Year : 2018

Migratory life-courses and social networks : Peruvian men and women in Switzerland

Seminario Luna Romina Angie

FACULTÉ DE SCIENCES SOCIALES ET POLITIQUES

INSTITUT DE SCIENCES SOCIALES

MIGRATORY LIFE-COURSES AND SOCIAL NETWORKS:

PERUVIAN MEN AND WOMEN IN SWITZERLAND

THÈSE DE DOCTORAT

présentée à la

Faculté de Sciences sociales et politiques de l'Université de Lausanne

de l'Université de Lausanne

pour l'obtention du grade de

Docteur ès Sciences Sociales

par

Romina Angie SEMINARIO LUNA

Directrice de thèse

Prof. Nicky LE FEUVRE, Université de Lausanne

Composition du jury :

Prof. Claudio BOLZMAN, Haute école de travail social de Genève

Prof. Sébastien CHAUVIN, Université de Lausanne

Prof. Janine DAHINDEN, Université de Neuchâtel

Prof. Luis Felipe MUJICA BERMUDEZ, Université PUCP de Lima

LAUSANNE

2018

FACULTÉ DE SCIENCES SOCIALES ET POLITIQUES

INSTITUT DE SCIENCES SOCIALES

MIGRATORY LIFE-COURSES AND SOCIAL NETWORKS:

PERUVIAN MEN AND WOMEN IN SWITZERLAND

THÈSE DE DOCTORAT

présentée à la

Faculté de Sciences sociales et politiques de l'Université de Lausanne

de l'Université de Lausanne

pour l'obtention du grade de

Docteur ès Sciences Sociales

par

Romina Angie SEMINARIO LUNA

Directrice de thèse

Prof. Nicky LE FEUVRE, Université de Lausanne

Composition du jury :

Prof. Claudio BOLZMAN, Haute école de travail social de Genève

Prof. Sébastien CHAUVIN, Université de Lausanne

Prof. Janine DAHINDEN, Université de Neuchâtel

Prof. Luis Felipe MUJICA BERMUDEZ, Université PUCP de Lima

LAUSANNE

2018

UNIL | Université de Lausanne

Faculté des sciences sociales et politiques

IMPRIMATUR

Le Décanat de la Faculté des sciences sociales et politiques de l'Université de Lausanne, au nom du Conseil et sur proposition d'un jury formé des professeurs

- Nicky LE FEUVRE, directrice de thèse, Professeure à l'Université de Lausanne
- Claudio BOLZMAN, Professeur à la Haute Ecole de Travail Social à Genève
- Sébastien CHAUVIN, Professeur à l'Université de Lausanne
- Janine DAHINDEN, Professeure à l'Université de Neuchâtel
- Luis Felipe MUJICA BERMÚDEZ, Professeur à la Universidad PUCP de Lima

autorise, sans se prononcer sur les opinions du candidat, l'impression de la thèse de Madame Romina Angie SEMINARIO LUNA, intitulée :

**« Migratory life-courses and social networks:
Peruvian men and women in Switzerland »**

Jean-Philippe LERESCHE
Doyen

Lausanne, le 18 septembre 2017

Abstract

This dissertation addresses some of the contemporary issues in the broad field of Migration Studies, notably the plurality of migration experiences according to gender, social class and citizenship status. Drawing on life-course, narrative and network analysis, it sheds new light on the intersecting processes that influence Peruvian migration in Switzerland. Beyond the dichotomies that are often mobilised in the study of migration (legal versus unauthorised migration, highly versus low skilled migrants), the thesis focusses on the implications of different citizenship statuses, as well as the consequences of having different levels and types of qualifications for Peruvian migrants in the Swiss context. In addition, rather than relying uncritically on ethnic or national specificities, the research adopts an intersectional lens in order to understand whether and when ethnonational markers are effectively central to explaining migrant experiences and by examining how they intersect with other social divisions. Instead of thinking of migration as one-off relocation from a homeland to a destination country, this study uses analysis of multi-staged migration experiences and a focus on the multiple transnational involvements of Peruvians in Switzerland to show that migrants may embark on journeys to multiple, successive destinations. The diverse legal, occupational and family trajectories of Peruvian migrants lead to a wide range of integration and transnationalism practices. The findings show that, due to the Swiss national gender regime, migrant and non-migrant women face common struggles in gaining access to the labour market. However, contrary to previous research conclusions, this thesis shows that citizenship statuses affect highly and low-skilled migrants alike. Finally, beyond the traditional distinction between strong and weak ties, analysis of the geographical location and composition of migrants' social networks shows that ties with compatriots have a positive influence on upward social mobility and on successful ethnic business endeavours in the host country.

Résumé

Cette thèse vise à relever quelques-uns des défis propres aux études sur la migration, notamment ceux qui concernent la pluralité des expériences migratoires en fonction des appartenances de genre, de classe et de citoyenneté. À partir d'un dispositif méthodologique inspiré par les analyses en termes de parcours de vie, de récits biographiques et de réseaux sociaux, la thèse s'attache à rendre compte de processus intersectionnels qui influencent la migration péruvienne en Suisse. Pour dépasser les dichotomies souvent utilisées pour décrire les expériences migratoires (migration légale ou illégale, migrant·e·s hautement ou faiblement qualifié·e·s, etc.), la thèse s'intéresse aux effets de différents statuts de citoyenneté et de différents niveaux de qualification chez les Péruvien·ne·s en Suisse. Au lieu de mobiliser des catégories fondées principalement sur les spécificités nationales ou ethniques, la thèse adopte une approche intersectionnelle. Au lieu de penser la migration en termes de déplacement unique depuis un pays d'origine à une autre destination géographique, la thèse appréhende les migrations successives et les engagements transnationaux de Péruvien·ne·s en Suisse. Elle montre que les réseaux sociaux des migrant·e·s ne se limitent nullement aux pays d'origine et de destination. La pluralité de trajectoires professionnelles, familiales et légales des Péruvien·ne·s s'accompagne d'une grande diversité de pratiques d'intégration et de transnationalisme. Par exemple, en matière de difficultés d'accès au marché d'emploi, le régime de genre suisse produit un rapprochement des expériences de femmes migrantes et non migrantes. Par contre, le statut de citoyenneté influence les expériences de l'ensemble des migrant·e·s, indépendamment de leurs niveaux de qualification. Enfin, l'analyse de la composition et de la distribution géographique des réseaux sociaux des Péruvien·ne·s en Suisse montre que, au-delà de la distinction habituelle entre liens faibles ou forts, les liens aux compatriotes sont favorables à la mobilité économique ascendante et à l'entrepreneuriat dit « ethnique » dans le pays d'accueil.

Acknowledgements

Summary

xi

Tables Index

Figures Index

I. Introduction

This dissertation is the result of a dialogue between theoretical questions, fieldwork experiences and personal background. When I started this research project, I had the impression that existing studies failed to portray the plurality of migration experiences that I had witnessed and experienced, particularly in relation to gender, citizenship and skills. The focus of my research on Peruvian men and women living in Switzerland – a national group of migrants to which I belong - represented a challenging case-study, enabling me to contrast in-group heterogeneity with some of the distinctions identified in my literature review, such as those between low or high-skilled, unauthorised or naturalised, temporary or permanent migrants (Collyer & De Haas, 2012; Dahinden, 2016; Schapendonk & Steel, 2014). The research design adopted here aims to question these distinctions and to suggest more fruitful analytical tools and frameworks. This thesis thus proposes an innovative way of addressing time-sensitive and intersectional features of migration experiences.

Based on a combination of life-course, narrative and social network approaches, this PhD focesses on Peruvian migration in Switzerland. My research addresses the shifts along a continuum of legal categories that impose spatial and temporal boundaries on migrants' life-courses. In so doing, I am able to reveal the gender and social class-based definitions of who the "deserving migrants" are in the destination country. For instance, while Peruvian engineers working full-time in multinational enterprises have access to fast-track naturalisation procedures, their male counterparts employed in precarious cleaning jobs are actually less successful in making claims for regularisation than Peruvian women working in the Swiss care sector. It seems that the male breadwinner and female caregiver model is still central to ideal models of citizenship in the Swiss context.

This research also shows that these legal trajectories interact with professional and family life-paths, also along gender and class lines: although marriage to a Swiss or EU citizen (bi-national marriage) can be a source of legal residency rights, this is not always enough to guarentee gender equality in the labour market. For example, due to deficiencies in the Swiss provision of public care services and to the healthy employment prospects of their Swiss spouses, some highly qualified Peruvian women end up with a huge share of household domestic and care tasks and find it difficult to maintain themselves on a career-track in the host country. This is not only due to the lack of recognition of their foreign qualifications; it can also happen to those who have a degree from a Swiss higher education (HE) institution, particularly in the Humanities and Social sciences (HSS). Interestingly, those women who experienced upward social mobility

had careers in female- and migrant-dominated sectors such as care and ethnic business, while their male counterparts were more successful in financial and engineering careers. However, it appears that social mobility across borders is not only a question of labour market positions, it also depends on subjective class positionings in (at least) two national settings. Considering that the urban middle-classes in Peru progressively invest in women's university education and promote career-oriented femininities, some highly-qualified Peruvian women managed to achieve social recognition outside the Swiss labour market, for exemple, through their voluntary activities in migrant associations. However, the construction of "negative femininities" (e.g. women suspected of contracting a sham marriage with a Swiss citizen in order to achieve legal residency rights) within these migrant associations could hinder their role as platforms for recognition and respectability (Skeggs, 1997b).

