

GUIDELINES ON HOW TO INCLUDE THE **GENDER** PERSPECTIVE IN THE ANALYSIS OF MIGRATION NARRATIVES

Berta Güell and Sònia Parella

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Abstract

This document is aimed at providing theoretical and methodological guidelines on how to include the gender perspective in the analysis of migration narratives in the BRIDGES project. The theoretical part is inspired by some key questions related to the effects of migration on gender relations, the impact of gender on the representation of migration and to how the media and political spheres shape migration narratives from a gender perspective. This section entails both conceptual reflections and empirical studies undertaken in different parts of Europe. The methodological part is based on indications of how to include the gender perspective throughout the project, from data-gathering and analysis to co-production and dissemination activities. This includes sampling criteria and sources of data on the one hand, and a series of dimensions, indicators, and key questions linked to the different Work Packages, on the other. In sum, these guidelines are to make sure that the project remains gender-sensitive throughout its life-course and they may also inspire other projects dealing with narratives or migration issues with a gender and intersectional perspective.

Berta Güell is a Researcher in the area of Migrations at CIDOB and Assistant Coordinator within the BRIDGES project. Doctor in Sociology with an extraordinary award from the Autonomous University of Barcelona (UAB) and specialised in ethnic entrepreneurship and the Pakistani community in Spain. She has researched the situation of temporary agricultural workers and LGTBI refugees through her contributions to several projects (i.e. ADMIGOV, NIEM) at CIDOB. She has also undertaken investigations on forced and arranged marriages (Recercaixa), and on descendants of Asian background (Josep Irla Postdoctoral Fellowship) at CER-Migracions (UAB). Berta Güell has previously worked on several European projects related to the phenomenon of migration and social exclusion at the European Social Research Unit of the University of Barcelona (UB). She is coordinator of the Labour Market and Immigration Module of the Interuniversity Master in Contemporary Migration of CER-Migracions and has previously been an associate lecturer at the Faculty of Education of the UB.

Sònia Parella is Director of CER-Migracions, the interuniversity and interdisciplinary research institute on international migrations affiliated to the Autonomous University of Barcelona (UAB), where she obtained her PhD cum laude in Sociology in 2002. Her main research interests include the processes of labour market integration of international migrants, the analysis of discrimination against migrant women from an intersectional perspective, and the study of transnational practices in migration contexts. She has published on gender perspective in migration studies, feminist theory of intersectionality, translational families, and the relationship between migrations and the labour market. She has participated in more than 30 competitive projects. At BRIDGES, apart from member of the Scientific Advisory Board, she is part of the Gender Observatory, contributing to the inclusion of the gender perspective all along the project, as an expert in gender and migrations.

1. Introduction

These guidelines are one of the core tasks of the BRIDGES Gender Observatory within WP2: Theoretical and Methodological Laboratory. The aim is to provide some theoretical insights on how the gender perspective is included in migration studies and more specifically in migration narratives, as well as methodological guidelines to be used as a reference in all WPs. As a matter of fact, there is scarce literature on this topic, for which these guidelines turn useful as a general framework to guide the research so that this does not become gender-blind. Bearing this in mind, the conceptual part tackles five key topics: how to bring in gender relations in migration studies, how gender is involved in the migration process, migration's effects on gender relations, gender relations' effects on the representation of migration, and the role of media and politics in shaping migration narratives from a gender perspective.

In relation to the methodology, there is a first section (3.1) with some general indications for the sampling methods and the sources of data to be used/consulted when doing fieldwork and literature review. This is followed by another section (3.2) that contains a table with a set of dimensions, indicators and key questions which refer to the inclusion of the gender and intersectional perspective in all WPs. There are two dimensions that cross-cut all WPs and relate to the core research questions of the project: the process of boundary making involved in the narratives' production and the assessment of the factors that explain narratives' success. The next rows of the table contain other dimensions that are associated with WP3-9 with their respective indicators and key questions. These should be used as a guidance when designing the methodology of the respective WPs along the project, including not only fieldwork but also coproduction. In the WP9 of coproduction, the indicators should be borne in mind as criteria when doing the selection of pictures and photojournalists, as well as of the hip hop productions and artists.

2. General theoretical framework around gender in migration narratives

2.1 Introduction: bringing “gender relations” in migration studies

Jolly and Reeves (2005), in their classic text “Gender and Migration: Overview Report”, argue that individuals may often migrate due to a combination of factors, which influence women and men differently. Gender relations affect the size, direction and composition of migration flows and the experiences of individual migrants (Carling 2005). In particular, gender roles, relations and inequalities: exert considerable influence on the aspiration or desire to migrate; affect differently who migrates and why and how the decision is made; have a differentiated effect on men and women concerning the ability to realise migration intentions and journeys; influence the experience of migration once it has occurred; and exert a gendered impact on migrants themselves, both in sending and receiving contexts.

