



Transnational care networks and new citizenships

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Abstract

The feminization of migration needs to be analyzed from multiple perspectives. In recent years, the presence of migrant women in the labor market has increased, becoming economic providers in their homes and generating important remittances for their destination countries. However, this type of migration has different effects due to the fact of being women, migrants and social stereotypes. The process of feminization of migration and specifically the transnational chains of care and support are generating, not only relational networks of work (formal and informal) and redefinitions of gender relations, but also generating a new space for reflection in the reconceptualization of citizenship, as universal citizenship mainstreamed by gender and culture, and unrelated to concepts such as territory or nation. This article proposes a reflection on the chains of care as the articulating axis of an economic and especially political space that is essential for the reconceptualization of a universal citizenship, the result of a dynamic, heterogeneous and inclusive process.

Keywords: Feminism. Migration. Transnational care networks. Transnationality. global citizenship.

Redes transnacionales de cuidados y nuevas ciudadanía

Resumen

El fenómeno de la feminización de la migración requiere ser analizado desde múltiples perspectivas. En los últimos años se ha incrementado la presencia de las mujeres migrantes en el mercado laboral, convirtiéndose en suministradoras económicas en sus hogares y generando importantes remesas para sus países de destino. Sin embargo, este tipo de migración tiene afectaciones diferenciadas por el hecho de ser mujeres, migrantes y por los estereotipos sociales. El proceso de feminización de la migración y concretamente las cadenas transnacionales de cuidado y apoyo están generando, no sólo de redes relacionales de trabajo (formal e informal) y redefiniciones de las relaciones de género, sino también un nuevo espacio de reflexión en la (re)conceptualización de la ciudadanía, como ciudadanía universal transversalizada por el género y la cultura y desvinculada de conceptos como el territorio o la nación. En este artículo se propone una reflexión sobre las cadenas de cuidado como eje articulador de un espacio económico y especialmente político imprescindible para la reconceptualización de una ciudadanía universal, resultado de un proceso dinámico, heterogéneo e inclusivo.

Palabras clave: Feminismo. Migración. Redes transnacionales de cuidado. Transnacionalidad. Ciudadanía universal.

Redes transnacionais de cuidado e novas cidadanias

Resumo

A feminização da migração precisa ser analisada sob múltiplas perspectivas. Nos últimos anos, a presença de mulheres migrantes no mercado de trabalho aumentou tornando-se em provedoras econômicas de suas casas e gerando importantes remessas para seus países de destino. No entanto, este tipo de migração tem efeitos diferentes devido ao fato de serem mulheres, migrantes e estereótipos sociais. O processo de feminização da migração e especificamente as cadeias transnacionais de cuidado e apoio estão gerando redes relacionais de trabalho (formais e informais) e redefinições das relações de gênero, mais também um novo espaço de reflexão na reconceituação da cidadania, como uma cidadania universal transversalizada por gênero e cultura e desvinculada de conceitos como território ou nação. Este artigo propõe uma reflexão sobre as cadeias de cuidado como eixo articulador de um espaço econômico e principalmente político essencial para a reconceituação de uma cidadania universal, fruto de um processo dinâmico, heterogêneo e inclusivo.

Palavras-chave: Feminismo. Migração. Redes transnacionais de cuidado. Transnacionalidade. cidadania global.

1 Introduction

Studies on the phenomenon of migration from a gender perspective begin to gain relevance in the 1980s, incorporating the theoretical proposals of feminist studies of the 1970s, such as black, indigenous, community feminism and, especially, in the 90's postcolonial feminisms. As the 21st century begins, migration and gender studies focus on the transnational nature of care and support networks that will involve a reconfiguration of international social, economic, and political relations. Likewise, research on the experiences of migrant women in different countries opens new debates on the emancipatory impact of migrant women, the reproduction of gender roles and stereotypes, and the processes of exclusion and discrimination of the migrant population.