In this sense, analysing the networks of Peruvian migrants in Switzerland provides a deeper understanding of the ways in which multipe power relations intersect in the migration experience. Like all migrants, Peruvians in Switzerland develop local and transnational networks. Beyond the homeland and destination country, these networks link compatriots in several locations and provide a varied range of resources (e.g. finding a job in Switzerland to escape the effects of the Great Recession in Spain or pursuing a career in prestigious research centres or multinational enterprises in Switzerland). Although local and transnational networks are mainly composed of compatriots, the resources they supply depend on the social status of their members at a given moment in time. Thus, when analysing the composition and activation of migrants' social networks, it is important to move beyond ethno-national markers and to study their gender and class dimensions. Our findings contribute to ongoing debates about ethnicity, gender and social class amongst migrant populations.

I. Emerging questions in Migration Studies

Migration Studies have contributed to enlarging the scope of social sciences to include experiences beyond and between nation-state borders. However, Migration Studies also tend to normalise (certain) migration-related categories, and therefore need to be questioned and critically assessed. This research addresses some standard dichotomies found in Migration Studies to distinguish within different types of migrant populations.

About gender, path-breaking studies on migrant women in the care sector have rendered visible certain forms of precariousness in the global division of labour. However, the emphasis on the care provided by migrant women tends to overshadow the contribution of migrant men to unpaid and paid care work (Sarti & Scrinzi, 2010), and to suggest that the outcomes of this

gendered assignation are identical across all migrant groups. Migration Studies have thus tended to assign migrant women to (one) specific destiny, that of low-skilled, low-paid care work, and have neglected others, such as women's rising contribution to high-skilled migration (Dumitru, 2014; Dumitru & Marfouk, 2015), including in the health and care occupations (Kofman & Raghuram, 2015; Mendy, 2010; Yeates, 2012).

In addition, Migration Studies have tended to adopt an analytical divide, based on skill levels, notably by analysing the realities of expatriate workers through a distinct lens from that mobilised to study the realities of economic migrants (Al Ariss & Crowley-Henry, 2013) or refugees (Crawley & Skleparis, 2017). The literature on highly-skilled migration/expatriation portrays a smooth circulation of talent around the globe, whereas research on less-skilled migrants emphasises the risks of de-qualification and downward mobility faced by mobile individuals. This thesis argues that the skill levels (notably in the form of qualifications) of migrants are not a reliable predictor of their labour-market outcomes abroad. In addition, the ways in which given skills are valued (or not) in particular destination countries intersect with gender, nationality and citizenship status (B. Anderson, 2010; Isaakyan & Triandafyllidou, 2016; Kofman & Raghuram, 2006). State-defined (legal) categories have an impact on migrants' daily lives and biographies, but migrants do not unambiguously fit into assigned categories, nor do they remain permanently in a single formal administrative or legal category (Goldring & Landolt, 2013a; Schrover & Moloney, 2013). In the same sense as skill levels, legal categories cannot univocally predict migrants' social mobility abroad.

Finally, another form of static categorisation represents migration as the process of permanent relocating from one's home country to a destination abroad (Schapendonk & Steel, 2014). In reality, migration might involve several destinations and movement back-and-forth between home and different host countries (Collyer & De Haas, 2012; Mas Giralt, 2017; A. M. Paul, 2011). The analysis of migratory life-courses and networks cannot exclusively focus on one moment and place of border crossing.

Considering these issues, this thesis develops an integrative approach that studies and compares migration experiences that have commonly been treated separately. I compare female and male, high- and low-skilled, and unauthorised and naturalised migrants, and also single-step and multiple-staged migration patterns. The main goal is to question whether and in which contexts gender, skills and citizenship are relevant for explaining migrants' patterns of settlement, and also their local and cross-border connections. This research does not assume that migration is the central criterion for understanding the trajectories and outcomes of geographically mobile populations. Rather, it explores the ways in which migration-related differences intersect with

other categories of differences, such as gender, social class, nationality, ethnicity, etc. In this sense, similarities between mobile and non-mobile populations are also considered.

Methodologically, time-sensitive and social network analysis enable me to disentangle these conceptual dichotomies in Migration Studies. Using life-course and narrative approaches, I analyse migrants' occupational, family and legal trajectories and study the ways in which they influence each other along gender and class lines. Using a social network approach, I explore the geographical dispersion of migrant's social relationships, and the timing and direction of cross-border contacts, movements and feelings of belonging. Without presuming any ethnic-based specificities, I argue that Peruvian migration to Switzerland provides a particularly enlightening case study. Historically, Peruvian immigrants arrived in Europe via Spain and Italy (Paerregaard, 2013), and recent emigration – on the basis of previously acquired Spanish and Italian passports - followed these links to Switzerland after the 2008 Great Recession (Mas Giralt, 2017). In addition, more Peruvian women than men migrate, and most of them possess post-compulsory educational credentials (Izaguirre & Anderson, 2012). Peruvians belong to the group of Latin Americans that represent 40% of the total of unauthorised migration to Switzerland (Morlok et al., 2015). Although Peruvians do not represent the most numerically important migrant group in Switzerland, they display a high degree of heterogeneity based on citizenship status and mobility patterns. This internal heterogeneity is a useful safeguard against the naturalisation of ethno-national markers in the exploration of migration processes. Studying Peruvian migration to Switzerland thus enables me to address questions that include the feminisation of highly-skilled migration, the heterogeneity of citizenship status and different stages of mobility.

This introduction briefly presents my overall research objectives and the structure of the dissertation.

II.1. Research aims

First, my epistemological standpoint revolves around the intersectional approach to understanding mechanisms of diversification and stratification in migration, as well as the influence of my position as a researcher in this analytical endeavour. The ambition to disentangle conceptual dichotomies about migration goes hand in hand with specific questions and methodological options. The three questions that underpin this thesis can be summarised as follows: the dynamics of citizenship status, gendered patterns of occupational mobility and the evolving features of cross-border connections and mobility. My first research question addresses the complex interaction between processes of legal regularisation (or lack thereof)

and gendered employment experiences. Considering the feminisation of high-skilled migration from Peru, the second question refers to the occupational mobility of Peruvian migrants with or without Swiss qualifications, in relation to family transitions such as bi-national marriage and parenthood. The last question discusses the evolving connections between destination country (countries) and the homeland in terms of networks and mobility patterns.

In the next sections, I argue that my case study of Peruvian migration in Switzerland is appropriate for the above-mentioned research objectives, and I also discuss the implications of being a female Peruvian researcher living in Switzerland for the achievement of my research ambitions. I will also present the time-sensitive approaches - life-course and narrative methods - that I used to collect, analyse and interpret my data. Finally, I present the analytical justification for my social network analysis. These methodological tools are presented in more detail in Chapter 3 of this dissertation.

II. 2. Peruvian migration to Switzerland

The number of Peruvians in Switzerland is small in comparison to EU inflows, but has progressively grown since 1990, as part of the wider Latin American and Caribbean (LAC) migration wave to the country (Bolzman, Carbajal, & Mainardi, 2007). Despite their growing numbers, this foreign population has remained largely invisible in the media and in academic studies, except during the "sans papiers" movement at the beginning of 2000 (Valli, 2007), and the recent Papyrus operation in Geneva (Della Torre, 2018). Most of the existing Migration Studies research in the country has been focused on numerically important groups of foreigners: Italians, Spaniards, Portuguese, Ex-Yugoslavians and Turkish migrants. Recently, the inflows of EU citizens have been criticised by some political parties and civil society organisations, while increasing islamophobia and the so-called refugee crisis is receiving increasing media coverage. In contrast, LAC migration has not received much political or media attention. However, they are the largest group of undocumented foreigners in the country, most of whom are women (Morlok et al., 2015).

In comparison to migration flows from other LAC countries, Peruvian migration predominantly involves the urban middle classes and is distributed across four continents (North and South America, Asia and Europe) (Paerregaard, 2013; Sanchez, 2012). In addition, Switzerland represents an uncommon destination for Peruvian migration flows to Europe, but the 2008 Great Recession in Spain and Italy has triggered re-emigration flows to better-off European countries such as Switzerland. Considering the Spanish and Italian migration regimes, several of the Peruvians who have re-emigrated to Switzerland now hold EU passports. Given this

context, Peruvian migration to Switzerland includes an unusually wide range of citizenship statuses, from unauthorised migrants to EU citizens.