At the same time, migrant women (even more if they are irregular) can face stigma and discrimination at every stage of the migration cycle to a greater extent than men. The process of migration is experienced differently by women and men because the discrimination women face impacts their journey (Alam et al. 2019). Female migrants, due to their gender and their status as migrants and refugees, are often placed in a specific situation of vulnerability. The migration process exacerbates gender-based violence and gender discrimination, both before, during, and after their migratory journey. The very restrictive

migration policies throughout Europe increase the likeliness for women and girls to endure gender-based violence perpetrated by, among others, migrants, smugglers and law enforcement officers.

Until a few decades, women were nearly always conceptualised as dependant companions, as the passive wives of male migrant workers, and therefore not given much attention in theoretical accounts of migration (Boyd 1989). Greater interest in migrant women arose in the mid-1970s. During the following decade, the dominant concern was making migrant women visible (Morokvasic 1984). Researchers emphasised that women not only constituted a significant proportion of migration flows, but they were often primary migrants themselves. Furthermore, women had different experiences of migration than men. Since then, many case studies on migrant women in different parts of the world have been published. However, these studies have rarely treated gender as a central theoretical concern and the insights from case studies on female migrants have had little impact on migration theory in general (Mahler 1999, Kofman 2000). Although the documentation around female migration has grown, this has often been seen as a ‘woman’s issue’ and a sub-theme in migration studies.

Since the 1990s and early 2000s, the literature on feminisation of migration has focused on women’s mobility as labour migrants performing socially reproductive tasks in a limited range of feminised sectors (Hondagneu-Sotelo 1999; Mahler and Pessar 2006). The study of the demand for women’s labour is a powerful way to understand gendered employment patterns and explain some of the main demographic and geographic tendencies of contemporary international migrations and the impacts of such a situation on life chances and narratives.

On the other hand, the intersectional approach coined by feminist black women in the USA in the late 1980s (Crenshaw 1989, 1991; Collins 1990; McCall 2005) has also widespread in the academia and become a frequent analytical frame in migration studies in the last two decades (Cho, Crenshaw and McCall 2013). It is a useful tool to look at the intersecting axes of inequality (e.g. class, race, ethnicity, generation, religion, sexuality, colonial history) to explain gender relations (Erel and Lutz 2012; Thimm and Chaudhuri 2019; Nair 2013) and their impact on migrant women’s experiences. The ways these axes interact with each other are largely plural due to different and complex social contexts (Thimm and Chaudhuri 2019). Moreover, intersectionality is valuable to foster a common agenda among different social movements (antiracism, feminism...) and to promote public policies from a more holistic perspective (Rodó-Zárate 2021).

Finally, the contributions from the queer theory to overcome binary gender-sex systems (e.g. Phelan 1997; Watson 2005) turn useful to look at specific forms of oppression lived by LGBT migrants and refugees. In this sense, gender and ethnicity clearly intersect with sexual orientation and gender identity as key social divisions shaping migrants’ lives, decisions and experiences, as well as media and political representations.

2.2 How is gender involved in the migration process?

According to Boyd and Grieco (2003, 3), “to encourage the further development of international migration theory, what is needed is a general theoretical framework that guides research and helps explain the unique experiences of both males and females.” The migration process produces differential outcomes for women, depending on the stages of the migration process: the pre-migration stage, the transition across state boundaries, the experiences of migrants in the receiving country (Boyd and Grieco 2003), and return experiences.

The pre-migration stage: this stage includes both systemic and macro factors (structural characteristics of the country of origin like the national economy) and individual or micro factors such as gender-specific stages in the lifecycle (gender relations, hierarchies, status and roles). Decisions made at the pre-migration stage are influenced by a variety of gender-related factors. In certain instances, men are more likely to migrate, while in others women may be the ones to leave. This could include, for instance, patriarchal contexts

(including the legal ones) in which clear hierarchies exist vis-a-vis women (wives and mothers in particular) and LGBTI.

Migrants in-transit across state boundaries: through their policies, nation-states are major actors in a gendered international migration process. National policies of the countries of origin can influence migration through prohibitive, selective, permissive, promotional, or expulsive rules of exit that may affect male and female migrants differently. Immigration laws and regulations of the country of destination also influence the migration of women and men in a differentiated way. These policies can influence the ability of women and men to migrate in three ways:

- the migration policies of many receiving countries implicitly assume a “dependent” status for women and an “independent” migrant status for men.
- by implicitly defining immigrant women as “dependent” and men as “independent,” immigration policies of receiving societies place women in a “family role” rather than a “market role.” This, in turn, can reinforce some of the factors responsible for the social vulnerability of migrant women.
- Traditional sex roles and stereotypical images regarding the place of women in society can influence the type of work for which migrant female labour is recruited. Women admitted as workers are generally concentrated in “female” occupations, such as domestic service or nursing.