At present, the debates on migration and gender and, specifically, on transnational networks of care and support have generated a space for critical reflection around the concept of “citizenship”, based on the modern male subject that seeks, through an androcentric bias, identify the process of historical construction of male citizenship as a universal process (ZUÑIGA, 2010, p.135). This androcentric view of Social Science studies explains the lack of sex-disaggregated statistics and, therefore, a solid long-term view of the presence of migrant women in migrations up to the 80. Despite this, data from the last four decades indicate that the rate of women's participation in cross-border migration has indeed increased (BASTIA, 2009, p.69).

In the Latin American context, the studies of the past 20 years have focused on the impact on societies of origin and destination, their feminization, racialization, and socio-economic diversification, as well an interest in the role of states in migration policies in a scenario of increasing globalization of labor markets (HERRERA, 2017, p.15). Transnationalism as an analytical framework makes it possible to question the capacity of national states to respond to the changes and challenges

posed by international migration, specifically the contradictions of the modern project of citizenship and social life restricted to the national territory (VELASCO, 2009, p. 34), facing a new conception of universal citizenship.

From this context, the objective of this article is to make a critical proposal on approaches to transnational migrations that, from a gender and intercultural perspective, overcome the analysis of methodological individualism toward a proposal for universal citizenship. It is assumed that traditional migration studies are based on the modern ideal as a model of citizenship that is inadequate to respond to contemporary migration processes and of those in which migratory processes take place marked by their gender, racial and transnational character. Thus, the general hypothesis that this document explores is the possibility of overcoming the theoretical postulates that, from a Western and patriarchal perspective, interpret migratory processes as a problem. Through this critical proposal is proposed the formation of a universal citizenship that is articulated from these new social spaces that respond to the transnational logic in which migratory flows take place from a gender perspective. For this purpose, the theoretical bases of feminist studies on migration and racialization will be used, as well as the concept of migratory transnationalism. Similarly, quantitative research will be carried out based on statistical data and official sources that allow to analyze the changes and dynamics of the last years in the Latin American context.

The structure of this article consists of four parts. The first part proposes a review of the main proposals from feminist theories in relation to migration, with special emphasis on the analysis of transnational chains of care and assistance. Secondly, statistical data that allow the historical evolution of migratory flows from a transnational gender perspective and their impact on economies and on the articulation of new social spaces are analyzed. The third section we review how transnational chains of support and care have incorporated new approaches in relation to the traditional concept of territorial citizenship. Finally, the main results of the research are presented as a conclusion, and it is proposed that migration studies and policies should consider transnational chains of support and care in shaping a new conception of desterritorialized, inclusive, diverse, and dynamic universal citizenship.

2 Feminist theories and quantitative data on migration in Latin America

The academic production of the last four decades around studies on gender and migration movement, especially from the approach of decolonial feminism and intersectionality, has come to form a solid and autonomous field of study, that of “Gender and Migration” (GIL, 2012). While this broad field of research has developed approaches from different disciplines such as History (GABACCIA, 1992), Cultural Anthropology (MAHLER & PESSAR, 2001), Sociology (KOFMAN, 2004) and Human Rights (ANON, 2010), feminist studies have been based mainly on two major axes: ethnocentric thinking of post-colonial sign, common in immigrant women and men; and androcentric thinking of a gender discourse (NASH, 2006).

The processes toward a global economy in which a progressive dependence of the states has been founded marked by the processes of economic restructuring, based on labor flexibility and reduction of social services, It has led to an increase in the precarization and vulnerability of women in the labor market (SASSEN, 2008). In this context, the process of feminization of migration responds to the economic dynamics and processes of social transformation and, specifically, to the link between the productive and the reproductive on a global scale. This situation reveals how the definitions, norms, and institutions that people and social structures make of the male and the female connect international spaces (TAPIA, 2011).

One of the concepts that marks a decisive turn in critical studies on migration and gender will be the publication in 1998 of the text "Can the subaltern subject speak?" by Gayatri Spivak. In his study Spivak (1998) presented the silence imposed on Indian women silenced during colonial administration wondering if subordinates can speak in a situation of oppression. The colonial subject in its status of subalternity can speak physically, but it does not have the possibility to express itself because it has no place of enunciation and, specifically, women occupy that radical place because of their dual status as a woman and a colonial subject. Another important aspect of her criticism is the intellectual work or of the "first world intellectuals" who reproduce consciously or unconsciously the discourses of neo-colonial domination, reinforcing silence and oppression over the subordinate subject.

