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"... in the interests of the quality of life of all citizens".

CITIZENSHIP, GENDER AND MIGRATION IN A GLOBALISING EUROPE

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itizenship and governance ✓are two important subjects in gender and migration studies. It is therefore promising that citizenship and governance have been included in the 6th European Framework Programme (European Commission 2001) as priority research area. In the following I will outline some reflections concerning this research area, based on my interest in gender, migration and globalisation. My aim is to point at possible research questions, rather than offer answers. Likewise I will show what does not seem to be included in the citizenship and governance research area from the point of view of migration studies.

The title of my presentation is a quotation from the description of the citizenship and governance research area. I am using this quotation as my point of departure, because it contains a promise, or an ambition, to include all citizens and not just some citizens.

"Europe's transition towards a knowledge-based economy and society, and its sustainable development in the interest of the quality of life of all citizens will be all the easier if it takes place in a way which is properly understood and managed" (European Commission 2001, 1.1.7, emphasis added).

This is indeed a noble objective and we can only hope that this ambition will guide the selection of projects. In a more polemic way, one might of course wonder why this objective is not the very justification of the research area instead of the "ambitious objective of becoming the 'most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy of the world" (European Commission 2001, 1.1.7). But let us for a moment begin with the promise of inclusion of all citizens - and let me start by making a general point about gender as an analytical and empirical category.

Gender as an analytical and empirical category

One of the remarkable features of the citizenship and governance research area is that gender is not mentioned at all. These lead me to the question of how we can talk about the interests of all citizens, about citizenship and governance and not talk about gender?

I would argue that it is necessary to include gender both as an analytical and empirical category. By analytical category I mean gender in terms of gender discourses – how we think about gender, how femininity and masculinity are ascribed to certain institutions, experiences, positions etc. and how institutions reproduce and negotiate gender in ways that include or promote certain experiences or positions and exclude others.

When I refer to gender as an

empirical category, on the other hand, I think of the inclusion of both men and women in the analysis, which is of course also necessary. For instance, it is noted in the 6th Framework Programme that the participation of women in all initiatives should be promoted in relation to human resources and mobility (European Commission 2001, 2.2). I support this because of the unequal representation of men and women in academia, but I will add that it is necessary to analyse both how some men and women are promoted and how some men and women are excluded. Or in other words: the strategy of mainstreaming should include gender as an analytical category (cf. Kvinder, Køn & Forskning 2000/2). As feminists have argued for quite some time now, it is not enough to 'add women and stir', a rethinking of the analytical framework and how we ask questions is needed.

A global perspective?

In the rest of my presentation I will focus on migration from third countries to the EU in a time of globalisation and present some examples from my own research on Somali migrants. Let me start by emphasising that when I talk about migrants, I include both economic and political migrants. One important research question I would like to draw attention to is the place of the EU in the world – and the place of third-country citizens in the EU. The 6th Framework Programme mentions that much could be gained by applying a global perspective to the transition of Europe (European Commission 2001, 1.1.7), so let's include the fact that many citizens in the EU have entered Europe within the last decades and might feel that they belong to more than one place, nation and nation state.

The transnational perspective is one way to analyse migration. By transnational practices I refer to the dynamics between - in this particular case - migrants and their relations to for instance their families in the country of origin (see Basch et al. 1994). Such relations and practices include contact with family and friends, business and political partners through the use of e-mail, fax, phone calls, letters, videos and visits; transnational practices could include exchanges of money and presents such as regular remittances, and transnational practices could mean to be involved in politics, business or development projects in the country of origin. As such the transnational perspective offers the possibility to refocus and challenge traditional ideas of citizenship and belonging where all individuals are supposed to belong to one and only one nation state and one and only one culture (Al-Ali & Koser 2002). Whether transnationalism is a new phenomenon or not is heatedly debated within migration studies (Portes 2001, Al-Ali & Koser 2002). Suffice to say that migrants' use of internet and other information and communication technology is a recent development and must be analysed in relation to both globalisation and the knowledge society.

In a gender perspective, research questions should not only include what men and women do, but also how gender ideals are negotiated, transformed or reproduced in transnational practices. Are certain kind of transnational practices understood as more feminine or masculine? Can changes in gender relations and ideals be observed? How do women and men have access to information and networks? How do they use them? And not the least: What kind of transnational practices do researchers focus on? Do we include practices that involve both men and women and do we analyse how some activities tend to be understood as male or female? For instance, research tend to focus on prestigious transnational activities such as political lobbying or the engagement in hometown projects, making invisible the transnational practices of for instance marginalized migrant women working as maids (Sørensen 2002). Likewise as researchers we must be aware of whether we tend to design our methodology and interviews in ways that prioritise political activities of men and family related activities of women, thereby drawing on traditional notions of men as more connected to 'the public or political sphere' and women as more connected to the family and 'the private sphere'. In other words: the

analytical framework and research questions should be scrutinized in relation to how they frame the way gender can be analysed at all.

In relation to the citizenship and governance research area we might also ask the question of how transnationalism changes the way citizenship is practiced and understood. For instance, when migrants actually participate in and contribute to the development of two nation states, as several of the Somalis I have talked to do, they might be said to overcome traditional ideas of citizenship and belonging. We might indeed talk about 'longdistance' nation building or maybe transnational citizenship. Another way that the meaning of citizenship is challenged is in relation to return or repatriation. Evidence from my own research indicates that in terms of Somalia, decisions concerning returning or repatriation seem to be influenced by the acquisition of Danish or Western citizenship, due to the rights, security and improved possibilities of mobility granted by a Western citizenship (see Fink-Nielsen & Kleist 2000; Fink-Nielsen, Hansen & Kleist 2002).

To return to the gender perspective again, possible research questions relate to the gendered mobility and gendered ways of practicing and articulating citizenship (Galal 2002, Kleist 2002). For instance: How do immigration, integration and social politics shape the possibilities of male and female migrants? How do men and women travel? What

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strategies of mobility are possible – and considered suitable for women and men? What are the ideas of femininity and masculinity in relation to citizenship, politics and nationalism?

In conclusion: Why is this important in relation to the development of a knowledgebased society? I will argue that if the objective is to develop the European knowledgebased economy in the interest of the quality of life of all citizens, well obviously all citizens should be included. Mobility, the knowledge of how to deal with several locations, and the transnational relations of migrants are potential resources that need to be analysed. This can be done in different perspectives, but gender should be a part of the analysis. It does make a difference.

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