The experiences of migrants in the receiving country. Women describe their lived experiences in the receiving country by using distinctly gendered terms. Yakushko and Morgan-Consoli (2014) highlight an essential context of immigrant adjustment, which appears to be intrinsically gendered. The gendered adaptation process consists in maintaining their gendered position primarily as a parent and a caregiver, which can become a challenge especially for single mothers.

Entry status determines residency and employment rights. This factor can also be part of the eligibility criteria for social welfare programs. Entry status is more likely to handicap female migrants over male migrants because residency and employment rights and related entitlements often differ by gender. Racial, birthplace, and gender-based hierarchies in countries of destination are important and influence the incorporation of migrant women and men into the labour market. In addition, women may have different experiences than men (including discrimination) because they are frequently segregated into traditional “female” occupations, such as domestic work and sex work. As Anderson (2000) puts it, much of these jobs entail the 3Ds: dangerous, demanding and demeaning. Concerning female migrant caregivers, research has focused much on the emotional and social problems they encounter working abroad, as reflected in the notion of the global care chain (Hochschild 2002). This is in turn related to an increasing trend of corporization of care, beyond the processes of commodification and marketisation (Farris and Marchetti 2017).

Even the decision of starting a business needs a gendered multi-context framework. In this regard, Vershinina et al. (2019) show how transnational migrant women entrepreneurs exercise individual agency to overcome structural constraints by prioritizing their own business without fully sacrificing their family ties. In the same vein, Lassalle and Shaw (2021) reveal the intersectional nature of the lived experiences of women migrant entrepreneurs in Glasgow, by showing how multiple dimensions of oppressive structures (the intersection between patriarchy and the condition of outsidership/otherness) lead to specific issues faced by migrant women (as agents) in the development of their business.

Return experiences: As supported by Hofmann (2014), in terms of family reasons, patriarchal gender ideology marks the return patterns of migrant women. In this respect, qualitative research on Bolivian women who returned from Spain shows how the tensions among the family members left behind are reflected in the female discourse about the motivations to return (Martínez-Buján 2016). The association of return with the well-being of children is mixed with guilty feelings about their absence and sometimes with the conflictive transformations of the transnational family arrangements, especially when these have negative consequences on the childcare (child abuse, loss of custody, etc.).

Some authors highlight that women are often confronted with patriarchal gender norms and practices upon their return (Pessar and Mahler 2003; Christou and King 2014; Pauli 2021). Correspondingly, some female migrants want to stay in the host society, rather than returning, because they feel less restricted. In the same vein, for the Bolivian case, Parella and Petroff (2020) and Martínez-Bujan (2016) emphasize the inherent complexity in dealing with return intentions. Although for many Bolivian immigrants residing in Spain, the economic crisis has triggered the return home, especially in the case of women, the motivations are interweaved. In this regard, the factors linked to the lifecycle (e.g. having family in Bolivia) are particularly relevant for women, who suffer more pressure regarding their socially constructed role as caregivers (Parella and Petroff 2020, 251).

But women's experiences may be interpreted differently according to each context. A work by Fog (2012) analyses how Caribbean women return after a period abroad as domestic workers. As she argues, their migration experiences and the associated gendered narratives are regarded as a 'successful' return. This is through their self-representation as the good relative who migrates to help the family left behind and therefore deserves social recognition in the community of origin. This analysis points to the close connection between narrative structures, accounts of migration experiences, and self-representations. It also suggests that narratives about family and gender roles not only reflect people's lives, but are also a malleable resource that can be (re)shaped to validate a variety of life-courses (Fog 2012, 828).

Experiences of return may lead us to also consider experiences of forced non-return, which is a kind of forced immobility. This is displayed, for instance, in the case of Palestinian refugee women, who are forced to move from place to place due to continuous evictions and shifting shelters, engaging in place-making of home as a site of dynamic affective, social relations and connections (Salih 2016).

It is necessary to look beyond gender as the explanatory variable to understand the experiences of migrant women (un)doing gender after migration. Migration changes women's status in complex and, sometimes, contradictory ways

2.3 Migration's effects on gender relations

According to Jolly and Reeves (2005, 1), migration can provide new opportunities to improve women's lives and change oppressive gender relations, gender discrimination, poverty and violence. A host of feminist studies in the late 1980s and early 1990s suggested that the process of international migration acts as a catalyst to promote greater gender equality by disrupting conventional gender roles towards gender atypical work/family arrangements, thereby undoing gender (Hary 2018, 539). This assumption considers that migration brings about social change, by potentially disrupting patriarchal structures, gaining status for women, and bringing about new spaces where gender relations can be renegotiated and reconfigured (Bastia 2012). However, migration can also strengthen traditional roles and inequalities and expose women to new vulnerabilities resulting from precarious legal status, exclusion, and isolation. By studying the gender division of domestic labour in immigrant families, some studies conclude that premigration gender roles persist even after women migrate to societies with different dominant gender ideology from their country of origin (Hary 2018, 540). This trend can be more visible in ethnic groups with more endogamic relationships and where patriarchal norms are stronger like in South-Asian communities (Güell et al 2020).