Despite this parallel between the oppression of women and the subalternation of colonized subjects, Western feminist research has taken decades to recognize this logic in its studies of women in decolonized countries, as well as ethnic minorities in their own society (NASH, 2006). Therefore, the historical subject continued to be the Western woman who homogenously establishes all non-Western women as "Third World Women" (MOHANTY, 1997; AHMED, 2021). Thus, this construction of the "paradigm of the other" in the colonial context denies the possibility of thought, reason, and future, denying the diversity of experiences and the possibility of building new knowledge. This translates into silent and invisible violence imposed by one's thinking (CRISTOFFANINI & HERNANDEZ, 2017; PALERMO, 2010).

Around this critical view, decolonial feminisms are articulated with the aim of building a critique from gender oppression, rationalized, colonial, capitalist, and heterosexual from their sexualized, rationalized, colonized and transborder bodies (LUGONES, 2014; MARTIN, 2013). Decolonial feminisms have been built from the subalternate relationships excluded from the places of enunciation, seeking to deconstruct the universal (western) category of women. The first decolonial contributions can be found in the so-called "black feminism," and especially in one of its main representatives Bell Hooks, who spoke of the objectification of black women in the anti-racist discourses of white feminism: "White women who publish essays and books on how to "dislearn racism" continue to have a paternalistic and condescending attitude when they relate to black women (...). They make us the 'object' of their privileged discourse on race and as 'objects' we continue to be different, inferior" (BELL HOOKS, 2004, p. 46).

In the Latin American context, the origin of decolonial feminisms is linked to the need for self-organization and self-management with a clear position critical of institutionalization, interpreted as a reproduction of coloniality. Likewise, indigenous feminisms incorporate the problem of the invalid worldview from Western analysis and, therefore, relegated to exclusion and subordination. Since the so-called Latin American Community Feminism, it is proposed to subvert the forms of oppression (Western, neoliberal or socialist) by reconceptualizing the ideas of feminism and patriarchy (VILLARROEL PENA, 2018).

The debate on intersectionality is concerned by the analysis of race, class and sex categories. The origin of this concept is from HILL COLLINS (2019) with the “matrix of domination,” an analytical model that describes the multidimensional and complex experiences of discrimination against African-American women in the face of the one-dimensional approach to white feminism (WILLIS & YEOH, 2000). This alliance between the Western matrix of oppressions and the various oppressions and inequalities is evident in the lives of migrant women, specifically in what has been termed “transnational chains of care and care”.

In this first section, migration is examined from a gender perspective that seeks to determine how and when conceptual elements are incorporated into different international migration processes, considering that migration studies have been associated “with the need to understand – among other things – why women have been increasing their participation in international population movements, phenomenon that demographers have called feminization of migration” (TAPIA, 2011, p.117). This, with the purpose that gender does not constitute another variable, but is used as a central theoretical concept (PESSAR, 1999) in migration processes.

To address the issue, it is based on the relevance and definition of the migrant. Article 13 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UNITED NATIONS, 1948) establishes the right of persons to move freely and to choose their residence in a State, to leave or return to their country of origin. For its part, the International Organization for Migration (IOM, 2019a) defines a migrant as “any person who moves, or has moved, across an international border or within a country, outside his or her usual place of residence regardless of: (1) their legal status; (2) the voluntary or involuntary nature of the displacement; (3) the causes of displacement; or (4) the length of their stay”. Migration has also been included in the Agenda 2030 of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), highlighting the contribution of migration to development in 11 of the 17 targets and indicators covering migration or displacement (UNITED NATIONS, 2021).

