accepted either as a strategy of regularisation and/or as a temporary, consolidating position in which to gain the necessary language and networking skills to move to other occupations. At the same time, other migrant men may actively identify domestic/care service jobs as suitable occupations and may value the longer-term advantages they bring in terms of accommodation, regularisation, safety, and association with Italian families. In some cases, men are strongly aware of their acquired skills and ability to offer multi-layered services, and may seek these jobs with the intention of demanding higher salaries. Like the 'finders', our informants entered domestic/care services because of contingent conditions and the absence of a more desirable alternative. More specifically, our informants can be seen as 'induced finders' whose occupation appears to be shaped to a great extent by both negative and positive factors which influence their trajectories and choices in the migratory context. The need to contribute to the family income and the lack of other, more conventional employment opportunities for men, especially in the context of the recession, combine with the fact that domestic/care services provide opportunities for regularisation, and with the inclusion of many of these men from the start of their migration in female-driven networks through which they can easily access such jobs.

Further, our informants cannot be wholly defined as 'finders' (Williams and Willemez 1993) because, in many cases, their 'falling into the job' was neither accidental nor unexpected. The analysis we developed in previous chapters has suggested that migrant men often familiarise themselves with the work and life effects of the IDRL before their arrival in Italy, and are often well aware of the fact that the labour market orients them towards feminised occupations. Through their female relatives already settled in Italy, men were aware that more 'masculine' job opportunities would be scarce in Italy. Some tried to avoid entering 'feminine' jobs, but eventually had to do so out of necessity. Some men, however, may become 'settlers' in domestic/care services, coming over time to find their work meaningful and satisfying.

Nevertheless, we also note how the boundaries between these categories appear somehow blurred as men's positioning frequently shift according to their age, life-cycle, marital status, and migration history. The meanings of these categories should also be analysed in relation to the wider socio-political context that might shape as the Italian case suggests, specific gendered attitudes towards labour possibilities. Indeed, it was often difficult for us to trace a line between 'seekers' and 'finders' not only because men often moved between these two categories, but also because their positioning changed according to their generation, life-cycle stage, and shifting family status, with mature and married men being more inclined to appreciate the positive and transformative sides of their labour. Thus, we found that older and married men particularly performed emotional labour at work and identified positively with it through the association with ideas of a Christian mission to help those in need. As other men adopted a pragmatic approach to paid care and domestic work, their narratives could challenge the naturalising constructions of the so-called feminine qualities associated with these jobs. Men reshape the gendered 'occupational culture' of reproductive labour by emphasising not only the importance of so-called masculine attributes like technical skills or physical strength but also their acquisition of household-management skills and their participation in emotional labour. Furthermore, our analysis has suggested how migrant men's entry into female-dominated occupations is also actively constructed as a way to achieve greater (albeit subordinated) respectability in the immigration society through their connections with

Italian employers. In this respect, we argue that migrant men's positioning as 'seekers' and/or 'finders' within female occupations should be analysed in relation to the wider shifting Italian (and European) political scenario, where restrictive immigration laws and the growing criminalisation of migrant men intertwine with positive policies towards foreign domestic/care workers.

Overall, access to the material and symbolic resources that sustain masculinity, including skilled employment, is generally limited for our racialised informants. For these men, 'women's work', while challenging their masculinity, offers greater security and the chance to earn regular wages, unlike undeclared and risky work in traditionally masculine jobs which provided lower salaries and are more exposed to the risk of immigration sweeps (McGregor 2007). Compared with men in other feminised jobs, the beneficial effects of masculinity appear to be limited for our migrant informants. These workers do not benefit from the 'zone comfort effect' (Simpson 2004: 349), as they do not work in a female-dominated collective where they are 'pampered' and where they can experience relations with female colleagues as a source of comfort. Rather, they are involved in highly individualised work relationships where they have to negotiate their masculinity with private employers who tend to be wary of having a man in their house. Because of the specific organisation of work relations in traditional household-based domestic/care services, working in a feminised job may lead to increased stress for these men because of the suspicions expressed by their employers. Further, because they do not work in an institutional setting, these male employees are denied the benefits of the 'authority effect' (an example of this would be the way in which male school teachers experience fewer discipline problems than women teachers) (Simpson 2004). As far as the 'career effect' (related to career fast-tracking, higher evaluations by supervisors, more relaxed rules, greater opportunities to learn and move forward, and greater visibility in the workplace) is concerned, the key questions are as follows: Did our informants feel 'welcomed in the profession?' (Simpson 2004: 356); Did they benefit from a special treatment? While existing studies on librarians, nurses, and other occupational groups show that overall the token minority status of men in feminised jobs is largely positive, this might not entirely be the case for male migrants in paid domes-

tic/care work in Italy. Nevertheless, over time, some of our informants were able to capitalise on the networks built within the IDRL to develop strategies of social mobility. In Chap. 7 we show how, by combining feminised and masculinised tasks at work, some migrant men are in the position to gain higher salaries and/or to move to more valued forms of employment by establishing masculinised niches in the sector, such as porter work. By building respectability through Catholic networks and personalistic relations with employers, more than women, migrant men in our sample were better able to carve out spaces of social and professional mobility towards semi-skilled occupations, and to achieve public visibility through activism in trade unions and NGOs.