It is necessary to look beyond gender as the explanatory variable to understand the experiences of migrant women (un)doing gender after migration. Migration changes women's status in complex and, sometimes, contradictory ways. Therefore, the effect of migration on women's position must be analysed regarding the temporal and spatial context as well as the life circumstances of individual women (Carling 2005, 6).

Based on a research conducted with migrants from Bolivia, Bastia (2011) analyses how gender, class, and ethnicity are renegotiated through internal and cross-border migration to investigate whether labour migration provides avenues for greater gender equality from an intersectional perspective. At the individual level, the author concludes that women achieve greater independence through migration. However, the multiscale and intersectional analysis suggests that women trade 'gender gains' for upward social mobility in the class hierarchy. By doing so, they also contribute to the reproduction of patriarchal social relations.

In the same line, a group of female researchers focused on "scaling intersectionalities" to examine gender dynamics at the transnational level, considering the complex conjunctions with other factors of inequality. Mahler, Chaudhuri, and Patil (2015) state that the intersectional approach represents a crucial heuristic development, but that tends to be mobilised for studies confined to a specific country, which generates interpretations limited to a "domestic intersectionality". Alternatively, the authors recommend a multi-scalar and intersectional approach to examine the intersections of gender, class, ethnicity, race, and national origin/citizenship in multiple social scales, including the intimate (whether as individuals or families), and the local, national, and transnational ones.

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Hary (2018, 556), with a focus on lived experiences of skilled migrant women from India residing in Canada, concludes that premigration gender roles continue to affect their lives even after migrating, doing more housework in Canada. This shows how couples may reinforce gender hierarchies within their families in host societies. Still, it is important to note that this cannot be attributed to a single cause (premigration conservative and traditional gender roles). According to Hary (2018, 556), this results from the loss of paid domestic help and support from the extended family and neighbours, which were accessible, available, and affordable options in India. These results suggest the need for including the transnational perspective when analysing the persistence of the gendered division of domestic labour.

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Castellani and Martín-Díaz (2019) describe the Ecuadorian migration to Spain as an emblematic case of feminisation of international migration and how these women readapt their gender roles through migration. This migration flow has been shaped by transnational female social networks in which different types of capital circulate, which provide social protection for both migrants and non-migrants. Nevertheless, the role of these women in the provision of social protection fluctuates over time. First, the migration process of these women who become principal economic providers puts at risk their primary role as caregivers assigned by the "traditional" gender division of roles: informal social protection to the household in Ecuador. However, in their roles as employees (most of them domestic workers), Ecuadorian women transform formal resources of social protection (such as unemployment insurances, family reunification permissions, and portability of rights) into a different kind of capital that can be circulated within the transnational household.

Finally, another case of feminisation of international migration is witnessed by female temporary workers in some agricultural enclaves, such as Huelva. The red berries sector hosts every year thousands of Moroccan women through hiring in origin programmes. Several works in this field show how narratives around the ideal type of seasonal worker in this sector appeal to stereotyped feminine skills (delicateness, tidiness, cleanliness) and character (more obedient, responsible and less conflictive) (Gualda 2012; Gadea et al 2015). Moreover, in the selection criteria of recruitment processes there is a clear intersection of gender, ethnicity, class, age, rural origin, religion

and motherhood that conform a unique type of worker that perfectly fits the needs of production. Motherhood is especially relevant to ensure their return once the contract finishes, establishing a systemic nexus between productive work in Spain and reproductive work in Morocco (Hellio and Moreno 2017).

2.4 Gender relations' effects on representation of migration

There is a plurality of migrants' passages and representations. Representations of migrant women range from the idea of migration as new opportunities, roles and access to alternative spaces (not previously permitted), to the notion of confinement in "traditional roles" due to their gender and ethnicity/race (Yuval-Davis 2009; Russell 2014). These representations, combined with an increased demand of domestic, care and sex workers in receiving countries, and a willingness to work informally or for low wages, has implied more opportunities for female economic migrants, albeit often in gendered and low paid jobs.

At the same time, the "victim of trafficking" phenomenon has risen as an ever-increasingly visible representation of the forced mobility of women in the world today. Oloruntoba et al. (2018, 1130) note that the dominant Western narrative of the "female victim" (in connection with themes of "trafficking", "prostitution" and "sex slavery") is oversized and uncritically reproduced. It constitutes the hegemonic lens of Eurocentric migrant narratives.