Since migration is a complex and multidimensional phenomenon that is inherent in human beings, it has its own particularities in certain contexts and regions, which causes people to move for different reasons (economic, political, social, cultural, among others) (ECLAC, 2006, p. 18-19). With the multiple industrial, technological advances and an interdependent world, migratory flows have been increasing hand in hand with the diversity of elements that characterize and drive it. However, while migration processes bring multiple positive effects for the recipient countries, such as increased contributions to social security, economic growth, employment, among others; it also experiences restrictions, discrimination, selective immigration, among others (ARUJ, 2008, p. 97).

The gender perspective in migration is not new since gender influences the motivations for migration and destinations (CORTÉS, 2005). According to ECLAC data (2006, p. 235), since 1960 women have been a significant part of international migration flows, showing a constant increase in the main receiving regions of immigration, where their motivations and migratory effects are not equal to that of men. According to SASSEN (2003), immigrant women are involved in less paid jobs related to domestic work, industrialization with the mass recruitment of young women, care and reproductive activities, among others, causing gender relations to have a special preponderance in the interest in finding cheap and flexible labor (LIPSZYC, 2004). Thus, gender roles influence the labor market of migrant-receiving countries, reproducing and strengthening gender patterns that discriminate against women of certain races, nationalities, ethnic origins, among others.

Gender influences every aspect of migration. In the 21st century, The archetype of domestic women and men as the only economic support of the household with the preferential right to paid work has been broken and a female identity has been built that is constantly sustained by a double axis of facultative maternity and work (NASH, 2006, pages 43-44). However, immigrant women continue to be given a role of domesticity, which has put migrant women on a sinuous and paradoxical path where they face female liberation in their homes but at the same time experience new forms of labor subordination (MORENO, 2006. page 129). The literature (NASH, 2006, p. 46) shows how immigrant women are invisibilized by denying them the leading role as subjects of immigration and are classified with a weak recognition of female individuality. Likewise, “although there has been a net feminization of flows in some regions, what has really changed in the last forty years is the fact that more and more women migrate independently in search of work,” Instead of traveling with their husbands as dependents (UN-INSTRAW, 2007, p. 4), but also the fact that “they are exposed to greater risks of discrimination, exploitation and violence, whether during their journeys or at duty stations” (PALACIOS, 2016, p. 152).

Similarly, regarding the feminization of the global labor market, women have been incorporated into multiple labor activities, thus generating an increase in the demand for the female labor force, what is pressing - in the case of countries with internal economic crisis - the migratory flows of women from developing countries to developed countries (Moreno, 2006:124). This is an aspect to be considered within female migration and its role is the increase in remittances sent by women (UN-INSTRAW, 2007, p. 4), because of the increase in women's migration movements and the increase in female autonomous migration (MORENO, 2006, p.124).

The increased employment opportunities for women have contributed to masking a series of symbolic elements and gender relations that have influenced the feminization of the international migration movement toward Spain in recent years. This is a social science issue that has to do with two parallel processes: one is the increase in the number of women in migration movements and the other is the increase in female autonomous migration.

In recent years, global conferences on women have been held in Mexico City (1975), Copenhagen (1980), Nairobi (1985) and Beijing (1995) (UN WOMEN, 2022); and there have been normative advances such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), which defines the basic rights and fundamental freedoms that women and men should enjoy equally. In 1979, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) is adopted, which constitutes an international treaty for the protection of the human rights of women; and, in 2010, UN Women became the first UN agency to work for women's rights. Although there have been significant advances in gender equality, women continue to struggle for the same opportunities and access as men. For example, in political matters, there has been an increase in the participation and representation of women in the various positions of popular choice, reaching an average of 33.63% in Latin America in October 2021 (ECLAC, 2021). But with just one woman occupying the presidency in Honduras by September 2022. However, among the great challenges facing the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean, femicide numbers at least 4,091 in 2020, among which Honduras (4.7), the Dominican Republic (2.4) and El Salvador (2.1) have the highest rates per 100,000 women; Evidence that violence continues to affect women and girls in a differentiated way (ECLAC, 2021).