As mentioned previously, Peruvian migrants display transnational ties with compatriots across several countries that might involve passing through a series of successive destinations. Recent Peruvian migration displays the mechanisms of post-migration mobility from South-American countries (e.g. Argentina) to Spain and then Switzerland. While most of the LAC citizens who have migrated to Europe over the past 20 years settled in Spain, Italy or Portugal, the recent economic downturn in these countries has forced some of them to re-emigrate (Mas Giralt, 2017; Pereira Esteves, Cruz dos Santos Fonseca, & Macaísta Malheiros, 2017). Due to its' relative economic stability, Switzerland represents a favourable secondary destination for Peruvian men and women who have been granted Spanish citizenship, for example. Considering the geographical dispersion of destinations, Peruvian migrants might maintain co-national relations in various locations and embark in multi-staged journeys between a series of destinations.

Furthermore, Peruvian migration don't only include an unusually high share of university students and graduates, it is also mostly made up of women. Peruvian migration is thus an interesting example of the still under-researched topic of the feminisation of high-skilled migration (Dumitru & Marfouk, 2015). During my fieldwork, I also corroborated the presence of highly-skilled women (as well as men) with Peruvian or Swiss university degrees. This enabled me to study the ways in which class-based femininities and masculinities are reinforced or challenged during the migration process. By comparing the experiences of male and female Peruvian migrants to Switzerland, I aim to explore the gendered dimensions of migration, particularly in relation to occupational and family trajectories. Peruvian women enter into bi-national marriages with different outcomes to those of their male counterparts. even when they have similar levels of qualification, Peruvian women and men are segregated into particular types of unskilled jobs: domestic care and cleaning for women and construction or industrial cleaning for men. It is thus interesting to consider how the gender regime of the destination country affects their relative ability to access the labour market.

In this sense, this thesis aims to contribute to the understanding of Latin American migration to Europe by analysing the particular case of Peruvian men and women.

II. 3. Methods

This study is based on a series of methodological options. First, instead of comparing migrants with different LAC nationalities, I decided to focus on one national group currently residing in Switzerland. The aim was to grasp the internal heterogeneity of this group and thus avoid, as far as possible, any idea of ethno-national homogeneity or causality. Being a Peruvian woman living in Switzerland also helped and challenged me to assess in-group hierarchies. While my background enabled me to grasp non-verbal nuances and locally-bound signs (colloquial language, jokes, clothing, corporal and facial expressions), my position as a middle-class, female compatriot was perceived differently during interviews and participant observation. Beyond outsider/insider dichotomies (J Carling, Erdal, & Ezzati, 2013), the participants challenged my position according to their own class, gender and legal status. While long-settled, highly-skilled and/or naturalised male Peruvians treated me as a newcomer who needed information to help her settle in Switzerland, recently arrived, less-skilled and/or undocumented female counterparts looked to me for advice in relation to their own situation. The evolving power differentials encountered during fieldwork influenced my theoretical stance and conceptual framework.

To address the time-dependent and multi-layered dimensions of my three main research questions, I combined two distinct data collection methods.

II.3.1. The narrative biographical approach

On the one hand, I elaborated a time-sensitive approach that combines life-course and narrative dimensions. In this way, I address the multi-layered and evolving nature of the occupational, legal and family dimensions of transnationalism and settlement.

The life-course paradigm proposes the analysis of multiple live domains (family, employment, education, etc.) and their mutual influence (Levy & Widmer, 2013a). Moreover, theoretical advances in Life-course Studies have corroborated the gender-based differences of the interdependence of family and employment trajectories (Krüger & Levy, 2001; Levy & Widmer, 2013b). Another important dimension of the life-course paradigm is the analysis of transitions: timing, duration and ordering of events. Considering the institutional settings, transitions represent more or less expected changes, that yield short- and long-term effects. For instance, education to employment transitions are important to assess upward or downward mobility (Falcon, 2012). Based on the timing, duration and ordering of events, some scholars have identified two temporal dynamics in trajectories: the permanent imprints left by previous steps and the accumulation of resources over time (Dannefer, 2012; Reyneri & Fullin, 2011).

The analysis of multiple, interdependent trajectories and transitions requires the collection of particular types of data, including the precise dates of events that take place simultaneously or sequentially in different life domains. The LIVES life calendar is a method of data collection that visually helps to recall and order events in different life domains (Morselli et al., 2013). Using the LIVES life calendar as a visual aid, I conducted biographical interviews crossing seven different life domains. While sporadically asking for dates about events, I also focused on the storytelling. Analytically, the life calendars enabled me to analyse the transitions in different trajectories (family, occupational and legal) and the ways in which these trajectories interact, notably along gender lines. Focusing on the transitions in family, occupational and legal trajectories enabled me to understand temporal dynamics, such as the short and long-term consequences of citizenship shifts and movements into or out of (precarious) employment. This analysis of trajectories thus provides the background against which I am able to interpret individual biographies.

The narrative approach focuses on individual biographies. The analysis addresses the forms of storytelling and the meaning given to events by the storyteller. The ways in which the actor narrates her/his life story reveal different forms of self-positioning and positioning of others (W. Fischer & Goblirsch, 2007). In this sense, the narratives display forms of identity work that mobilise categories of differences, such as gender, class, ethnicity, etc. (Kraus, 2007; Nadeem, 2015). In addition, the narratives indicate the subjective assessment of different events, such as their un/predictability and the capacity of the individual to deal with their consequences (Bessin, Bidart, & Grossetti, 2009b; Grossetti, 2006; Hélardot, 2009).

In my view, qualitative biographical interviews are the most suitable data collection method for addressing my research questions, because they allow me to grasp the meaning-making process between interviewer and interviewee. Extensive narrations about different life domains can be analysed thematically, for example, with a focus on things such as: shifts in citizenship status, occupational mobility and family transitions, and residential mobility. The biographical interviews helped me to better understand the meaning given to migration as a life event, such as a turning point (or not) in an occupational trajectory. The narratives also enabled me to access the migrants' aspirations about settlement abroad or a prospective return to the homeland, and to identify markers of identity work that cross transnational space.

II.3.2. The social network approach

I also chose to use qualitative social network analysis, based on ego-centred networks. This approach focusses on relations instead of individual characteristics (Herz & Olivier, 2012).

Moreover, the analysis of relations represents a way to link individual situations, aspirations and experiences to broader institutional settings. The social distance between actors in a network can be analysed subjectively (e.g. closeness) and based on structural dimensions (e.g. social class). With a qualitative approach, the meanings given to relations by the actors enable me to understand the creation of boundaries between individual and groups according to gender, social class, nationality, legal status, etc. Social networks display a discursive and practical grouping and classification of relations (Dahinden, 2009; Wimmer, 2004). Different relations between actors (individual or collective) yield networks that vary in terms of their composition, purpose and frequency of contacts. Analysing the characteristics of the members of the network, the resources that the relations mobilise and the frequency of the activities involved in these relations helped me to establish a classification of migrant's embedding practices, which may be alternatively: homogeneous, heterogeneous, bonding, bridging, etc. Besides the descriptive features of migrants' networks, the embedding lens also considers the time-sensitive and the meaning-making processes involved in the relationships (Ryan & Mulholland, 2015)

In addition, the social network approach also provides interesting solutions for data collection and visualisation (Herz & Olivier, 2012). For data collection, it is possible to use networks grids in order to map all the members of an ego-centred network, the relations between them and the activities done together, and the concentric circles also enabled me to establish the distance between the various members of the network (Bernardi, 2011). The visualisation of social network data using different software solutions allowed me to produce images that condense the principal traits of each network analysed.

For this research, I focus on the ego-centred networks of Peruvian migrants in Switzerland. Using a network grid, I conducted interviews about the relations involved in occupational and family activities, and trips abroad. Besides collecting biographical information about each network member mentioned by ego, the use of concentric circles enabled me to grasp the degree of closeness of these relationships. Analytically, the network composition included the following dimensions: nationality, residence, citizenship status, gender and age, and degree of closeness. The data collected covered the same life domains as those used in the narrative interviews (life calendars). Asking about the relations in different life domains enabled me to understand the ways in which certain relations accomplish one or multiple purposes and evolve during pre- and post-migration phases. I used Vennmaker software for the visualisation of concentric circles (Kronenwett & Schönhuth, 2014). Furthermore, analysis of the composition of migrants' networks helped me to establish the geographical dispersion of co-national ties. The analysis of

the closeness and distance of network members could be analysed with reference to feelings of belonging to the current destination, to previous places of settlement or to the homeland.

Nevertheless, several scholars have criticised the absence of the temporal dimension in social network analysis. For instance, the emergence and disappearance of relations have rarely been analysed correctly (Bolíbar, Martí, & Verd, 2015; Miranda J. Lubbers et al., 2010). Drawing on the time-sensitive approach, this study contributes to the development of dynamic social network analysis in Migration Studies. In combination with the life calendars and biographical narratives of ego, I was able to trace the emergence and disappearance of relationships over time and across space. This helped me to understand the ways in which relations are created, activated or abandoned in particular biographical moments.