Men, Masculinities and Reproductive Labour at Local and Transnational Level

Finally, the book investigates how the IDRL affects men's experiences of paid and unpaid care across the public/private divide. We show the ways in which migrant and native men are involved in the IDRL as providers and consumers of domestic/care services. Through their involvement as care providers, migrant men can engage with emotional labour at work, take on reproductive tasks at home, and negotiate new models of (subordinated) masculinity. Chapter 4 explores the experiences of migrant men in feminised elderly care jobs, thus contributing to a more articulate picture of migrant men in the IDRL and complementing the existing studies which focus on masculinised reproductive labour jobs such as handymen and gardeners (Kilkey et al. 2013; Ramirez and Hondagneu-Sotelo 2009; Ramirez 2011). This chapter shows that, just like women, our informants experienced emotional burnout and suffered from the lack of recognition of paid care work. Chapter 6 unveils the wider temporal and spatial dimension of men's socialisation into care tasks—and how this socialisation often holds a transnational dimension, spanning across different national contexts—which avoids overestimating the novelty of entering into paid care in the immigration country. Our findings diverge from existing studies focusing on the Philippines and Eastern

Europe and indicating that, when mothers migrate, fathers often fail to take over their domestic responsibilities, delegating unpaid care chores to female relatives in the home country (Parreñas 2001; Haindinger 2008). Men do not only cover domestic/care unpaid tasks out of necessity, but also reflect on how their role within the family changes. We show how men engage practically, but also in affective terms, with the outcomes of their involvement within the IDRL. Chapter 6 also maps the many links existing between illegal journeys, family lives, and men's entry into domestic labour. We argue that in some cases, migrant men may consider paid domestic/care work as a suitable strategy not only for pragmatic reasons of regularisation or temporary survival, but might also draw from their own experiences of vulnerability and insecurity to conceptualise this occupation as safer. We argue that migrant men's involvement within the IDRL produces a shift in the gendered division of labour within the household, partly due to men's novel conjugal arrangements and also their location within wider gendered networks—men take on domestic/care tasks and accept a more equal division of work. Crucially, however, we also show that this process has a generational dimension and that it varies according to the migrants' life-cycle.

Further, the book contributes to compensate for the paucity of studies focusing on employers in the existing literature of the IDRL. Until very recently, the role of employers, and particularly of male employers, has been neglected to a surprising extent (Triandafyllidou and Marchetti 2014a; Gallo and Scrinzi 2015; Näre 2013b; Lundstrom 2012). Yet, in the broader context of the analysis of international labour migration, the demand of employers has been recognised as a 'powerful tool' for the understanding of gendered employment practices as well as of the 'genesis of international migrations and their geographic and demographic patterns' (Mahler and Pessar 2006: 46). Employers are crucial actors not only in driving the demand for specific services but also in moulding patterns of segregation and discrimination (MacKenzie and Forde 2009; Lopez-Garza 2001; Chavez 1992). As Rodriguez has noted, employers are 'gatekeepers to the labour market', to the point that their hiring strategies deeply inform the formation of transnational communities that sustain international immigration flows (Rodriguez 2004: 468). Employers' role in moulding essentialised representations of migrant workers is perhaps even more salient

in the context of household-based occupations, where racialised and gendered filters of 'respectability', 'trustworthiness', or 'decency' are applied to evaluate the possible admittance of a migrant worker into the 'private' domain of the home. Employers ambivalently consider migrant workers' flexibility, cheapness, and (in many cases) irregular status as attractive, insofar as these allow for more exploitative working relations. Yet, the same traits are a source of anxiety, as the employers feel that the home needs protection from the disruption of the domestic daily routine and from the contaminating presence of a foreign subject (Anderson 2003).

As our data show in Chap. 5, men's involvement within the IDRL as consumers and beneficiary of domestic/care services varies considerably depending on class differences as well as the nature of the service provided, with care being the domain in which male employers feel more compelled to participate in order to fulfil their conjugal and filial duties. Furthermore, the employers act to mediate dominant racialising representations in the household; male employers in our sample were highly influenced by the criminalising discourse as enacted in the public sphere and felt that they needed to act as gatekeepers of household security when it came to hiring migrant men. Italian male employers also felt they needed to act as 'moral advisors' to male migrant workers. This implies the adoption of racialising discourses on 'good' and 'bad' migrants, which, as our discussion shows, draws considerably from the widespread criminalising representations of clandestine migrants, thus demonstrating how the 'public' and 'private' realms are deeply interconnected through domestic/care employment relations.

We hope that this book paves the way for future research, which critically analyses how migrant and native men's representations, practices, and experiences of masculinities may be transformed under the impact of migration, without losing sight of unequal social relations of gender in the neoliberal economic globalisation. Particularly, future research should develop a comparative analysis of how the inclusion of migrant men within the IDRL can unravel peculiarities of migration and care regimes in specific national contexts, by also shedding light on how masculinity is constructed and experienced in the domestic sphere more generally. Finally, there is the need to explore the role of migrant and racialised men within the gendered and racialised division of work.

Bibliography

- Acker, J. 2004. Gender, Capitalism and Globalisation. *Critical Sociology* 30(1): 17–41.
- Andall, J. 2000. *Gender, migration and domestic service*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Andall, J. 2005. *Italian colonialism. Legacy and memory*. Bern: Peter Lang.
- Anderson, B. 2003. Just another job? The commodification of domestic labour. In *Global woman: Nannies, maids and sex workers in the new economy*, ed. B. Ehrenreich and A.R. Hochschild. London: Granta Books.
- Bagilhole, B., and S. Cross. 2006. “It never struck me as female”: Investigating men's entry into female-dominated occupations. *Journal of Gender Studies* 15(1): 35–48.
- Boccagni, P. 2009a. Practicing motherhood from a distance. Retention and loss in Ecuadorian transnational families. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 38(2): 261–277.
- Bradley, H. 1993. Across the great divide. The entry of men into “women's jobs”. In *Doing 'women's work': Men in nontraditional occupations*, ed. C.L. Williams. London: Sage.
- Brod, H. 1994. Some thoughts on some histories of some masculinities: Jews and other stories. In *Theorizing masculinities*, ed. D.S. David and R. Brannon. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Chavez, L.R. 1992. *Shadowed lives: Undocumented migrants in American society*. New York: Harcourt Brace.
- Chusmir, L. 1992. Men who make non-traditional career choices. *Journal of Counselling and Development* 69(1): 11–15.
- Connell, R.W. 2014. Global tides. Market and gender dynamics on a world scale. *Social Currents* 1(1): 5–12.
- Connell, R.W., and J.M. Messerschmidt. 2005. Hegemonic masculinity: Rethinking the concept. *Gender & Society* 19(6): 829–859.
- Connell, R.W., and R. Pearse. 2015. *Gender in world perspective*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Donato, K.M., D. Gabaccia, J. Holdaway, M. Manalansan IV, and P.R. Pessar. 2006. A glass half full? Gender in migration studies. *International Migration Review* 40(1): 3–26.
- Duncan, D. 2005. Italian identity and the risk of contamination. The legacies of Mussolini's demographic impulse in the work of Comisso, Flaiano and Dell'Oro. In *Italian colonialism. Legacy and memory*, ed. J. Andall and D. Duncan. Oxford: Peter Lang.