With regard to migration processes, Latin America was for several centuries a destination for citizens of Europe, Africa and Asia; however, between 1960 and 2010 the trend reversed and a phenomenon of an sending region of migration took place. There are also high rates of migration within the region, mainly due to the “intensification of the processes of globalization” and also to the “exacerbation of economic and political crises that the region has experienced in different territories” (HERRERA & NYBERG, 2017, p. 13). The main migratory destinations from the region are Europe, the United States, Canada and Japan; and, the constant mainly in Europe and the United States, it has been the feminization of migration where women began to occupy the domestic care and service market (HERRERA & NYBERG, 2017, p. 16). Similarly, as shown in Table 1, although migration data differ in each State, women constitute a significant percentage of immigration and emigration exceeding men in the rate of immigration in 10 countries and emigration in 19 countries.

Table 1: Latin American migration by gender in 2019

Countries	Immigration		Emigration	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Argentina	1'018.573	1'194.309	490.092	523.322
Bolivia	81.818	74.296	426.053	462.158
Brazil	435.661	371.345	737.943	1'007.396
Chile	332.929	497.063	305.822	344.329
Colombia	575.805	566.514	1'307.894	1'561.138
Costa Rica	201.934	215.834	63.749	86.651
Cuba	2.097	2.789	769.021	885.663
Ecuador	197.162	184.345	557.722	625.963
El Salvador	20.269	22.348	795.864	804.875
Guatemala	38.117	42.304	595.820	609.824
Haiti	10.426	8.330	856.106	729.575
Honduras	20.440	18.493	328.695	472.012
Mexico	531.912	528.795	6'277.644	5'518.534
Nicaragua	21.704	20.468	315.869	366.996
Panama	94.396	90.676	78.215	82.892
Paraguay	83.412	77.107	372.270	499.368
Peru	424.317	357.852	634.541	878.379
Uruguay	36.988	44.494	291.450	341.989
Venezuela	685.975	689.715	1'216.983	1'302.797
Canada*	3'786.190	4'174.467	510.314	812.773
Spain*	2'913.747	3'190.456	666.443	778.499
United States*	24'488.382	26'172.767	1'593.071	1'574.001

Source: DATOS MACRO / Expansion, 2022

* These countries are included as a destination reference.

In 2019, 272 million international migrants were registered, of whom 48 per cent were women (IOM, 2019b, p.3) and whose main destinations were Asia (31 per cent); Europe (30 per cent); North and South America (26 per cent); Africa (10 per cent); and Oceania (3 per cent) (United Nations, 2021). According to IOM'S GLOBAL MIGRATION DATA PORTAL (2019), a total of 17'612,735 migrants and 10'887,474 immigrants were registered in South America in 2020, characterized by three migration patterns: Overseas immigration, intraregional migration¹ and emigration to developed countries.² In this region, the country with the highest number of emigrants in 2020 is Venezuela with 5'100,000 people, followed by Colombia with 3'024,273, Brazil with 1'897,128, Peru with 1'519,635 and Ecuador with 1'127,891 (MIGRATION DATA PORTAL, 2022). On the other hand, the main countries receiving migrants are: Argentina with 2'281,728 persons, Colombia with 1'905,393, Chile with 1'645,015, Venezuela with 1'324,193 and Peru with 1'224,519 (MIGRATION DATA PORTAL, 2022).

In Ecuador, the migratory situation is as sender, receiving migrants and refugees, and territory of passage. It has also experienced several migratory waves during the last years, among which one can highlight the pioneer of them originated in the 50 years, which was caused by multiple national socioeconomic factors and the crisis of the market of the “Panama hat”, where thousands of Azuay and Cañar citizens, mainly men, traveled to the United States because of commercial ties to the hat (RAMIREZ, DOMINGUEZ & MORAIS, 2005, p. 23). In addition, another migratory wave between 1996 and 2004 was evidenced generating the departure of thousands of Ecuadorians as a consequence of the political instability and economic crisis that ended with the exchange of currency from the sucre to the dollar and that had as main migratory destination to Spain and Italy (RAMIREZ, DOMINGUEZ & MORAIS, 2005, p. 31-32), generating that remittances became an important income in the economy, constituting since 1999 in the second revenue, after oil (RAMOS, 2017, p.98) and contributing for the third quarter of 2021 with USD 1,144.24 million (BANCO CENTRAL ECUADOR, 2022). This migratory wave differs from the previous one by its national scope and because “women began to migrate as independent workers or by leading the migration projects of their families” (HERRERA & CARRILLO, 2005, p.287), focusing mainly on service and care activities, but also in agriculture and tourism (CARDOSO & GIVES, 2021).