II.4. Thesis structure

This thesis is divided into four parts. The first part (Chapters 1 – 3) is dedicated to a presentation of the research background and methods.

In the first chapter, I present the main theoretical features of the assimilation/integration, transnationalism and mobility paradigms in Migration Studies. Drawing on this literature review, I point out some theoretical challenges, including: overcoming conceptual dichotomies, avoiding the naturalisation of migration-related categories and not considering migration as a linear journey between home and destination. With the aim of contributing to these ongoing debates in the field of Migration Studies, I present my interest in the dynamics of citizenship, gendered patterns of occupational mobility and the multidirectional mobility of migrants.

In the next chapter, I describe the context of Peruvian migration to Switzerland and analyse the different migration waves to the country throughout the 20th century. In recent decades, Switzerland has received growing inflows of highly diverse migrant populations in terms of nationality, legal status and socio-cultural background. Changes in the Swiss migration regime can be linked to structural labour-market shifts and to political dynamics. I pay particular attention to the dual migration regime for EU and non-EU citizens, while documenting the Swiss residential permit system, the scarcity of highly-skilled workers and the growing strength of right-wing political parties. Secondly, I present the diversification and stratification of Peruvian migration patterns since the early 1980s. Linked to historical processes, the geographical diversification of destination countries for Peruvian migrants is noteworthy. This diversification is accompanied by various forms of class and gender stratification, which can be

exemplified by the feminisation of highly-skilled migration in recent years. To understand this phenomenon, I consider and compare the Swiss and Peruvian gendered care regimes.

In Chapter 3, I present my methodological approach and describe the main characteristics of the respondents whom I encountered during my fieldwork, and the interpersonal dynamics developed during this time. I then reflect on the potential influence of my own social characteristics on the results of the theoretical sampling and the methods of data collection such as participant observation and biographical interviews. Afterwards, I present the limitations and advantages of my methods. I then go on to describe my analytical framework, which focuses on the combination of synchronic and diachronic data and analysis to elucidate patterns of transitions and embedding in migration experiences.

The next sections of the thesis (Parts II – IV) present the main findings of my study. Each part contains a thematic literature review, where the state of the art on the topic in hand is discussed. When necessary, I present additional contextual and methodological information. Finally, each section contains a brief summary section.

The second part presents the dynamics of citizenship status in the Swiss context. By comparing the legal trajectories of less and more highly-skilled Peruvian men and women, I discuss the effects of the Swiss migration regime on occupational and family trajectories. In Chapter 4, analysis of the potential routes to obtaining a residence permit illustrates the temporal constraints placed on the labour-market integration of Peruvians who have graduated from Swiss universities. The transition from education to employment is mediated by the yearly renewal of student permits and the acquisition of legal authorisations for work after graduation. Moments of uncertainty represent what I have called "temporal boundaries". The dynamics of these legal trajectories have short- and long-term impacts on the occupational and family trajectories of the Peruvians studied here. The dependent (e.g. family reunification) or independent (e.g. employment) routes to legal authorisation to work in Switzerland are inherently gendered. When it comes to work permits for foreign graduates, the Swiss migration regime favours those from male-dominated occupations (Seminario & Le Feuvre, 2017). In relation to family reunification, there is a tendency to promote traditional gender roles in families where female Peruvian graduates are assigned to caregiving roles instead of the labour market.

In Chapter 5, I study the legal regularisation processes of Peruvian migrants in order to grasp the dynamic nature of citizenship status. I compare the legal trajectories of Peruvian migrants who formally and informally accumulate permissions to reside and work in Switzerland with the trajectories of those who have progressively lost their legal rights. These shifts in citizenship

status have short- and long-term effects on occupational trajectories. Peruvian men and women build up and mobilise an awareness of the Swiss (and EU) legal migration regime through networking with key actors (other migrants, associations, authorities, etc.). Considering the outcomes of their attempts at regularisation, I analyse the nature of the informal and formal conditions for accessing rights along gender and class lines. As a result, it is generally easier for Peruvian women to gain formal citizenship rights (in the form of regularisation.) than is it for their male counterparts. These women seem to adhere to the expected gender role for female migrants – transnational lone motherhood and the provision of paid care services to Swiss nationals or to other migrant beneficiaries – whereas their male counterparts are unable to fulfil the expectations associated with the male breadwinner ideal (e.g. full-time stable jobs) due to their precarious labour-market positions.

In Chapter 6, I study the dynamics of citizenship status by analysing the ways in which Peruvian men and women use state-defined categories for creating, maintaining or contesting in-group hierarchies. For instance, the division between undocumented and naturalised migrants represents an important criterion for membership in some Peruvian associations. Other legal situations, such as access to legal status through bi-national marriage, are also part of the in-group differentiation and stratification processes that can be observed within these associations. The use of citizenship status intersects with other categories of difference, such as gender. I use the emic concept of *toxic* femininities to designate discourses and practices about who are the un/desirable members of Peruvian associations in Switzerland. This notion refers to the fact that Peruvian women's voluntary work is less valued than that of their male counterparts, although this can vary according to citizenship status and social class. While volunteering in Peruvian cultural and sports associations can provide an opportunity for the self-promotion of job hunters and self-employed ethnic businessmen and women, participation in migrant associations also reactivates struggles for social recognition among Peruvian compatriots, along gender, citizenship status and class lines.

The third part of this thesis (Chapters 7 – 9) addresses the occupational mobility of Peruvian men and women in Switzerland. Whilst acknowledging the impact of shifts in citizenship status for access to the Swiss labour market, I centre my analysis on the interactions between occupational and family trajectories of low and highly-skilled Peruvian men and women. During pre- and post-migration phases, I focus on the following transitions: partnering and parenthood, and shifts into and out of (precarious) jobs.

In Chapter 7, I analyse the role of migration as a turning point or sign of continuity in occupational career paths. For this, I present the migrants' perceptions of their own social

mobility. When considering the employment transitions of those with Peruvian educational credentials, we can see that Peruvian men tend to work in low-skilled jobs during their pre- and post- migration phases regardless of their citizenship status, whereas low-skilled Peruvian women have more chances of experiencing upward mobility after obtaining the legal authorisation to work in Switzerland. Due to the structure of the Swiss labour market and to the normative Swiss gender regime, those Peruvian women who work in the most highly feminised employment sectors (cleaning, catering and caring) are in a better position to capitalise on the legal authorisation to work than their male counterparts.

In Chapter 8, in order to disentangle the influence of skills on the occupational mobility of LAC migrants in Europe, I present findings about Peruvian graduates from Swiss universities. I identify three patterns of labour-market transition for these highly-skilled migrants. Firstly, a male-dominated transition pattern that leads directly to stable and well-paid jobs that are commensurate with their skill levels. This pattern of labour-market transition is largely reserved for graduates in Sciences, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics (STEM) fields who delegate family caregiving to a spouse or paid domestic workers. Secondly, a gender-neutral pattern of labour-market transition, where bi-national marriage acts as a resource for finding adequate employment after graduation thanks to shared caregiving within dual-earner households. Thirdly, a female-dominated transition pattern where bi-national marriage acts as a handicap to achieving adequate employment after graduation. In this case, couple formation patterns, particularly in the form of bi-national marriage, tend to reinforce women's family caregiving role. This pattern is particularly prevalent among female graduates from social science and humanities (SHS) disciplinary fields.

Chapter 9 addresses the ways in which Peruvian male and female graduates make sense of their occupational and family transitions, in the light of their class background. As members of the Peruvian urban middle classes, the gender roles of this social class might be reinforced or neutralised during the migration process. Most of the women initially adhere to the Peruvian normative regime of middle-class femininities, based on upwardly mobile occupational careers for women. On arrival in Switzerland, they are confronted with the family-oriented femininities of the Swiss gender regime. Their male counterparts seem more concerned about the employment barriers that hinder fulfilment of the breadwinner role.

The last part of the thesis (Chapters 10-13) describes the composition and geographical dispersion of the social networks of Peruvian migrants in Switzerland and analyses the effects of location on their feelings of belonging, settlement practices and cross-border mobility.

Thus, Chapter 10 presents a typology of the transnational social networks of Peruvian migrants in Switzerland, and their evolutions over time. I refer to "embedding patterns" here, since the analysis considers the composition, time-sensitive and subjective dimensions of relationships. The first type of embedding shows the expected pattern of migrant networks, focused on co-ethnic contacts at home and in the host country. The second type displays a network based on geographically scattered co-national contacts in Europe, Asia and North America. The third type illustrates the changes in the composition of transnational networks that can be triggered by particular life events (e.g. divorce). These networks are re-centred on co-national ties and redirected towards the homeland. The links between these different patterns of social networks and dynamic feelings of otherness and/or belonging are analysed in detail.