- Galbraith, M. 1992. Understanding the career choices of men in elementary education. *Journal of Educational Research* 85(4): 246–253.
- Gallo, E., and F. Scrinzi. 2015. Outsourcing elderly care to migrant workers: The impact of gender and class on the experience of male employers. *Sociology*. Online before print 15 Apr 2015. Available at: <http://soc.sagepub.com/content/early/2015/04/28/0038038515573688.full.pdf>
- Hall, A., J. Hockey, and V. Robinson. 2007. Occupational cultures and the embodiment of masculinities: Hairdressing, estate agency and firefighting. *Gender, Work and Organization* 14(6): 534–551.
- Hibbins, R., and B. Pease. 2009. Men and masculinities on the move. In *Migrant men: Critical studies of masculinities and the migration experience*, ed. M. Donaldson, R. Hibbins, R. Howson, and B. Pease. London: Routledge.
- Hochschild, A.R. 2000. The nanny chain. *The American Prospect* 3(January): 32–36.
- Hondagneu-Sotelo, P., and M.A. Messner. 1994. Gender displays and men's power: The “new man” and the Mexican immigrant man. In *Theorizing masculinities*, ed. H. Brod and M. Kaufman, 200–218. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Kilkey, M. 2010. Men and domestic labour: A missing link in the global care chain. *Men and Masculinities* 13(1): 126–149.
- Kimmel, M. 1994. Masculinity as homophobia: Fear, shame and silence in the construction of gender identity. In *Theorising masculinities*, ed. H. Brod and M. Kaufman. London: Sage.
- Kofman, E., and P. Raghuram. 2015. *Gendered migration and global social reproduction*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Lopez-Garza, M. 2001. A study of the informal economy and Latina immigrants in greater Los Angeles. In *Asian and Latino immigrants in a restructuring economy: The metamorphosis of Southern California*, ed. M. Lopez-Garza and D.R. Diaz. Palo Alto: Stanford University Press.
- Lundstrom, C. 2012. I didn't come here to do housework. Relocating Swedish practices and ideologies in the context of the global division of labour: The case of expatriate households in Singapore. *Nordic Journal of Migration Research* 2(2): 150–158.
- MacKenzie, R., and C. Forde. 2009. The rhetoric of the “good worker” versus the realities of employers' use and the experiences of migrant workers. *Work Employment and Society* 23(1): 142–159.
- Mahler, S.J., and P.R. Pessar. 2006. Gender matters: Ethnographers bring gender from the periphery toward the core of migration studies. *International Migration Review* 40(1): 27–63.

- McGregor, J. 2007. Joining the BBC (British Bottom Cleaners): Zimbabwean migrants and the UK care industry. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 33(5): 801–824.
- Mudde, C. 2007. *Populist Radical Right Parties in Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Näre, L. 2013b. Ideal workers and suspects. Employers' politics of recognition and the migrant division of care labour in Finland. *Nordic Journal of Migration Research* 3(2): 72–81.
- Parreñas, R. 2005a. *Children of global migration: Transnational families and gendered woes*. Palo Alto: Stanford University.
- Parreñas, R. 2005b. Long distance intimacy: Class, gender and intergenerational relations between mothers and children in Filipino transnational families. *Global Networks* 5(4): 317–336.
- Poster, W.R. 2002. Racism, sexuality and masculinity: Gendering 'global ethnography' of the workplace. *Social Politics* 9(1): 126–158.
- Ramirez, H. 2011. Masculinity in the workplace: The case of Mexican immigrant gardeners. *Men and Masculinities* 14(1): 97–116.
- Ramirez, H., and P. Hondagneu-Sotelo. 2009. Mexican immigrant gardeners: Entrepreneurs or exploited workers? *Social Problems* 56(1): 70–88.
- Robinson, V., and J. Hockey. 2012. *Masculinities in transition*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Rodriguez, N. 2004. "Workers wanted": Employer recruitment of immigrant labor. *Work and Occupations* 31(4): 453–473.
- Schann, M. 1983. Career plans of men and women in gender dominant professions. *Journal of Vocational Behaviour* 22(3): 343–356.
- Simpson, R. 2004. Masculinity at work: The experiences of men in female dominated occupations. *Work, Employment and Society* 18(2): 349–368.
- Villeneuve, M. 1994. Recruiting and retaining men in nursing: A review of the literature. *Journal of Professional Nursing* 10(4): 217–228.
- Williams, C.L. (ed.). 1993. *Doing 'women's work': Men in nontraditional occupations*. London: Sage.
- Williams, F. 2012. Converging variations in migrant care work in Europe. *Journal of European Social Policy* 22(4): 363–376.
- Williams, L., and W. Vilemez. 1993. Seekers and finders: Male entry and exit in female dominated occupations. In *Doing women's work: Men in non-traditional occupations*, ed. C. Williams. London: Sage.
- Wingfield, A.H. 2009. Racializing the glass escalator. *Gender & Society* 23(1): 5–26.
- Yeates, N. 2009. *Globalizing care economies and migrant workers*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Bibliography

- Albertazzi, D., D. McDonnell, and J. Newell. 2010. Di lotta e di governo: The Lega Nord and Rifondazione Comunista in Office. *Party Politics* 17(4): 471–487.
- Ambrosini, M. 2014a. Protected but separated: International immigrants in the Italian Catholic Church. Paper presented at the workshop on *Migration, Transnationalism and Catholicism*. London: Middlesex University, Feb 2014.
- Ambrosini, M. 2014b. Parenting from a distance and processes of family reunification: A research on the Italian case. *Ethnicities*. Online before print 14 Aug 2014. doi: [10.1177/1468796814547059](https://doi.org/10.1177/1468796814547059).
- Bacallao, M.L., and P.R. Smokowsky. 2007. The cost of getting ahead: Mexican family system changes after immigration. *Family Relations* 56(1): 52–66.
- Boccagni, P. 2009. La partecipazione multi-etnica nelle imprese sociali. *Sociologia e Politiche Sociali* 1: 45–66.
- Bradley, H. 1989. *Men's work, women's work. A sociological history of the sexual division of labour in employment*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Cai, Q. 2003. Migrant remittances and family ties: A case study in China. *International Journal of Population Geography* 9(6): 471–483.
- Campani, G. 1993a. Immigration and racism in Southern Europe: The Italian case. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 16(3): 508–535.