Venezuela has registered since 2015 a migratory exodus that reached 4.8 million people until December 2019, constituting 15% of the total population. The main feature is that people who migrate for economic, social, and political reasons are primarily targeted at the countries of Latin America³ that hosted 3.9 million migrants

¹ In recent years there has been an increase in this type of migration due mainly to the migration exodus from Venezuela, caused by economic polarization, lack of access to basic needs, hyperinflation, among others. Until July 2021, 4.1 millions of refugees and migrants from Venezuela were registered, of whom 43% were from Colombia, followed by Peru with 830,000 and Chile with 455,500 (MIGRATION DATA PORTAL, 2022).

² Between 1996 and 2004 there was an exodus of migration in Ecuador as a consequence of a multiplicity of factors, among them political instability and economic crisis, where poverty increased by 10 percentage points reaching 47% in 1999 and whose main destination was Spain and Italy.

³ People in mobility have as their main destination Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Chile and Argentina, mainly due to travel costs, the possibilities of family reunification and the facilities they can find to stay in the country.

and refugees until 2019 (R4V, 2019). This country has become a host country for migrants to an issuer of persons in mobility and the conditions of persons in mobility have also varied (UNDP, 2020, p. 25). At first, those who migrated had higher levels of education, later on, professionals with lower resources, and since 2019, people with lower educational levels and limited or no material resources have migrated (UNDP, 2020, p. 29). In addition, women and girls who move experience sexual violence, assault or assault on the way or at the destination, or are victims of sexual exploitation networks (UNDP, 2020, p. 58-59).

3 Migration from a transnational gender perspective

The concepts of support and care are defined as the set of activities aimed at providing physical, psychological and emotional well-being to people who in turn integrate financial support, housing provision, personal care or assistance, care for young children, and the different forms of practical help and emotional support (FINCH, 1989). The term “global chains of affection and assistance” refers to personal ties between people around the globe based on a paid or unpaid care function (HOCHSCHILD, 2008). The term “exchange of care and support across distance and national boundaries” has recently been coined, including five types of care: practical care, personal care, provision and ability to provide, and kinship work (BALDASSAR et al, 2007).

In this context, migrant women act as a representation of the collective of the migrant community that homogenizes in the collective imaginary a heterogeneous group through a maternal figure (NASH, 2006). In this way, migrant women as biological and symbolic reproducers become " group transporters". In spite of these homogenizing and static categories where “women of culture X or country of origin X” deny realities, heterogeneous, changing and complex experiences from a subalterity perspective run the risk of placing us in a maternalistic and passive relationship (TAPIA, 2011). As GIL (2012) proposes, it is necessary to take care of the “private” space of the home and of its naturalized content in its association with the feminine to place them in the center of political and historical processes that build generalized, sexualized, racialized, ethnized and desterritorialized bodies.

Similarly, it should not be forgotten that this is an economic process, where economic transfers, especially monetary remittances, constitute a key pillar of all typologies that attempt to accommodate the heterogeneity of transnational activities and practices (PORTES et al., 2003). This phenomenon has led to the governments of origin of migrants showing increasing interest in obtaining part of the benefits. Thus, some countries, such as the Philippines, have already created laws to regulate remittance transfers, forcing migrants to send them through government channels. Governments in Latin America are now increasingly involved in international migration debates, understanding that there are benefits to be drawn from migrants working abroad (GAINZA, 2006).

Contrary to the estimates prevailing at the beginning of the pandemic, which anticipated a significant reduction in the flow of remittances for 2020 (some estimates were of a 20 per cent reduction), remittance flows to Latin American countries reached US\$101.1 billion at the end of 2020. This represents a growth of 8.2%

compared to the flows of the previous year, similar to that observed in 2019 (CEMLA, 2021).