Refugee women are too often represented as a uniform category. Following a widespread perception of refugee women as victims, the forced dimension of women's mobility is often emphasised or even over-emphasised

Belloni et al. (2018, 221) state that refugee women are too often represented as a uniform category. Following a widespread perception of refugee women as victims, the forced dimension of women's mobility is often emphasised or even over-emphasised. The generalisation of women as essentially vulnerable is a predominant pattern, with also adverse effects (Malkki 1995; Belloni et al. 2018, 233), such as:

- reinforcing stigmatisation and essentialisation of other cultures, defined in an undifferentiated way as patriarchal and backward;
- strengthening the idea of women as passive actors, inevitably in need of special assistance; and
- strengthening a social imagination of refugees as dehumanised when presented as devoid of agency (passivity and victimhood), and the figures of refugee mothers with children as "the only refugees who matter" (Cousens 2015).

Although phenomena such as trafficking for purposes of sexual exploitation and forced marriages are worrying and need to be duly addressed, Belloni et al. (2018, 231) consider that it is also important not to underestimate women's agency. They exemplify this thesis with two patterns:

- Forced marriages may, in some instances, be confused in public understanding with the practice of arranged marriages, which are traditionally consummated and widely accepted by men and women in many Asian and African societies (Anitha and Gill 2011). At a practical level, this may hinder the family reunification processes of couples who have both agreed to get married without having a previous intimate romantic relationship;
- The trafficking of West African (especially Nigerian women) women needs to be understood outside a rigidly dualistic framework of victims and perpetrators (Belloni et al. 2018, 231). This phenomenon is highly complex and with a multifaceted nature (Carling 2006), where victims' interests could sometimes converge with those of their exploiters (for instance, "madas").

2.5 The gendered representations of migrants in the media

Media exert a great influence on how we view and represent migrants and refugees. Nuanced understandings of the gendered complexities of migration and media systems have been often overlooked (Mattoscio and MacDonald 2018). We can identify two main topics concerning: a) the (in)visibility of migrants as a gendered phenomenon and b) how the media frame gendered identifications.

A) The (in)visibility of refugees and migrants as a gendered phenomenon

The media representation perpetuates the invisibility of female migrants (Masanet and Ripoll 2008). As highlighted by a research by CCME and WACC Europe (2017), the representation of refugees and migrants in the media plays an essential role in the tone of the public debate and, ultimately, in the welcome and integration of refugees and migrants into their new countries. Some of the key

Of the 21% of articles that included the voices and experiences of a refugee or migrant, only about one quarter (27%) were women. In other words, of all people mentioned in the news articles, only 6% were refugee women

findings show gendered patterns concerning media treatment, where women (and some other groups of people) are disproportionately absent from the news on refugees and migrants. Of the 21% of articles that included the voices and experiences of a refugee or migrant, only about one quarter (27%) were women. In other words, of all people mentioned in the news articles, only 6% were refugee women.

In the same vein, Lind et Meltzer (2020, 3-4), by analysing the media coverage about migrants in the German context (between January 2003 and December 2017), conclude that the media discourse is focused mainly on migrant men. They find that migrant women are salient in 12% to 26% of migration-related news articles, whereas migrant men are introduced in almost all migration-related articles. The authors explain this underrep-

resentation of migrant women because they are often referred to other (male) persons without the capacity to take powerful positions in society. Obviously, the consequences of such underrepresentation should be rigorously tested because it affects how migrant women view themselves and are viewed by others. Besides, if migrant women are underrepresented it also means that the inclusion of migrants and refugees in the public debate is going to be mainly based on masculine representations, generally depicted in terms of burden or threat frames compared to females (Lind et Meltzer 2020, 14).

B) Different media framings of refugees and migrants from a gendered approach

According to Mattoscio and MacDonald (2018), the media have mostly framed sexual violence suffered by migrants or visible gender identifications in stereotypical ways, “reinvigorating essentialist oppositions between the West, seen as “progressive and endangered,” and the rest of the world, deemed “backward and threatening” (2018, 1117). As far as migrant women are concerned, they are widely represented as victims of their own cultures and traditions, mainly described as ignorant, poorly educated, culturally driven, and subjected to patriarchy, mainly when media refer to women coming from Arab or Muslim-majority countries (Giorgi 2012, 86). In this sense, the representations concerning migrant women express ‘otherness,’ charged with ‘culturalisation’ in essentialist and homogeneous terms. Thus, culture is used to explain women’s behaviours and they are mainly described as incapacitated by their cultures, with a lack of autonomy (Giorgi 2012, 87).

Gray et Franck (2019), by analysing British newspapers between September 2015 and March 2016, conclude that the securitisation of migration during the so-called EU refugee crisis has strengthened mutually dependent representations of a racialised and masculinised threat on the one hand, and

racialised and feminised vulnerability, on the other. In this sense, the authors show “how the forms of violence that underlie contemporary modernity are formulated through ideas not just about racialised threat, but also about racialised vulnerability, and, moreover, that such representations of racialised vulnerability and threat are formulated through gender” (2019, 12). Such frames are not harmless: the framing of gender and vulnerability that characterises much of the media discourse also means that we do not recognise that all people seeking to cross into Europe are subjects at risk. In turn, it poses refugee women as uniquely vulnerable at the expense of the vulnerability of refugee men (Gray et Franck 2019, 13).