In Chapter 11, I retrace the multiple directions of money circulation (e.g. remittances) within Peruvians' transnational networks. Besides the expected transmission of remittances from Peruvians living in Switzerland to their family members in Peru, I identify additional flows of money, the frequency of which depend on the class status of transnational families and on the evolution of caregiving responsibilities over time. Thus, so-called "reverse remittances", involving money circulation from Peru to Switzerland, can be observed, particularly when migrant family members have embarked on an ethnic business initiative or when migrant children undertake university studies abroad.

In Chapter 12, I study the multi-staged mobility patterns of Peruvian migrants in Switzerland. I analyse the practice of visits back home during transitions in family and occupational trajectories (e.g. job-hunting and parenthood), and the frequent returns home undertaken for occupational purposes (e.g. ethnic business in the destination country). In addition, I address the issue of multi-staged migration where Peruvian migrants first emigrated to South-American countries (e.g. Argentina) then moved northwards to Spain and finally arrived in Switzerland after the 2008 Great Recession.

Finally, in Chapter 13, I consider the multiple combinations of integration and transnationalism from a socio-cultural, legal and economic perspective. The analysis of the connections with people and places across borders and locally complements the results about citizenship and occupational outcomes. Inspired by the work of Morawska (2004), I classify the different forms of integration and transnationalism found amongst Peruvian migrants in Switzerland along gender, citizenship status and class divides. The different combinations shed light on the enhancing mechanisms of transnational socio-cultural involvement for economic integration. In turn, legal integration abroad (e.g. dual citizenship) enhances transnational involvement at socio-cultural and economic levels.

In the Conclusions, I present a summary of the main findings of this research and propose a series of recommendations for migration policy-makers

Part I - Chapter 1

Migration Studies: State of the Art

Drawing on the plentiful literature of Migration Studies, this dissertation proposes a contribution to three debates: integration, transnationalism and mobility. These three debates have historically been placed at the centre of this field of study. Considering the chronology of major scholarly contributions to the study of transnational migration flows, I first present the theoretical advances in relation to migrants' experiences in the receiving societies; highlighting the gradual shift from approaches based on the assimilation of migrants to the host country culture, to studies that focussed on the notion of integration, and then on to more contemporary and nuanced analytical tools (that I discuss more thoroughly in Chapter 13). In the quest to understand assimilation / integration outcomes, issues such as mixed marriage patterns, occupational mobility and the impacts of citizenship status on migration experiences have emerged as important research topics (see Part II and III). However, the transnational approach has influenced current approaches to migrants' integration by enlarging the analytical focus beyond the receiving society. In the 1990s, debates around transnationalism represented a turning point in Migration Studies. Adopting a transnationalism perspective questioned the tendency to consider nation-states as homogeneous and fixed units, and the assumption that migration implied uprootedness in relation to the home country. This analysis of migrant (and non-migrant) populations advocates a move beyond nation-state borders and ethno-national markers. It implies the analysis of cross-border experiences focused on political and family networks, in order to grasp the multiple and changing nature of migrants' interests and practices. Besides the home country or receiving society dichotomy, the binary of temporal or permanent migration has also been addressed. Instead of the conceptualisation of migration as uprooting, movement and re-grounding between two locations, the more recent mobility lens considers the frequency and multi-directionality of cross-border movements (see Part III). Migration does not only involve one-off relocations but also the combination of periods of mobility and immobility, the sequence of destinations and pendulum movement between two places. Current trends in Migration studies show the ways in which migrants combine visits back home with settlement abroad, or the accumulation of (economic, citizenship, etc.) resources in one destination, before undertaking onward migration to another destination. This perspective thus emphasises the power differentials in the access to mobility.

This brief literature review provides the background against which the three main issues: the effects of citizenship, gendered patterns of social mobility and cross-border connections addressed in this dissertation contribute to Migration Studies. After describing the advances and shortcomings of the debates around the integration, transnationalism and mobility issues, I present some challenges to Migration Studies in the contemporary context: the compartmentalisation of topics, the naturalisation of migration-related differences and the linear and binary approach to cross-border experiences. I advocate for the comparison between migrant men and women as well as between high- and low-skilled, and authorised and unauthorised migration; and the analysis of occupational mobility in relation to transnational family arrangements and citizenship dynamics. Consequently, my first research question focuses on the dynamics of citizenship understood as forms of regularisation and de-regularisation[1] of Peruvian migrants in the Swiss context (see Chapters 4 and 5). Considering the feminisation of high-skilled migration from Peru, the analysis of occupational mobility also addresses gender arrangements in relation to family caregiving (see Chapters 7 and 8). This analysis also considers the influence of the normative family models in the Swiss and Peruvian care regimes (see Chapter 9). Finally, the questions about transnational networks and various forms of belonging consider the mobility patterns amongst Peruvian migrants (see Chapter 10). The geographically scattered destinations of Peruvian migration influence forms of multi-staged migration from South America to Europe. Another influence stems from the dynamics of the European region that was the most popular destination for Peruvians in terms of opportunities for regularisation and naturalisation: Spain has suffered a recent economic downturn and triggered onward migration of Peruvians with Spanish passports to better-off countries in the region, such as Switzerland (see Chapter 12).

I.1. Integration

Integration is a chaotic concept (Ager & Strang, 2008) that combines several definitions, both in the academic literature and in policy-related measures and documents. Within academic Migration Studies, integration as an analytical concept refers to a number of precedents, such as assimilation,

---

[1] Inspired by prior work on "irregular migration", I distinguish between regularisation and de-regularisation or irregularisation. The former concept refers to the processes by which migrant earn access to services formally or informally and the latter concept refers to those process by which they lose entitlements abroad (Ambrosini, 2015; Cvajner & Sciortino, 2010; Düvell, 2011; Reyneri, 1998; Schweitzer, 2014; van Meeteren et al., 2009).

and to more recent debates in terms of super-diversity. The use of integration from a policy perspective will be addressed in the next chapter, in relation to migration regimes.

I.1.1. Assimilation

In Migration Studies, the concept of assimilation was historically forged for the analysis of ethnic/race relations between ethnic and migrant minorities and mainstream society in the United States (USA). It has been used for the study of 19th century European migrants to the US and for that of post-1965 migrants from Asian and Latin American countries. In this sense, it can be traced back to the Chicago School of the 1920s. Park and Burgess (1921) proposed a race-relations cycle made up of stages of contact, competition, accommodation and eventual assimilation. The last stage referred to "a process of interpenetration and fusion in which groups acquire the memories, sentiments, and attitudes of other persons and groups, and by sharing their experiences and history, are incorporated with them in a common cultural life" (Alba & Nee, 1997, p. 828). This theoretical concept was thus linked to ideas of irreversible and progressive stages in minority/majority relations. In the 1960s, Gordon (1964) operationalised this concept by acknowledging different and ordered dimensions. Acculturation understood as the adoption of cultural patterns of the host society represented the first and inevitable stage. The direction and outcome of the acculturation was the white middle class in the USA. Structural assimilation represented the entry of members of the ethnic minority into key relations with the majority group, for example through intermarriage, occupational mobility and reduced spatial segregation. This stage triggered the consolidation of assimilation. Later, in the 1970s, the straight-line conceptualisation of assimilation processes was emphasised. Assimilation was conceived as a process unfolding in a sequence of steps where each generation represented a new stage of adjustment to the host society (Alba & Nee, 1997, pp. 832–833). Consequently, time and inter-generational adaptations were considered the motor of change.

The concept of assimilation was widely used in Migration Studies, but it was increasingly criticised from the 1980s onwards. Besides the imposition of ethnocentric and patronising demands on minority populations, the principal limitations to the concept identified were the confusion between individual and context levels of analysis, and the homogeneous and static understanding of ethnicity in minority and majority groups. The most cited criticism of assimilation theory was formulated by Portes and his collaborators in the 1990s. They proposed the concept of *modes of incorporation* that includes several analytical levels: the policies of the host government, the values and prejudices of the receiving society and the characteristics of the co-ethnic community (Portes & Böröcz, 1989;

Portes & Zhou, 1993). Their findings showed different modes of incorporation amongst different nationalities of immigrants and their offspring: growing acculturation and integration into the white middle class, downward assimilation into an Afro-American underclass, and economic advancement with the preservation of the immigrant community values and solidarity networks (Portes & Zhou, 1993). They confirmed that assimilation is a segmented process that includes adaptation into a heterogeneous and unequal mainstream society. In addition, they confirmed that second-generation migrants predominantly followed in the incorporation mode footsteps of the first-generation migrants. Since certain incorporation modes were assigned to national groups that transmit them to their offspring, they found resilient nationality effects in assimilation outcomes: in the US context, Mexicans seemed to fare worse than their Cuban counterparts, while Asian immigrants were placed somewhere in the middle (Portes & Zhou, 1993).