Figure 1: Total amount of remittances received in Latin American and Caribbean countries in 2020 (USD million)



Source: CEMLA (2021).

The few studies that have attempted to mainstream gender in remittance patterns have not yielded conclusive results. On the one hand, and because of the dedication to the home and the care of its members that characterizes the female role, it is expected that women tend to establish more lasting and intense contacts with the family nuclei. From gender roles, a greater propensity of women to lead family reunification processes and constancy in sending remittances can be established (RAMÍREZ, 2005). This feminization of migration is characterized by women of productive and reproductive age, so they often leave their families or sons/daughters in charge of other women when they decide to leave, giving rise to “transnational families” and “global care chains” (TAPIA, 2011).

The potential "emancipatory" nature of migration has generated divided views in research on the positive and negative aspects of women's migration. While migration involves a renegotiation of gender roles and restructuring of the asymmetries and potential for change in gender relations, these changes, as Gil (2012) points out, do not necessarily imply an elimination of inequalities and may even be reinforced.

Thus, PARRENAS (2005) studies of Filipino migrant women in the United States say that there is no reconfiguration of their gender roles or the sexual division of labor in families. However, research by PARELLA (2021) on the migrant population in Spain shows that when women migrate there is an increase in male participation in support of other women in the family. Thus, transnational families imply a rearrangement of gender and intergenerational relations in terms of economic and affective ties. For this reason, the transnational perspective of migration requires moving away from the analysis of women's change as a result of the migration process per se and, by extension, the presence of a more equal gender structure in the destination country (NAVAZ, 2004). In this context, BASTIA (2009) believes that the availability of cheap and affordable domestic "help" contributes to the maintenance of unequal gender relations worldwide by providing heterosexual women with the possibility of access to paid work without renegotiating (de)balance in domestic responsibilities with their partners, reproducing unequal gender relations to future generations.

The analysis of migration from a transnational gender perspective can construct new categories of analysis in the context of transnational universal citizenship. In the last two decades, the debate about migration, gender and universal citizenship has been progressively implemented, understanding the latter as "a political, social and legal recognition by which a person has rights and duties to belong to a community or territory; In the context of globalization, this concept has evolved and tends to be transformed according to social conditions" (HOYOS, 2013, p. 4).

Transnational chains of support and care have incorporated new approaches to the de-territorialization of rights, even though in Europe and the United States migration has become an instrument that, under the rhetoric of fear and security, has consolidated a speech in political parties and social movements of a nationalist and xenophobic court. Transnational migrations therefore question notions of citizenship within the framework of the nation-state to give way to a "complex society" in which the social practices and processes that occur and reproduce in daily life and those of migrant women who may become institutionalized are recognized (HABERMAS, 1999; SOLE, 2013).

Therefore, in the scenario of transnational economic and political openness and, as proposed BY SASSEN (2007), it is necessary to consider the formation of new types of citizenship and citizen practices since the denationalization of space and the recognition of transnational actors as political agents with new rights and demands. This abandonment of nationality, together with the proposal for an "inclusive citizenship", implies reflecting on a new socio-political and economic category that goes beyond origin, nationality or territory. These new debates propose an analysis of citizenship and migration from a gender perspective that requires rethinking of a citizenship built on the demands of the offsite agents that, in SOLE's terms (2013),

requires an effective strategy from “horizontal integration”, through the networking of informal practices of migrant women that challenge traditional models of political participation, diluting the boundaries between the public and private sphere and formal and informal practices.

In short, these proposals show the need to establish a debate on migration, citizenship and gender in the face of the new scenarios where these social actors demand the recognition of their central political space in the world economy and redefine, consequently, the modern conceptions of citizenship, nation and territory. In this sense, the concept of universal citizenship becomes central so that people enjoy equal rights and obligations anywhere in the world.