In a similar vein, Bilgin (2020) argues how the media outlets portrayed the ‘migration crisis in the Mediterranean’ of 2015 in two ways. First, entailing a representation of migrants as subjects from ‘before Europe’ with values that belong to a past that ‘Europe’ has allegedly left behind in need of humanitarian assistance. Second, as subjects that pose a threat to women’s security in the EU, taking as an example the incidents of Cologne. As Boulila and Carri (2017 in Bilgin 2020, 4) point out, instead of addressing the inadequate laws governing sexual offences, the debate focused on expelling those who were believed to endanger post-feminist Germany defending the ‘German value’ of gender equality.

On the other hand, one of the most referenced international media studies (“Mis/Representations of Women Migrant Workers in the Media: A Critical Solution”) is part of the UN Women’s EU-funded project “Promoting and protecting women migrant workers’ labour and human rights: Engaging with international, national human rights mechanisms to enhance accountability” (Hennebry et al. 2017). It focuses on representations of women migrant workers in sending and receiving countries, with an emphasis on three case studies: Mexico, Moldova and the Philippines, and identifies three dominant frames (Hennebry et al. 2017):

- as victims: Abuse, labour exploitation, recruitment, trafficking, domestic State policy and State policy in countries of origin;
- as heroes: Agents of development, mother, spouse, daughter, caregiver, primary income earner, secondary income earner, and activist; and
- as threats: Stealing jobs, as a drain on the economy, a threat to the immigration system, a threat to public security, a threat to public health, a threat due to overt sexuality, a threat due to foreign origin, and a threat due to race. In that sense, according to Mattoscio and MacDonald (2018, 1117), trafficked women constitute not only a hegemonic construction of female mobility (with the notable exception of domestic workers) but also a figure based on the notion of “high risk” and morally unadvisable and reprehensible.

For the Italian media sphere, Campani (2001) and Giorgi (2012) identify five framings:

- the maid, a reassuring image of migrant women working in Italian homes;
- the prostitute, dependent and subordinate¹;
- the Muslim women, also dependent and subordinate, and embedded in their culture (forced marriages, female circumcision, and veiling are all included in this frame of cultural – coercive – choices);
- the emancipated (and westernised) migrant women, with autonomy, independence and good values; and
- the migrant mothers, represented as mainly ignorant and poor, subordinated either to their life circumstances, their family, or their culture. From the prism of domesticity (dominated by the archetype of married, dependent, passive, and isolated society), the family status of migrant women is accentuated (Seijas 2014).

1. For the Spanish case, Pérez (2003) highlights that although there are more migrant women working in the domestic service, those who work in sexual services are more visible in the media.

Similar conclusions are found by Ramírez (2018) through the analysis of discursive representations of Venezuelan female migrants in digital media. She highlights the stereotyped use of the notion of “living in poverty” and women’s bodies as a discursive resource to link their identity with the topic of motherhood, reproduction, and care of life, as well as with prostitution.

The “victim” representation of female migrants appears strongly in the Nigerian media through the “rescue” frame (Oloruntopa et al. 2018). This frame focuses on efforts by organisations and governments to assist stranded or helpless female migrants, thus casting national institutions and non-governmental organisations as heroes or saviours. One common representation is the denial of agency in women’s decisions to migrate (traveling with their husbands or boyfriends, being unknowingly sold into trafficking, being forced into sex slavery). The authors conclude that “although real victims of sex trafficking need rescue and rehabilitation, most reports fail to distinguish between those who are exploited against their will and those who deliberately go into it and are aware of the consequences, thereby denying the agency of the latter group” (2018, 1131). These representations strengthen the stereotype that women have undertaken their migratory processes involuntarily or forcibly, denying them prominence in their own migratory project (Pérez 2003; Seijas 2014, 22).

Finally, even if LGBTI refugees and migrants are not the focus of this theoretical framework it is interesting to provide some insights, especially considering how sexual orientation and gender identity intersect with other axis of inequality, such as race, class or gender and are all affected by power relationships. In this sense, Murray (2014, 467) analyses queer migrant narratives, concluding that it is necessary to problematise the hegemonic ‘queer migration to liberation nation’ narrative found in many mainstream media representations and the refugee determination process itself. Through these narratives, he identifies diverse movements, motivations, and (dis)identifications, which indicates that there is no singular essentialist definition or representation of the LGBTI refugee in terms of singular push/pull factors, cycles, or processes of adaptation or integration (Murray 2014, 467-468).

3. Methodological guidelines

3.1 General sampling criteria and data sources

In order to include the gender perspective in the methodological design of the project and its respective WPs, there are some general criteria that should be borne in mind. First, in the selection of micro-genres and events that will be analysed mostly in WP3 from the media perspective and in WP7 and WP8 from a political science perspective, but also in WP4 when identifying innovative strategies to tackle exclusionary narratives against migrants.