This segmented assimilation theory also attracted criticism. The operationalisation of the concept of modes of incorporation appeared problematic for at least two reasons. First, the rules for assigning nationalities to particular modes of incorporation are not clear (e.g. the rankings do not always coincide in publications) (Waldinger & Catron, 2016). Considering the multiple dimensions of modes of incorporation, the analysis does not explain the criteria for assessing and ordering the combinations of dimensions (e.g. cumulative negative combinations: restrictive policies, negative prejudices in the host country and absence of co-ethnic ties). Consequently, the reasoning becomes somewhat circular: "contending that knowledge of each nationality's mode of incorporation provides the basis for predicting nationality effects, but then using the nationality coefficients as evidence of the importance of mode of incorporation" (Waldinger & Catron, 2016, p. 46). Recent statistical tests of the suitability of nationality as a proxy of modes of incorporation have yielded negative results (Waldinger & Catron, 2016). Secondly, the differences between national groups are not always consistent and the construction of typologies of modes of incorporation seems problematic (e.g. the differences between national groups are no clearer than in-group differences based on age, gender, citizenship, etc.). In Chapter 13, I develop my contribution to this debate by demonstrating the internal heterogeneity of modes of incorporation of a single national group, settled in the same destination country, according to gender, class and citizenship statuses.

Assimilation theories thus progressively lost popularity within Migration Studies. Over the following decades they were replaced by alternative ways of thinking about migrant groups in relation to the receiving society. One of them is multiculturalism, which was subsequently reversed toward neo-assimilationist and integration frameworks.

1.2. Multiculturalism and integration

During the 1980s and 1990s, scholars of Migration Studies questioned the suitability of the assimilation approach for understanding the so-called new migration trends on both sides of the Atlantic. In comparison with 19th-century migrants, post-1965 migration trends in the USA and post-1980 migrant trends in Europe were characterised as more diversified in terms of race/ethnicity, country of birth, citizenship status and social class (Esser, 2004; Penninx & Spencer, 2008). In Europe, before the 1980s, the migrant population was made up of migrants from the colonies or ex-colonies of the host countries, those from the guest-worker programmes and their families, as well as refugees (Sayad, 1979). From the 1980s, migration regimes became highly restrictive, but entry paths also become more innovative. In this sense, problems in relation to migration have been conceived as integration problems since the 1990s (Penninx & Spencer, 2008). In contrast to the USA, European countries have never recognised themselves as permanent potential destinations for successive waves of migrants. Many scholars have concluded that ideas about integration for migrants also imply conceptions of nationhood and social cohesion (Brubaker, 2001).

As a response to assimilationist postures, the 1980s saw the apogee of multiculturalism in relation to migrant population in receiving societies in the USA and Europe. This differentialist turn represented an ideology and policy for managing the cultural diversity that resulted from migration (Brubaker, 2001; Schrover & Moloney, 2013). The idea was to promote sensitivity to and support for difference, and the perception of integration as a group process. However, the assumption was that minorities represented homogeneous groups that held unique and innate features. Furthermore, this conceptualisation demanded the construction of a public ethnic identity and group formation on the basis of perceived similarity (Schrover & Moloney, 2013). Multiculturalism backfired: a differentialist form of racism conceived migrants and ethnic minorities as unable to adapt because they were fundamentally different from Western societies (Schrover & Moloney, 2013; Scrinzi, 2013). For instance, the academic and public debates discussed the degree and the kinds of diversity that represented "good differences", and the policy implementation of diversity management along with containment measures for "bad" differences that threatened Western values (Anthias, 2013; Sayad, 1979). The slippage of diversity towards political and normative uses is clear: the assumption of migrants' unwillingness to integrate and the impossibility of accepting "bad" differences reinforced ethno-national stereotypes and, ultimately, discrimination. Although

the two approaches might also present similar normative and political uses, neo-assimilationist and integration approaches emerged as alternative frameworks.

Neo-assimilationist and integration approaches share a certain number of features. Neo-assimilationist postures in Migration Studies differ from the earlier versions in two ways. Instead of assimilation understood organically as the absorption of one group by the other, the neo-assimilationist posture analyses the social processes of the decline or disappearance of ethnic/racial distinctions in the course of the interaction between majority and minority groups (Alba & Nee, 1997; Brubaker, 2001). Considering specific domains, the focus is on the nature and extent of emerging similarities without claiming a global belief in the inevitability or desirability of assimilation. Instead of cultural maintenance, the concern is about commonalities (Alba & Nee, 1997; Brubaker, 2001). The perceptions of migrants also changed: from mouldable objects to active subjects. In this framework, assimilation is no longer opposed to difference but to marginalisation and segregation (Brubaker, 2001). Consequently, the approach aims to understand different patterns of assimilation based on individual choices in a particular context.

Integration occupies a middle ground between multiculturalism and assimilation (Erdal & Oeppen, 2013; Grzymala-Kazlowska & Phillimore, 2017). Although the main assumption is a two-way process, this concept commonly slips towards the focus on migrants' full embeddedness and social mobility within a giving social fabric (Ager & Strang, 2008). As mentioned earlier, integration has been analysed from two angles: the facilities given to newcomers to adapt and function in the host society, and the ways in which the society that integrates newcomers redefines itself (Ager & Strang, 2008; Brubaker, 2001; Penninx & Spencer, 2008).

Generally, the analysis of integration considered both angles, but assumed a different place for each one – migrants' full participation in the labour market and their formal citizenship – whereas cultural preferences and social membership were left to individual choice (Grzymala-Kazlowska & Phillimore, 2017). Attention paid to the different dimensions of assimilation seems to be preserved in the analysis of integration (Erdal & Oeppen, 2013; Grzymala-Kazlowska & Phillimore, 2017). On the one hand, analytical endeavours focus on so-called structural integration, which involves migrants' participation in institutions such as the labour market and the education system. These aspects are considered to be more measurable and functional than the other dimensions of integration. The analysis of socio-cultural integration involves the assessment of social networks and feelings of belonging amongst migrant populations. Consequently, the analysis of integration

also focuses on the context for integration and the corresponding cultural, social and political expectations associated with membership of a particular society (e.g. citizenship).

The analysis of integration has also led to the construction of more or less sophisticated measurement tools, including the Migrant Integration Index (Huddleston, Niessen, Ni Chaoimh, & White, 2011). Scholars have proposed means to measure the extent of integration amongst migrant populations (Ager & Strang, 2008; Penninx & Spencer, 2008). Like assimilation analysis, the dimensions of employment, housing, education, health and social connections are widely used to measure degrees of integration (Kofman, Saharso, & Vacchelli, 2015; Patulny, 2015; Söhn, 2016; Song, 2009). Some of the most frequently mentioned facilitators of integration are language and cultural knowledge about the host society and the safety and stability of living conditions. However, several scholars have argued that citizenship and related rights represent the foundation for integration. The different understandings of citizenship and nationhood thus influence the expected responsibilities and rights of the migrant populations (Ager & Strang, 2008; Anthias, 2013; Brubaker, 2001). Throughout this dissertation, I address the legal (see Part II), economic (see Part III) and socio-cultural (see Chapter 10) dimensions of integration. The interactions between these structural and cultural aspects of migration are addressed more directly in Chaper 13.

The integration approach also has its shortcomings. As with the assimilation approach, critics question the emphasis on ethno-national markers and the binary language of minority/majority, migrant "Other"/native "us", etc. (Anthias, 2013; Grzymala-Kazlowska & Phillimore, 2017). The main criticism of the integration approach is the assumption that migrants have settled permanently in new countries and into host communities who are seen as being dominant (white) populations. In order to question the predominance of ethno-national markers, scholars in the mid-2000s proposed the notion of "super-diversity", which also recognized the demographic changes in migrant populations and in receiving societies (Crul, 2015; Grzymala-Kazlowska & Phillimore, 2017; Vervotec, 2007). Proponents of super-diversity have emphasised the idea of multiple differentiations in migrant populations and in receiving societies. For the former, beyond nationality, other axes of differentiation in terms of socio-legal and political status, socio-cultural diversity (language and religion) and economic status and other forms of inequality are at play (Crul, 2015; Vervotec, 2007). In relation to receiving societies, super-diversity scholars have argued that in several large European cities (e.g. London, Amsterdam, Brussels, etc.) mainstream society is highly heterogeneous. For instance, neighbourhoods in these cities might be composed of a larger number of migrant and ethnic minorities than of (white) native populations (Crul, 2015; Crul &

Schneider, 2010). Research on super-diversity has shown the importance of analysing the local settings (e.g. education and childcare facilities) to understand integration, where residence, age, gender and generation might better explain the outcomes than the country of birth alone (Crul, 2015). Super-diversity scholars thus propose the understanding of in-group differences and local institutional arrangements that shape the opportunities and lives of migrant populations. Drawing on the inputs of the super-diversity approach, I analyse the influence of gender, class and citizenship status on the integration of Peruvian migrants (see Chapter 13).