4 Universal citizenship

In Ecuador, the concept of universal citizenship has been incorporated into the 2008 Magna Carta in Article 416 regarding Ecuador's relations with the international community. Thus, paragraph 6 “advocates the principle of universal citizenship, the free mobility of all the inhabitants of the planet, and the progressive end of the status of foreigners as a transformative element of unequal relations between countries, especially North-South” (CONSTITUCIÓN DEL ECUADOR, 2008, p. 124). The essence of the norm is to promote freedom in the mobility of citizens worldwide so that in this way there are no differences due to their status as foreigners. Universal citizenship has also been a topic of debate for the countries of the region. In the case of Bolivia, in June 2017 was held the World People's Conference for a Walls-Free World that promoted s Universal Citizenship. This declaration establishes that “Human mobility is a right rooted in the essential equality of the human being” and promotes “breaking down the walls that divide us and building a Universal Citizenship that enshrines the right of all to have and enjoy the same rights in full, for the good life of humanity” (DECLARACIÓN, 2017).

According to literature, there are multiple ways to value and understand universal citizenship. When to Diogenes Laercio, Greek historian of the 3rd century A.C., asked where he was from, he replied that he was Kosmopolites, “a citizen of the world” (ARAGON, 2015). In this sense, BURBANO DE LARA (2010, p. 50) argues that universal citizenship is “according to the Dictionary of Humanitarian Action, a principle, category or condition by which all people, anywhere in the world, can be recognized as subjects of law”. Under this premise, the human being becomes central as the subject of guarantees and rights, regardless of the territory in which he is located; for RAMIREZ (2022, p. 364), “it constitutes a legal and political proposal that seeks to desterritorialize rights”, leaving aside the traditional vision that grants rights and obligations only to persons who are recognized as members of a given polis.

Another central element considered by the authors in the analysis of universal citizenship is that by incorporating the principle of universal citizenship into the Constitution of the Republic, a new paradigm of human mobility without borders is established where people cannot be excluded because of their migratory status, thus demonstrating an evolution of the concept of citizenship that is characterized by being inclusive and breaking the barrier between nationals and foreigners (ORIN, 2015). Universal citizenship also involves understanding the mobility situation in

which human beings find themselves, giving them rights and guarantees so that they can seek better living conditions. However, its implementation requires not only the willingness of states to ensure the rights of individuals in the context of human mobility, but also the allocation of budget and public policies for their effective implementation.

In this sense, universal citizenship becomes imperative for transnational networks where the fact that nationality must be linked to the territory is questioned. In an interdependent and globalized world that has registered the opening of markets, the commercial exchange and the flow of capital, the right to displacement contemplated in Art. 6 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948. So, for VERA ET ALL. (2019, p. 12) “Universal Citizenship must be inherent in the human condition of all as political subjects, and not only those who are formally recognized by the State”.

5 Conclusions

As seen throughout this article, studies on gender and migration go beyond a mere theoretical reflection on "migrant women". Taking back the postulates and demands of the feminisms of the 70, such as black feminism, indigenous and community feminism, and especially the post-colonial feminisms of the 90, the migrant subject appears transversalized by gender, intergenerational, cultural and ethnic relations, with a common denominator the character of a subordinate, silenced, passive and stereotyped subject.

Specifically, in the last three decades, the Latin American context, migration processes and, specifically, remittances from migrants, have been arousing interest in governments that practically interpret them as a new productive sector. It is in this scenario that transnational chains of care and support will develop, led by migrant women who will establish new economic, social and, especially, political relations. This reconfiguration of the migrant subject as a complex, heterogeneous and dynamic subject opens spaces for reflection on a new concept of universal citizenship that must be transversalized from a gender perspective that allows the recognition of the leading space of migration as an agent of change toward an inclusive citizenship.

The general hypothesis raised in this document about the possibility of overcoming the theoretical postulates that, from a western and patriarchal perspective, interpret migratory processes as a problem, it is resolved by the postulates of universal citizenship that demonstrate the importance of migrants being subject to rights and obligations in any territory, without restrictions or limitations.

Finally, these conclusions highlight the need to continue with a reflective and empirical work on the new dynamics and forms of political relationship in the scenario of migration and gender studies as the object of new research that, without disregarding the break with the modern concepts of territorial-national citizenship, they open new horizons on the processes of change and the impact of migratory movements on the international scene.

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