Whereas some micro-genres and events tackle gender issues more directly (e.g. debates around citizenship and integration entailing the tension between gender and multiculturalism such as the burkini, or gendered islamophobia), the idea is to include the gender perspective in the analysis of all events as much as possible. On the other hand, when discussing the narrative production from a gender perspective, we should bear in mind that this does not only involve the reality of migrant women, but also of men or sexual migrant minorities. We should thus look at stereotyped ideas of femininities/masculinities and at binary constructions of gender that may exclude the voices or stories of LGBTI migrants and refugees. In this sense, it would be interesting to include the intersectionality perspective to examine how gender intersects with other axis of inequality, such as ethnicity, gender identity, sexual orientation, age or religion, to name just a few, in the processes of narrative production and its effects on policymaking.

Secondly, the gender perspective should be included when designing the sample of the large-scale survey, the interviewees and focus groups in those WPs that involve fieldwork (WP3-8). This means that, when possible, parity of men and women should be ensured in the composition of the sample so that female voices and experiences are taken into account with the same regard as those of men. Of course, each context and case study will influence the composition of the sample (experts, stakeholders, potential migrants...) and the selection should reflect this reality, but as far as possible parity should be implemented.

Thirdly, the literature review clearly present in WP2, but also in the rest of empirical WPs, is not a gender-blind exercise. Making female (migrant) scholars visible is also part of the commitment of undertaking a gender-transformative research. Taking this into consideration, these guidelines strongly encourage the inclusion of theoretical and empirical insights provided by (migrant) women in the different sets of desk-research and document/discourse analysis.

Finally, the gender perspective should not only be present in the data-gathering process, but also in the data-analysis and in the different outputs of the project (reports, working papers, policy briefs...). A special note is also for the WP4 toolkit on how to tackle exclusionary narratives, which should clearly contain ³/₄either in a specific section or transversally³/₄ indications of rules and mechanisms to build inclusive narratives considering the reality of female and LGBT migrants and refugees.

3.2 Dimensions, indicators and key questions

Scope	Dimensions	Indicators	Key questions
Cross-cutting WPs	Boundary-making in narratives	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Boundary-making of migration narratives from a gender/intersectional perspective 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> In relation to the symbolic boundaries of the socially constructed concepts of 'us' and 'them', to what extent gender in intersection with other factors such as ethnicity, religion or sexual orientation act as boundary markers in the process of narrative production? Is the boundary-making explicit or implicit through indirect associations?
	Narratives' success	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 'Transnational success' of migration narratives from a gender perspective 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> When analysing why some narratives become dominant over others, how does it change when they refer to female or male migrants, or to LGBT migrants/refugees? When analysing how certain media, public or political narratives travel from one country to another ('transnational success'), to what extent do they entail gendered stereotyped images and discourses of migrants?
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Narratives' success in terms of content (what) from a gender/intersectional perspective 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> What is said: to what extent the issues that are raised in mainstream or alternative narratives concern gendered vulnerable groups? To what extent do these debates take into account the gender/intersectional perspective? How are migrant women portrayed or referred to both in the public and political debates: are they represented as passive, underdeveloped, oppressed and victims or as subjects with agency and decision-making capacity? To what issues are they confined (reproductive or productive) and what role do they play: as wives and children of male migrants ('family role'), or as migrant women and full rights citizens ('market role')?
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Narratives' success in terms of context (who, where, when) from a gender/intersectional perspective 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Who shapes the narratives: to what extent are migrant women among all political actors involved in the narrative production? Where narratives are shaped: to what extent do migrant women have access to the main venues where narratives circulate and grow? When narratives originate, spread and affirm themselves: what topics get into the agenda and how alternative narratives compete to frame the problem? Can we establish a relationship between time and topics regarding issues of gender?
WP3	Narrative production in the (social) media	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Production of migration narratives in the (social) media from a gender/intersectional perspective 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> What are the main migration narratives produced in the (social) media concerning issues of gender (in intersection with other axis of inequality) in terms of content?
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Participation of migrant women and LGBT migrants/refugees in the production of narratives in the media and social media 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To what extent do migrant women and LGBT migrants/refugees participate in the production of narratives in the public debate? To what extent do they have access to the main venues related to the news media and social media where narratives circulate and grow?
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Representation of migrant women and LGBT migrants/refugees in the media and social media 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> How are gendered vulnerable groups portrayed in the media and social media?