- Campani, G. 1993b. Labour markets and family networks: Filipino women in Italy. In *Bridging states and markets*, ed. H. Rudolph and M. Morokvasic. Berlin: Sigma.
- Carsten, J., and S. Hugh-Jones. 1995. Introduction. In *About the house. Levi-Strauss and beyond*, ed. J. Carsten and S. Hugh-Jones. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Castles, S. 2011. Migration, crisis, and the global labour market. *Globalizations* 8(3): 311–324.
- Chavez, L.R. 1994. The power of the imagined community: The settlement of undocumented Mexicans and Central Americans in the United States. *American Anthropologist* 96(1): 52–73.
- Cockburn, C. 1986. The material of male power. In *Waged work: A reader*, ed. Feminist Review. London: Virago Press.
- Cohen, J. 2011. Migration, remittances and household strategies. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 40: 103–114.
- Connell, R.W. 1995. *Masculinities*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Crépon, S. 2012. *Enquête au cœur du nouveau front national*. Paris: Editions du Nouveau Monde.
- Dobson, J., A. Latham, and J. Salt. 2009. On the move? Labour migration in times of recession. What can we learn from the past? Policy Network Paper. Available at http://www.geog.ucl.ac.uk/research/transnational-spaces/migration-research-unit/publications/pdfs/on_the_move.pdf
- Dorangricchia, A., and X. Itçaina. 2005. Le répertoire de l'hospitalité: Mobilisations catholiques et politisations de la question migratoire. In *L'Europe du Sud face à l'immigration: Politique de l'Étranger*, ed. É. Ritaine. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.
- Farmer, H. 1997. Women's motivation related to mastery, career salience and career aspiration: A multivariate model focusing on the effects of sex role socialisation. *Journal of Career Assessment* 5(4): 355–381.
- Farris, S.R. 2012. Femonationalism and the regular army of labour called migrant women. *History of the Present* 2(2): 184–199.
- Gallo, E. 2015b. Migration, politics and catholicism. State of the art and future lines of enquiry. Paper presented at the workshop Migrations and Catholicism. Catholic University of Brescia, 6–7 May 2015.
- Gallo, E. and Scrinzi, F. 2016. 'Outsourcing elderly care to migrant workers. The impact of gender and class on the experience of male employers'. *Sociology* 50(2): 366–382.

- Gardner, K. 2002a. *Age, narratives and migration. The life course and life histories of Bengali elders in London*. Oxford: Berg.
- Gardner, K. 2002b. Death of a migrant: Transnational death rituals and gender among British Sylhetis. *Global Networks* 2(3): 191–204.
- Gareth, M., and R. Martin. 2007. Are you being served? Employer demand for migrant labour in the UK's hospitality sector. *Working Paper*. No. 51. University of Oxford, COMPAS. Available at: <https://www.compas.ox.ac.uk/publications/working-papers/wp-07-51/>. Accessed 13 Apr 2015.
- Gotzén, L. 2014. Racist hicks and the promise of world-centred masculinity studies. *NORMA: International Journal for Masculinity Studies* 9(4): 213–216.
- Grilli, S., and F. Mugnaini. 2009. Badanti on the edge. Networks beyond frontiers in domiciliary eldercare. An ethnographic study of migrant women workers and contemporary families in Italy. In *Connecting across borders and frontiers. Demarcation and connectedness in European culture and society*, ed. J. Barkhoff and H. Eberhart. Frankfurt: Peter Lang.
- Grundy, E., and J.C. Henretta. 2006. Between elderly parents and adult children. *Ageing and Society* 26(5): 707–722.
- Guillaumin, C. 1995. *Racism, sexism, power and ideology*. London: Routledge.
- Gutierrez-Rodriguez, E. 2014. Domestic work-affective labor: On feminization and the coloniality of labor. *Women's Studies International Forum* 46: 45–53.
- Haindinger, B. 2008. 'Contingencies Among Households: Gendered Division of Labour and Transnational Household Organisation'. In *Migration and Domestic Work: A European perspective on a global theme*, ed. H. Lutz. Aldershot: Ashgate, 127–144.
- Hochschild, A. 2012. *The outsourcing self: Intimate self in market times*. New York: Henry Holt and Company.
- Hondagneu-Sotelo, P., and E. Avila. 1997. "I'm here, but I'm there": The meaning of Latina transnational motherhood. *Gender & Society* 11(5): 548–571.
- Hughes, E.C. 1984. *The sociological eye: Selected papers*. New Brunswick: Transaction Books.
- Jackson, S. 1992. Towards a historical sociology of housework: A materialist feminist analysis. *Women's Studies International Forum* 15(2): 153–172.
- Kennelly, I. 1999. "That single mother element": How white employers typify black women. *Gender & Society* 13(2): 168–192.
- King, R., A. Castaldo, and J. Vullnetari. 2011. Gendered relations and filial duties along the Greek-Albanian remittances corridor. *Economic Geography* 87(4): 393–419.