Critics of multicultural, neo-assimilationist and super-diversity approaches focus on the boundary- and hierarchy-making processes that have emerged from them. For the super-diversity approach, the emphasis on differences at the individual level might de-politicise the understanding of boundary-making processes. While the ambition of these three approaches is to reduce social divisions between migrant and non-migrant population, they tend to yield essentialised constructions of the same social divisions (Anthias, 2013). Two distinct analytical mechanisms are at play here: the culturalisation of social relations based on a "rucksack" view of culture (homogeneous and static with fixed boundaries), and the hierarchisation of differences understood as "good" or "bad" (Anthias, 2013; U. Erel, 2010). Consequently, critics address the ways in which scholars understand differences and their evolution in the context of migration and in societies in general. In this sense, the main concern is also to understand marginality and subordination in different life domains, within migrant and non-migrant populations alike. This dissertation recognises these criticisms and adopts an intersectional approach in order to analyse inequalities within migrant population and between migrant and non-migrant groups.

Given that the multicultural, neo-assimilationist, integration and super-diversity approaches consider questions about identity and differences, several authors advocate the adoption of an intersectionality approach in Migration Studies (Anthias, 2013; Umut Erel, 2015; Fresnoza-Flot & Shinozaki, 2017). The intersectionality approach aims to understand the social engagement and practices of migrants and non-migrants as well as their material consequences in specific contexts. The intersectionality approach (cf. Chapter 3) proposes to understand identities and belongings as ongoing processes that challenge and renegotiate boundaries and hierarchies (Anthias, 2013). The main idea is that social identities are produced through the mutual influence of a large number of social relations that cannot be reduced to one axis of differentiation and which yield interactive social divisions. Belonging, understood as the sense of being accepted as a full member of society, has emotional and practical dimensions that do not necessarily coincide with processes of

24

identification (e.g. identification with a certain group but not feeling like a full member) (Anthias, 2013). The intersectionality approach sheds light on the complexity and dynamics of identification and the consequences in migration, whereas other approaches emphasise the spatial dimension of migration: transnationalism and mobility.

Earlier research seemed to follow a traditional conceptualisation of migration as the uprooting of migrants from their home countries and their re-grounding in receiving societies. As the next section shows, the transnational turn in Migration Studies in the 1990s questioned this traditional image of migration and aimed to render visible the maintenance of migrant's relationships and sense of belonging in relation to their home country (Glick Schiller, Basch, & Szanton Blanc, 1995). Some scholars have argued that the consideration given to migrants' transnational relations and sense of belonging is linked to particular visions of nationhood and successful integration in the receiving societies (Grzymala-Kazlowska & Phillimore, 2017). Although the majority of studies have overlooked these connections, some authors have proposed a continuum between alarmist views and pragmatic ones in the ways research has addressed the relationship between integration and transnationalism. The alarmist view emphasised the threat of migrants' dual loyalty, which prevents their integration in the receiving society, whereas the pragmatic view argued that the experiences of migrants are more nuanced than the "either/or" conundrum (Erdal & Oeppen, 2013, p. 873). On the basis of this criticism, scholars propose to analyse integration in relation to transnationalism (Erdal & Oeppen, 2013; Grzymala-Kazlowska & Phillimore, 2017; Morawska, 2004). These scholars have found that the analytical frameworks of integration and transnationalism share several features: attention to multiple dimensions, time-sensitive processes and normative / ideological slippages[2] (Erdal & Oeppen, 2013). Considering that integration and transnationalism are evolving processes with similar socio-cultural, economic, political and legal dimensions, it is possible to analyse their mutual relations. The main advantage of doing this is to better understand the ways in which migrants have to balance the resources and demands of transnational ties with those of negotiating membership in their place of settlement (Erdal & Oeppen, 2013, p. 879). These interactions may be additive (the sum of two parts), synergistic (more than the sum) or antagonistic (one of them cancels the other out) (Erdal & Oeppen, 2013; Grzymala-Kazlowska & Phillimore, 2017).

---

[2] Like integration, transnationalism can convey political and normative messages, including transnational nationalism or the migration-development nexus (Erdal & Oeppen, 2013).

This dissertation provides a specific analysis of the relations between integration and transnationalism (see Chapter 13). It aims to understand the ways in which immigrants negotiate the daily conditions of their integration in the receiving society, as well as their relationships and feeling of belonging across borders. Consequently, I focus simultaneously on the time-sensitive processes of integration and transnationalism. Before presenting this approach, it is useful to explain the ways in which the approaches of assimilation and integration have addressed some of these dimensions. In the light of the brief literature review, the most common means of addressing integration issues seem to focus on three dimensions of the migration experience: occupational mobility, citizenship and intermarriage.

I.1.2.1. Occupational mobility, citizenship and intermarriage

Research carried out under the assimilation and integration approaches has analysed key dimensions of migrants' living conditions in receiving societies. The most common dimensions used to measure the extent and nature of migrants' assimilation or integration have been occupational mobility, citizenship and intermarriage. Some of these dimensions have been used to compare the situations of migrant and non-migrant populations, for example, socio-economic status, educational attainment, employment conditions, etc. Other dimensions have been used to understand the barriers and facilitators to assimilation, such as intermarriage or unauthorised migration status. Some of the shortcomings of this approach include the implicit assumptions that unauthorised migration necessarily concerns a low-skilled workforce, that high-skilled migration is always associated with a smooth incorporation process, and that marriage with a native represents the key to full membership of the host society. All these presuppositions are questioned in current Migration studies, and in this thesis (see Parts II and III).

I.1.2.1.1. Occupational mobility: citizenship and skills

Most research on the integration of migrant populations has addressed the issue of occupational mobility. The assessment of this structural dimension of integration has focussed on two features of the socio-economic hierarchy: the average socio-economic status attainment of migrants, on the one hand, and their participation in the labour market and education systems, on the other (Alba & Nee, 1997). The focus is on the comparison with native groups with similar background. Quantitative research has been predominant with indicators such as years of schooling and wages in the host country.

In the 1980s, Chiswick and his collaborators proposed the human capital theory to understand migrants' socio-economic assimilation in the USA. Drawing on cross-sectional data, they measured the earnings and occupational distribution of the immigrant and non-migrant (male) populations. In view of the years of residence, they observed that migrants at arrival earned less than their native counterparts but that the wage gap was fully closed after 15 years of residence, and even reversed when foreigners had higher levels of skills (Chiswick, 1978). This strengthened the idea that high-skilled migrants have a smoother occupational assimilation than their less-well qualified counterparts. Instead of labour-market discrimination, length of residence was proposed as the main explanatory variable (Chiswick, 1978; Chiswick, Lee, & Miller, 2005). The time spent implied the acquisition of labour-market experience and on-the-job training in the receiving country that seem to be more valued than years of schooling or occupational experience from home countries. However, the years of schooling and occupational experiences of migrants to the USA from similar countries (Canada, Australia, Germany, etc.) showed a higher return than those of migrants from other countries (e.g. Cuba or Mexico). Chiswick argued that the lower quality of schooling abroad or the higher risks for employers of hiring without sufficient information might explain these differences (Chiswick, 1978). Regardless of levels of skills from the home country, the theory of human capital proposes that the accumulation of host-country skills facilitates the closure of wage gaps between migrant and non-migrant populations. Consequently, migrants' investment in the labour market and education system would be rewarded.

Later, the human capital theory was tested with longitudinal data from Australia (Chiswick et al., 2005). Although the effect of time on occupational mobility was corroborated, the role of skills was clarified in terms of content and function. Skills were defined as "labour market information, destination language proficiency, occupational licences, certifications or credentials as well as more narrowly defined task-specific skills" (Chiswick et al., 2005, p. 2). The U-shape of occupational mobility amongst migrants thus depends not only on time but also on the transferability of their skills: the lower transferability of skills is seen in the steeper U-shape between the last job at home country and the first job at the host country. Those with lower levels of skills showed the shallowest U-shape while those with higher levels of skills showed the steepest U-shape. Furthermore, Chiswick and his collaborators proposed a typology of U-shapes based on the country of birth and type of migration. Migrants from low-wage countries show a deeper U-shape than their counterparts from high-wage countries, but refugees and family migrants showed the steepest U-shapes (Chiswick et al., 2005). The concept of self-selection plays an important role in the

explanation: those who migrated represented the most able, motivated and skilled of the population back home because migration would be more profitable for them (Chiswick, 1978; Chiswick et al., 2005). In contrast, refugees and family migrants are not expected to make these calculations. The optimistic view of occupational mobility remained subject to the condition of migrants' high levels of skills and progressive accumulation of resources in the host country (training and experience).