Scope	Dimensions	Indicators	Key questions
WP4	Narrative production in the public debate	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Production of alternative migration narratives from a gender/intersectional perspective 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What alternative narratives are produced in terms of content regarding issues of gender and migration (in intersection with other axis of inequality)?
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Participation of migrant women and LGBT migrants/refugees in the production of narratives in the public debate 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To what extent do migrant women and LGBT migrants/refugees participate in the production of alternative narratives through innovative bottom-up practices? To what extent do they have access to the main venues where narratives circulate and grow (citizens' platforms, advocacy groups, NGOs, social media...)?
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Representation of migrant women and LGBT migrants/refugees in the public debate 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How are gendered vulnerable groups portrayed in such innovative practices and in their associated discourses?
WP5	Impact of narratives on individuals' attitudes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gender impact of migration narratives on individuals' attitudes and beliefs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What gender impact do migration narratives have on individuals' attitudes and beliefs? Do women and men react differently in front of a fake piece of news on migration in terms of cognitive and affective processes? And do they react differently, depending on if the news refer to migrant women/men or feminised/masculinised images of migrants?
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • (Re)production of migration narratives by individuals from a gender perspective 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To what extent do individuals (re)produce migration narratives differently, depending on if they are women or men?
WP6	Impact of narratives on (potential) migrants' decisions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Content of EU information campaigns from a gender perspective 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To what extent do EU information campaigns tailor their messages from a gender perspective (e.g. tackling potential dangers for women such as human trafficking, gender-based violence...)? To what extent do they treat potential migrant women as potential victims from a patriarchal lens?
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gendered effect of EU information campaigns on (potential) migrants' decisions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What impact do migration narratives have on potential migrants' decisions living in Africa from a gender perspective? To what extent do EU campaigns have a different effect on men and women when trying to dissuade them to migrate?
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Influence of gender roles and inequalities in the decision-making process of migration • Influence of migrants' narratives through on-line or in-person interactions and experiences, in the representations and decision-making process of potential migrants, from a gender perspective 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To what extent do gender roles, relations, and inequalities affect the aspiration or desire to migrate? How is the decision made (who has more a say within the household/community)? And to what extent the decision of who migrates and why is based on gender roles, gender ideologies or gender grounds (e.g. suffering of gender-based violence as a factor to leave the country or avoiding to migrate for potential gender-based violence in the journey)?

Scope	Dimensions	Indicators	Key questions
WP7	Impact of narratives on national policymaking	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Production of migration narratives in the national political arenas from a gender/intersectional perspective 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What are the main migration narratives produced in the national political arenas in terms of content regarding issues of gender (in intersection with other axis of inequality)?
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Participation of migrant women to the main political venues 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To what extent do (migrant) women participate in the production of narratives in the political debate? To what extent do they have access to the main venues where narratives circulate and grow (executive and legislative branches of political systems, the courts, political campaigns)?
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gender impact of migration narratives on policymaking at the national level 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What impact do migration narratives have on policymaking and policy decisions at the national level from a gender perspective? When do narratives affect mostly women, men or sexual minorities in terms of policy decisions? How do these narratives and their gendered effects differ?
WP8	Impact of narratives on EU policymaking	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Production of migration narratives in the EU political arena from a gender/intersectional perspective 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To what extent do the main migration narratives produced in the EU political arena relate to issues of gender (in intersection with other axis of inequality) in terms of content?
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Participation of migrant women to the main political venues 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To what extent do (migrant) women participate in the production of narratives in the EU political debate? To what extent do they have access to the main venues where narratives circulate and grow (EU Parliament, advocacy groups at the EU level, political campaigns)?
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gender impact of migration narratives on policymaking at the EU level 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What impact do migration narratives have on policymaking and policy decisions at the EU level from a gender perspective? When do narratives affect mostly women, men or sexual minorities in terms of policy decisions? How do these narratives and their gendered effects differ?
WP9	Coproduction of narratives	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Representation of migrant women and men in photojournalism 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How are migrant women and men portrayed in photojournalism images? To what roles and stories are they referred to? To what extent are migrant women protagonists or remain in the shadow depending on the context and the content of the event, and on who the photographer is?
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Representation of migrant women and men in hip hop expressions (rap and muralism) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How are migrant women and men portrayed in hip hop expressions? To what roles and stories are they referred to? To what extent are migrant women protagonists or remain in the shadow depending on the context and the content of the cultural production, and on who the artist is?

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BRIDGES

Assessing the production and impact of migration narratives

BRIDGES: Assessing the production and impact of migration narratives is a project funded by the H2020 EU Framework Programme for Research and Innovation and implemented by a consortium of 12 institutions all over Europe. The project aims to understand the causes and consequences of migration narratives in a context of increasing politicisation and polarisation by focusing on six European countries: France, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Spain, and the United Kingdom. To do so, BRIDGES adopts an interdisciplinary and co-productive approach and is implemented by a diverse consortium formed by universities, think tanks and research centres, cultural associations, and civil society organisations.

The BRIDGES Gender Guidelines ensure the inclusion of the gender perspective in all the project's activities, from data-gathering and analysis to co-production and dissemination activities. They also aim to be a useful resource for other projects and experts willing to adopt a gender perspective in the study of migration narratives.

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