- Kofman, E. 2004. Family-related migration: A critical review of European studies. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 30(2): 243–262.
- Lan, P.-C. 2003. Negotiating social boundaries and private zones: The micropolitics of employing migrant domestic workers. *Social Problems* 50(4): 525–549.
- Lan, P.-C. 2006. *Global Cinderellas: Migrant domestic workers and newly rich employers in Taiwan*. Durham/London: Duke University Press.
- Levitt, P., and N. Jaworsky. 2007. Transnational migration studies: Past developments and future trends. *Annual Review of Sociology* 33: 129–156.
- Lucas, R., and O. Stark. 1985. Motivations to remit: Evidences from Botswana. *Journal of Political Economy* 93(5): 901–918.
- Lutz, H. (ed.). 2008a. *Migration and domestic work. A European perspective on a global theme*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Lutz, H. 2008b. When home becomes a workplace: Domestic work as an ordinary job in Germany? In *Migration and domestic work. A European perspective on a global theme*, ed. H. Lutz. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Mahler, S.J. 2001. Transnational relationships: The struggle to communicate across borders. *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power* 7(4): 583–619.
- Marchal, H. 2007. Les gardiens de immeubles: le présent conjugué au passé. *Revue Française de Sciences Sociales* 130(2): 68–95.
- Marchetti, S. 2015. “Mum seems happy”: Relatives of dependent elders and the difficult task of employing a migrant care giver. In *Employers, agencies and immigration. Paying for care*, ed. A. Triandafyllidou and S. Marchetti. Farnham: Ashgate.
- Martin-Fugier, A. 2004. *La place des bonnes. La domesticité féminine à Paris en 1900*. Paris: Perrin/Grasset et Fasquelle.
- Massey, D. 1994. *Space, place and gender*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- McGovern, P. 2007. Immigration, labour market and employment relations: Problems and prospects. *British Journal of Industrial Relations* 45(2): 217–235.
- Mills, M.B. 1997. “Contesting the margins of modernity”: Women, migration, and consumption in Thailand. *American Ethnologist* 24(1): 37–61.
- Montserrat, G. 2010. Migration and the rise of the radical right: Social malaise and the failure of mainstream politics. Policy network paper. Available at: <http://www.policy-network.net/publications/3690/Migration-and-the-rise-of-the-radical-right>
- Mosse, G.L. 1985. *Nationalism and sexuality*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press.

- Moya, J.C. 2005. Immigrants and associations: A global and historical perspective. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 31(5): 833–864.
- Muzaffar, K. 2011. The legal context for caregiver immigration. In *Women, migration and the work of care: The United States in comparative perspective*, eds. S. Michel, M. Boyd, H. Lutz, L. Robles-Silva, X. Castañeda, M. Chishti, and M. McHugh. Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, United States Studies Occasional Paper Series (Summer). Available at: <http://www.wilsoncenter.org/publication/women-migration-and-the-work-care-the-united-states-comparative-perspective>
- Noirel, G. 2001. *État, Nation et Immigration*. Paris: Gallimard.
- O'Brien, M., and Shemlit, I. 2003. *Working fathers: Earning and caring*. Manchester: Equal Opportunities Commission. Available at: <http://www.fatherhoodinstitute.org/uploads/publications/280.pdf>.
- Oishi, N. 2005. *Women in motion: Globalization, state policies and labour migration in Asia*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Osella, C., and F. Osella. 2009. Muslim entrepreneurs in public life between India and the Gulf; making good and doing good. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 15(1): 202–221.
- Palidda, S. 2001. Passeurs, mediatori e intermediari. *Erreffe. La ricerca folklorica* 44: 77–84.
- Palidda, S. 2011a. A review of the principal European countries. In *Criminalisation and victimization of migrants in Europe*, ed. S. Palidda, 23–30. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Palidda, S. 2011b. The Italian crime deal. In *Criminalisation and victimization of migrants in Europe*, ed. S. Palidda. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Palmer, P. 1987. Housewife and household worker: Employer-employee relations in the home, 1928–41. In *To toil the livelong day: America's women at work, 1780–1890*, ed. C. Groneman and M.B. Norton. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Parella, R.S. 2003. Immigrant women in paid domestic service. The case of Spain and Italy. *Transfer: European Review of Labour and Research* 9(3): 503–517.
- Pateman, C. 1988. *The sexual contract*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Peletz, M.G. 2000. Ambivalence in Kinship since the 1940s. In *Relative values*, ed. S. Franklin and S. McKinnon. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Pine, F. 1996. Naming the house and naming the land: Kinship and social group in Highland Poland. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 2(3): 443–459.

- Ponzanesi, S. 2005. Beyond the Black Venus: Colonial sexual politics and contemporary visual practices. In *Italian colonialism: Legacy and memory*, ed. J. Andall and D. Duncan. Oxford: Peter Lang.
- Portes, A., L.E. Guarnizo, and W. Haller. 2003. Assimilation and transnationalism: Determinants of transnational political action among contemporary migrants. *American Journal of Sociology* 108(May): 1211–1248.
- Réa, A. (ed.). 1998. *Immigration et racisme en Europe*. Brussels: Editions Complexes.
- Riccio, B. 2008. West African transnationalisms compared: Ghanaians and Senegalese in Italy. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 34(2): 217–234.
- Rivas, L.M. 2003. Invisible labors: Caring for the independent person. In *Global woman: Nannies, maids, and sex workers in the new economy*, ed. B. Ehrenreich and A.R. Hochschild. London: Granta Books.
- Sarti, R., and F. Scrinzi (eds.). 2010. Men in a woman's job. Male domestic workers, international migration and the globalization of care. Special issue of *Man and Masculinities* 13(1).
- Scrinzi, F. 2004. "Ma culture dans laquelle elle travaille". Les migrantes dans les services domestiques en Italie et en France. *Cahiers du Cedref* 12: 137–162.
- Scrinzi, F. 2014a. Rapporti di genere e militanza nella lega nord. Donne forti in un partito virile. In *Attraverso la Lega. La costruzione del consenso sul territorio e le trasformazioni della società italiana*, ed. A. Curcio and L. Perini. Bologna: Il Mulino.
- Scrinzi, F. 2014b. *Caring for the nation. Men and women activists in radical right populist parties*. Final research report, European Research Council, Starting Grant 2012–2014. Available at http://www.gla.ac.uk/media/media_383799_en.pdf
- Skrbis, Z. 2008. Transnational families: Theorising migration, emotions and belonging. *Journal of Intercultural Studies* 29(3): 231–246.
- Sorgoni, B. 2003. Defending the race. The Italian reinvention of the Hottentot Venus during Fascism. *Journal of Modern Italian Studies* 8(3): 411–424.
- Svasek, M. 2008. Who cares? Families and feelings in movement. *Journal of Intercultural Studies* 29(3): 213–230.
- Triandafyllidou, A. (ed.). 2013. *Irregular migrant domestic workers in Europe. Who cares?* Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Uttal, L., and M. Tuominen. 1999. Tenuous relationships. Exploitation, emotion and racial ethnic significance in paid child care work. *Gender & Society* 13(6): 758–780.
- Van Hooren, F. 2010. When families need immigrants: The Exceptional position of migrant domestic workers and care assistants in Italian immigration policy. *Bulletin of Italian Politics* 2(2): 21–38.

- Waldinger, R., and M.I. Lichter. 2003. *How the other half works: Immigration and the social organization of labor*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Werner, Y.M. 2011. Studying Christian masculinity. In *Christian masculinity*, ed. Y.M. Werner. Leuven: Leuven University Press.
- Williams, R. 2009. Masculinities and vulnerability. The solitary discourses and practices of African-Caribbean and working-class fathers. *Men and Masculinities* 11(4): 441–461.
- Williams, F., and A. Gavanas. 2008. The intersection of childcare regimes and migration regimes: A three-country study. In *Migration and domestic work: A European perspective on a global theme*, ed. H. Lutz. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Wills, J.M., K. Datta, Y. Evans, J. Herbert, and C. McIlwaine. 2009. *Global cities at work new migrant divisions of labour*. London: Pluto Press.
- Wong, M. 2006. The gendered politics of remittances in Ghanaian transnational families. *Economic Geography* 82(4): 355–381.
- Woodhead, L. 2007. Gender differences in religious practice and significance. In *The sage handbook of the sociology of religion*, ed. J. Beckford and N.J. Demerath III. Malden: Blackwell.
- Yeoh, B., S. Huang, and T. Lam. 2005. Transnationalizing the Asian Family: Imaginaries, intimacies and strategic intents. *Global Networks* 5(4): 307–315.
- Zelizer, V. 2009. *The purchase of intimacy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Zincone, G. 2001. *Secondo rapporto sull'Integrazione degli Immigrati in Italia*. Bologna: Il Mulino.

Index

A

- Acli, 112–15, 139, 264, 267, 268
Ambrosini, M., 49, 94, 106, 112,
118, 216
Andall, J., 11, 44, 47, 50, 53,
99–101, 110, 116, 141, 143,
284
Anderson, B., 1, 10–11, 25, 43, 50,
55, 113, 114, 131, 132,
141–3, 153, 173, 185, 189,
198, 238, 293
Anthias, F., 5, 40, 46, 47, 55, 88–91
Associations, 19, 47, 101, 104, 112,
115, 137, 139, 164, 233, 265,
266, 272–5

B

- Badante*, 118, 173, 199

C

- Capitalism, 1, 3, 10
Care, 9, 13–14, 19, 26, 37–8, 48,
50, 55, 59, 139, 163, 192, 291
cash for care, 54
chain, ix–x, 25, 38, 234
labour, 2, 9, 11, 14, 16, 20, 21, 25,
26, 51, 52, 55–7, 61, 115–19,
139, 156, 172, 181, 207, 209,
214–17, 220, 223, 225, 226
providers, 7, 10, 11, 13, 50, 56,
150, 178, 201, 279, 291
regimes, 17, 37–8, 56, 94, 279,
293
sector, 4, 21, 28, 59, 62, 63, 70,
138, 150, 210, 225, 269
services, 1, 4, 13, 15, 18, 19, 25,
51, 54, 59, 70, 111–16, 120,
132–3, 137, 148, 149, 151–2,

- Care (*cont.*)
 174, 212–18, 229, 263–71,
 279, 280, 288–9, 290, 293
 work, viii, ix, 1, 9, 11–13, 18–20,
 25, 27, 29, 44, 45, 50, 51, 54–5,
 61–2, 64, 70, 97, 109, 112,
 118–20, 134, 141–51, 162,
 177, 184, 192, 195, 201, 206,
 228, 229, 234–8, 246, 247, 291
- Catholic Church, 17, 26, 47, 85, 104–8,
 111–15, 116, 117, 119, 274, 285
- Childcare, 9, 56, 70, 115, 150, 172,
 175, 177, 230, 231, 233–6,
 240, 250, 254
- Children, 6, 9, 10, 20, 37, 41, 50,
 87, 88, 111, 114, 134, 140,
 144, 145, 148, 152, 153, 158,
 162, 191, 209, 227, 234–5,
 257, 272, 273
 migrant children, 191
- Christianity, 94, 107, 115, 120, 132,
 165, 198–9
 Catholicism, 21, 104, 106, 115,
 119, 120, 132, 165, 200, 248,
 276, 285
- Citizenship, 2, 93, 94, 100, 105,
 222, 223, 245, 267
- Class, 2–4, 9, 14, 17, 18, 27–9, 42,
 51, 52, 58, 63, 116, 132, 149,
 171, 172, 183, 184, 193, 232,
 256, 281
 demotion, 145, 146, 160, 220
 middle classes, 3–4, 10, 13, 24, 27,
 29, 51, 56–8, 152, 172–4, 178,
 185, 187–9, 191, 192, 198,
 199, 226, 246, 249, 250, 253
 status, 51, 64, 151, 172, 192, 201
 upper classes, 58, 171
 working classes, 38, 172
- Conjugality, 28, 213, 225, 238, 239
 conjugal conflicts, 178, 240
 conjugal life, 210, 219, 226, 228,
 240
 conjugal relations, 153, 207, 223,
 226, 234, 240, 250, 255, 280
 conjugal status, 153, 250
- Connell, R., 2–5, 8, 137, 239, 279,
 280, 282
- Cox, R., 58, 66, 68, 69, 143, 187
- Criminalisation of migrants, 87, 283
- D**
- Debt, 28, 134, 136, 218, 224, 225
- Deskilling, 4–5, 16, 24, 146, 209,
 218, 220, 221, 285
- Division of labour, 175, 218, 292
- Domestic service, 25, 26, 38, 47, 49,
 58–60, 62, 63, 66–9, 113,
 139, 142, 150, 152, 161, 197,
 231, 250, 268, 271, 275, 280
- Domestic sphere, 18, 114, 293
- Domestic work, 3, 10, 14, 17, 18,
 22–3, 50, 51, 54, 55, 60, 68, 70,
 112, 117, 133, 135, 141, 143,
 146, 150–1, 164, 196, 221, 222
 outsourcing of, 4, 18, 55, 172–4,
 175
 racialised division of, 18, 27, 57,
 68, 69, 284, 293
- Duffy, M., 9, 11, 12, 67–9, 152
- E**
- Economic crisis, 39, 45, 47, 54, 61,
 70, 248, 281
- Education, 30, 42, 115, 183, 201,
 220, 238, 265, 281

- Ehrenreich, B., 3, 11, 113, 180
- Elderly care, 7, 12, 18, 24, 27, 48, 50, 51, 54–6, 70, 109, 112, 118, 132, 133, 141, 148, 157, 164, 171, 177, 193, 230, 291
- Elderly people, 10, 155, 194, 196, 267
- Emotional labour, 6, 9, 27, 69, 92, 132, 133, 151–6, 159, 165, 173, 195, 231, 236, 286, 291
- Emotions, 6–7, 13, 151–60
- Employers, 11, 16–18, 23, 27, 29, 39, 43, 55–6, 65–6, 109, 115, 132–6, 141–51, 156, 163, 165, 171–80, 180–99, 209, 219–23, 227–9, 231, 234–6, 253, 258–60, 273, 279, 290, 292–3
- Employment, 10–12, 16–19, 21–2, 25–6, 28, 30, 37–9, 43–5, 47, 50, 57–63, 67, 69, 86, 92, 113, 119, 131–3, 141–3, 145, 148, 151, 160, 171–2, 185, 187, 200, 210, 214, 216, 218, 234, 237, 246, 249, 263–5, 271, 284–7, 290–1
- Ethnicity, 5, 22–4, 30, 40, 47–9, 51, 58, 66–7, 87, 89–91, 105, 106, 114, 116, 132, 133, 137, 150, 160, 164, 183, 191, 212, 221, 245–6, 274, 275
- ethnic business, 21, 49, 221, 264, 269
- ethnic minorities, 38, 67, 90, 96
- Europe, 8, 10, 13, 17, 24–6, 37–45, 50–3, 57, 101, 112, 147, 184
- 139–40, 149–50, 158, 162, 172, 177, 186–7, 193, 196, 205–8, 211–12, 281–2, 292
- family well-being, 13, 200, 241
- relations, 6–7, 23, 29, 60–70, 113, 139, 153, 171, 197–200, 218–19, 237, 246
- responsibilities, 153–4, 162, 165, 177–8
- reunion, 6–7, 20, 28–9, 40–3, 44–9, 52–3, 60, 134, 144, 161, 165, 206–7, 211–14, 221, 282
- Fatherhood, 8, 28–30, 207, 234–8
- Feminisation of migration, 40–2, 138, 218, 281
- Feminised jobs, 25–6, 61, 65–7, 133, 141–2, 145–6, 271, 287, 290
- Filial duties, 175, 178, 180, 201, 293
- G**
- Gender, 2–6, 8–11, 13–18, 23, 25–8, 30, 42, 43, 46, 58, 59, 63, 66, 69, 85, 90, 93–7, 103, 110, 114, 129, 138–41, 147, 160, 174, 183, 188, 195, 206, 211, 220, 228, 233, 258, 262, 279–83, 285–7, 293
- gender difference, 24, 90, 94
- gendered division of work, 5, 12–13, 18–19, 27, 28, 30, 38, 49, 58, 70, 103, 116, 133, 149, 174, 177, 206, 219, 226–34, 254, 255, 280, 281, 283
- gendered family relations, 205, 219, 239
- gendered identities, 27, 271
- F**
- Family, 2–4, 7–8, 15, 20, 28–30, 47, 54, 70, 91, 96, 133–4,

Gender (*cont.*)
 gendered racialisation, 91, 97,
 108–11, 119
 gender equality, 91, 94–7, 103
 Glenn, E.N., 9, 10, 59, 68, 132,
 152, 157
 Globalisation, 2–9, 25, 37, 39, 281,
 282

H

Hanlon, N., 13, 152, 159, 229
 Hibbins, R., 5, 9, 285
 Hochschild, A.R., 1, 11, 38, 113,
 180, 234, 279
 Home, 3–4, 15–18, 20, 26–7, 29,
 41, 47–8, 54, 64, 67, 69, 92,
 109, 116–18, 131, 144, 147,
 149–50, 161–2, 171, 175,
 179–80, 185, 188–9, 198, 200,
 209, 212, 219, 226–7, 229–30,
 232, 254–5, 257, 292–3
 Home countries, 1, 20, 41, 47–8,
 54, 64, 141, 144, 147, 149,
 212, 219–21, 234, 236, 240,
 271–4, 283, 292
 Hondagneu-Sotelo, P., 6, 11, 16–18,
 43–4, 51, 66–9, 162, 172, 174,
 188, 221, 245, 251, 255–7
 Husbands, 4, 7, 20, 43–4, 62, 109–10,
 148, 207–11, 223–8, 233–4,
 240, 250–1, 253–5, 261, 283

I

Islam, 63, 93–6, 107–8, 136, 197–8,
 285
 Italian immigration policy, 18, 30,
 54, 281

Italy, 17–24, 26, 28–30, 38, 41–4,
 68–70, 85, 101–2, 104–12,
 115–19, 131, 133–4, 138–41,
 146, 150, 153–5, 161–3, 172,
 182, 191, 199, 206–10,
 212–14, 216–17, 219–27,
 234–5, 247, 263, 267, 271,
 276, 281, 284, 288–9

K

Kilkey, M., 2–4, 7–8, 15–16, 18, 51,
 55, 59, 66, 68, 131, 162, 177,
 237, 246, 255, 263, 286, 291
 Kinship, 7–8, 28, 90, 137, 177–8
 migrant kinship networks, 28, 177
 Kofman, E., 1, 5, 8, 10–11, 14, 25,
 40–1, 69, 280

L

Lutz, H., 10–11, 39, 42, 54–5, 57,
 59, 91, 131, 152

M

Marriage, 28, 95–6, 133, 206–11,
 221–2, 230, 232, 239–40 .
See also conjugality
 Masculinity, 2–5, 9, 12–14, 17–18,
 27, 29–30, 57–60, 63, 65–6,
 70, 90–2, 103, 132–3, 136,
 141, 145–52, 155, 160,
 164–5, 173, 177, 180–200,
 205, 212–18, 228–9, 236,
 245–6, 255, 257–63, 269,
 270, 276, 279–81, 285–8, 290
 class and masculinity, 68–9,
 247–50

- construction of foreign masculinity, 181–2
 feminised masculinity, 90–91, 184, 196
 hegemonic masculinity, 5, 14–15, 92, 187, 201, 229
 ‘hyper-masculinity’ (construction of), 3–4, 26, 29, 85, 148, 262
 masculinity and respectability, 29, 63, 133, 257
 masculinity studies, 2, 12–13, 17, 29–30, 279–81
 migrant masculinity, 5, 96–8, 139, 146
 protest masculinity, 92–3
 racialised masculinity, 5, 17, 30, 66, 281
- Migration**
 Eastern European migration, 24, 46, 50–2, 86, 109, 159, 248, 264
 female migration, 6, 14, 19, 29, 47, 49, 282
 illegal migration, 39, 49, 53–4, 62, 212–13
 immigration policies, 1, 16–18, 26, 30, 38, 43–6, 49, 52–4, 56–7, 85–6, 100–1, 105–6, 118, 143, 281–3
 international migration, 2–4, 7, 16–18, 25, 28–30, 38–42, 46, 57, 69, 115–16, 139, 144, 210, 280–3
 labour migration, 6, 8, 40–3, 209, 212, 220, 282, 292
 Latin American migration, 20, 48–9, 60–1, 109, 134, 140–1, 148, 150, 155–6, 218, 265–6, 271, 274
 male migration, 6–8, 14, 19, 29–30, 38–42, 47–9, 282
 migration regimes, 2, 17, 25, 37–8, 56
 migration to Southern Europe, 15, 45–6, 49–50, 64–5, 109, 112, 115
 South Asian migration, 19, 48, 56, 63, 212, 218
 transnational migration, 39–40, 206
- Morokvasic, M., 6–7, 40–1, 48, 92
 Muslim migrants, 22, 24, 27, 86–8, 92–7, 100, 107–11, 120, 135–6, 197–8, 200, 212, 248, 266, 283
- O**
 Occupational cultures, 3–4, 15, 245, 285–291
 Outsourcing of reproductive labour, 1, 4, 9–18, 24–6, 28–9, 46, 60–4, 180, 200–1
- P**
 Parenting, 237–8
 Parreñas, R., 1, 6, 9–10, 12, 25, 47, 49, 68, 143, 150–2, 174, 188, 280, 292
 Pease, B., 5, 9, 285
 Permits of stay, 42–3, 53, 65, 162
 Personalism, 142, 188–97, 250
 Pessar, P.R., 6–7, 171, 292
 Political activism, 238, 247, 272–5
 Porter, 12, 29, 131–2, 141–2, 165, 172, 247–50, 291
 Private sphere, 3, 17, 25–6, 29, 43–4, 68, 89, 92, 94, 118–119, 132, 143, 152, 158, 180, 226

Public

- debates on immigration, 26–7, 87, 91, 93–6, 98, 105, 108, 110, 111, 115–19, 283
- public/private divide, 17–18, 22, 70, 141, 280, 285, 291
- security, 53–4, 103, 118, 181
- space, 26, 58, 68, 92, 99, 103, 109–11, 118–20, 180, 198, 199
- sphere, 11, 26, 29, 92–4, 108, 232, 276, 293

Q

- Quota system, 37, 42, 56, 65

R

- Racialisation, 3, 10–11, 22, 38, 43, 58, 86–92, 97, 108–11, 114, 119, 174, 197, 200, 283–5
- Racism, 2, 7, 11, 17–18, 20, 26, 30, 85, 87–92, 103, 116, 119, 164, 230, 248, 264, 271, 276, 281, 284–5
- Raghuram, P., 1, 5, 11, 14, 25, 69, 280
- Ramirez, H., 16, 18, 66–8, 131, 162, 245, 255–6, 286, 291
- Refugees, 106–8, 181
- Regularisations of migrant care workers, 18, 26, 54, 56, 61–2, 65, 112, 116–8, 135, 142–3, 160, 162–3, 185, 189, 212, 214–6
- Religion, 7, 11, 21, 26–8, 85, 88, 93–7, 104–6, 108, 109, 119, 133, 134, 197–200, 269

- immigrant religion, 93–4
- majority faith tradition, 93, 105, 109

- Remittances, 47, 162, 205, 236

S

- Salary, 62, 142, 147–9, 154, 156, 162, 225, 248, 254–5, 263
- Sarti, R., 2–3, 15, 19, 51, 57–9, 64, 146, 163, 171–2, 247
- Sassen, S., 3, 16, 39–40, 131
- Simpson, R., 15, 65, 145–6, 149, 286–7, 290
- Socio-economic mobility, 2, 4, 7, 16, 18, 20, 22–3, 27–9, 67, 70, 86, 134, 144–9, 158, 160–2, 205, 206, 210, 219, 238–9, 246, 250, 263–7, 269, 274–6, 285–91
- Stereotypes, 4, 22, 86, 89, 96, 98, 109–10, 174, 176, 245, 248, 263, 267, 273
- Stigmatisation, 110, 145, 147, 207

T

- Trade unions, 16, 19, 112–13, 137, 190, 264, 266, 268, 291
- Triandafyllidou, A., 25, 42, 51, 54, 106–7, 109–10, 171, 180

U

- Undocumented migrant workers, 19, 46, 163
- Unemployment, 19–21, 40, 45, 50, 60–2, 88, 210, 271, 287

Unpaid domestic/care work, 14–15,
50–1, 152–3, 155, 160, 206,
220, 227–30, 240, 254–5,
286, 291, 292

W

Welfare regimes, 2, 18, 25, 49–51,
55–6, 197

Williams, F., 1–2, 16, 25, 37–8,
50–2, 54, 55, 65, 109, 145,
197, 284, 287, 289
'Women's work', 15–16, 23, 57, 113,
133–41, 241, 245–7, 249

Y

Yeates, N., 11, 25, 279