In relation to citizenship, Chiswick and his collaborators tested the human capital theory to analyse the occupational mobility of so-called "illegal" migrants. In prior studies, the citizenship variable showed higher earnings for naturalised citizens than for legal migrants from the same country in the USA (Chiswick, 1978). To understand the occupational mobility of unauthorised migrants, Chiswick and his collaborators compared the earnings and occupation distribution of those arrested for unauthorised migration with that of legal migrants from the same country and native workers in the USA (Chiswick, 1984). The findings confirmed that length of residence also played an important role. However, the authors admitted that the average number of residence years amongst unauthorised migrants was globally lower than for their legal counterparts. Again, the principle of self-selection predominantly explained the inequalities in earnings: unauthorised migrants would not be those with higher levels of skills since deportation would mean a higher economic loss for them than for their lower skilled counterparts (Chiswick, 1984, pp. 176–177). Consequently, unauthorised migrants arrived with low levels of skills that influenced the wage gap with other migrants and the native population. Another factor is the country of origin: they found that illegal migrants from Western countries showed a broader occupational distribution than migrants from other regions, and European and Canadian illegal migrants earned more than other nationalities (Chiswick, 1984). The assessment of the citizenship effects on the occupational mobility of migrants shed light on the mediation of self-selection and the explanatory role given to levels of skills beyond length of residence.

Although the human capital theory still seems relevant to Migration Studies, there are some shortcomings that I address here (the discussion of occupational mobility is more fully developed in Part III). One of them is the sole focus on the individual level (e.g. skills, country of birth and length of residence) to assess immigrants' occupational mobility. For example, the concept of self-selection depicts migrants as rational actors who make decisions based on economic factors and perfect information to assess costs and benefits. It also displays a neutral conceptualisation of skills and a high predictive power of levels of skills that downplay other factors, such as legal status, on occupational mobility (cf. Chapter 4). Several scholars have criticised this theoretical standpoint by

pointing out that migrants are inserted in households and extended families, communities and broader political and economic contexts (Massey, 1990; Portes, 1978). Others scholars have questioned the conceptualisation of skills and its predictive capacity on integration (Raghuram, 2008; Shan, 2013). On the one hand, the conflation of lower levels of skills and unauthorised migration assumes that the deficiency of human capital rather than citizenship barriers explains migrants' lower earnings. On the other hand, the portability of higher levels of skills and the accumulation of destination-specific skills over time seems to guarantee a smooth socio-economic integration. In this dissertation, I specifically address both dimensions of human capital theory by comparing the citizenship dynamics and occupational mobility of Peruvians with different types and levels of skills.

Later research has continued to use a vision of skills as a rucksack that migrants carry everywhere and into which they progressively insert new items that are recognised and valued without frictions (Boeri, Brücker, Docquier, & Rapoport, 2012). Scholars have pointed out that the role played by the portability and accumulation of skills depends on broader political and economic contexts (Man, 2004; R. Paul, 2012; Raghuram, 2008; Raghuram & Kofman, 2004; Shan, 2013). Skills do not represent a neutral proxy or predictor of the socio-economic integration of migrants. Regardless of skills, several authors have argued that the absence of legal authorisation to work, the mobilisation of networks during migration and the nature of segmented labour markets better explain the occupational (im)mobility of migrants (B. Anderson, 2010; Durand, Massey, & Pren, 2016; Portes, 1978; Reyneri, 1998; Vasey, 2016).

The assumption that high-skilled counterparts enjoy a smooth circulation shows some analytical shortcomings. Several scholars have argued that the migrant workforce plays an important role in the segmentation of the global labour market between the primary and secondary sectors: higher status jobs, secure employment and higher wages in contrast with lower status jobs, precarious employment and lower wages (Ahmad, 2008; Mcdowell, Rootham, & Hardgrove, 2014; Vasey, 2016). Current trends on the flexibilisation of the global labour market widen the gap between the two sectors, and professional occupations increasingly resemble those in the secondary sector (Al Ariss, Vassilopoulou, Ozbilgin, & Game, 2013; Axelsson, 2016; Rubery, 2015; Shan, 2013; Shinozaki, 2017). Higher levels of skills in migrant populations thus do not guarantee socio-economic well-being at destination.

Although the human capital theory proposes a definition of skills as a neutral proxy of integration potential, the conceptualisation of skills happens at discursive and relational levels that belong to broader processes of stratification in the labour market and mechanisms that promote de-skilling of migrant populations (Scrinzi, 2013; Shan, 2013; van Riemsdijk, 2013). The results of Chiswick's research even pointed out inequalities in the recognition of professional experience and credentials according to country of origin. Instead of the assumptions of the "poor quality" or "insufficient information" explanations, scholars have addressed the ways in which these expressions represent mechanisms in hiring processes that discriminate against the migrant workforce and channel it to secondary segments of the labour market regardless of levels of skills.

Several scholars have concluded that the socio-legal barriers for recognition of foreign credentials and professional experience increasingly arise at all levels of skills (Iredale, 2005; Liversage, 2009a; Raghuram, 2008). Regardless of higher levels of skills, some migrants might not progressively exit the secondary labour market and achieve better employment. In fact, many migrants performing low-status and poorly paid jobs actually possess professional credentials and experience (Al Ariss et al., 2013; Reyneri, 2004).

In addition, ethno-national markers and gender interact to (de)value some qualifications. It seems that there is a conflation between difference and deficiency in the formal recognition of foreign credentials and experience from the Global South, and the discourses about "soft" skills display informal gatekeeping and de-skilling mechanisms for particular groups of migrants (e.g. having an accent, nationality stereotypes, religious signs, etc.) (Scrinzi, 2013; Shan, 2013). The care worker and the engineer are emblematic figures of globalisation: the former represents a female-dominated sector where the naturalisation of qualifications maintains low-status, poorly paid jobs and meagre channels of promotion, whereas the latter represents a male-dominated sector where the perception of technical knowledge as highly portable across borders sustains privileged forms of circulation and labour-market participation (Kofman, 2013; Kofman & Raghuram, 2015; Mezzadra & Neilson, 2013). In order to disentangle the role of skills in migrant's occupational mobility, I compare the experiences of Peruvian men and women working in different female-, male- or migrant-dominated employment sectors.

Another feature of the human capital theory presents the promise of occupational mobility based on accumulation of skills at destination: "it seems that the only way for immigrants to overcome economic disadvantage is for them to play by the rules and accumulate cultural capital recognised

in a particular place" (Shan, 2013, p. 917). Not only the assumption that longer length of residence implies accumulation of training and professional experience at destination, but also the successful recognition of these skills on the labour market show analytical shortcomings. Not all migrants can accumulate skills, notably due to precarious employment conditions. Despite length of residence, some migrants may become trapped in secondary labour markets (Barbiano di Belgiojoso, 2017; Reyneri & Fullin, 2011; Vidal-Coso & Miret-Gamundi, 2014). Those migrants who have accumulated on-the-job training might not be able to achieve appropriate recognition for this due to de-skilling mechanisms in the labour market (e.g. lack of authorisations, low-status jobs, long working hours, absence of promotion ladders, etc.). The possession of skills *per se* (e.g. language proficiency, host country's credentials and experience) does not guarantee the narrowing of the gap between the foreign and native workforce. An interesting example is the employment outcomes of international students after graduation. International students formally possess several years of residence, language proficiency and university degrees from the destination country; these items predict a smooth occupational integration (Suter & Jandl, 2008). However, I will show in Part III of this dissertation that Peruvian graduates from Swiss HE institutions experience different types of occupational mobility that do not systematically confirm the human capital thesis.

Other scholars have pointed out the structural role of unauthorised foreign workforces in the global economy (Ambrosini, 2015; Portes, 1978; Reyneri, 1998). In the same decade as Chiswick's theoretical advances on socio-economic assimilation, Alejandro Portes proposed that contemporary unauthorised migration happens between two countries that are inserted in the capitalist economy in core and peripheral areas such as the USA and Mexico (Portes, 1978, p. 472). Given that the capitalist economy aims to increase profit, domestic labour scarcity can be offset by finding new sources of low-cost labour. Some industries cannot export their production processes to low-cost labour regions, but they can import low-cost labour to replace or supplement the domestic workforce. Beyond the individual-level analysis, unauthorised migration is useful to the expansion of capitalism. Instead of a human capital deficiency problem, unauthorised migrants provide an essential and particular workforce in the current political and economic trends. They replace the domestic workforce not only quantitatively but also qualitatively.

Citizenship plays a role in creating a cheap and flexible workforce: the absence of legal authorisation reinforces vulnerability vis-à-vis employers and migrants' precariousness (B. Anderson, 2010). Without formal and legal recognition as workers, unauthorised migrants have no access to welfare and/or protection against exploitation. The creation of a cheap and flexible workforce in industries

linked to the receiving society's welfare (e.g. cooking, cleaning and caring) has been analysed in relation to the retreat of the welfare state in Western countries (e.g. the care regime) (Ambrosini, 2015; Simonazzi, 2008). As Portes said: "it is for this reason that the objective interest of firms for which profit depends on a low-wage force is to import immigrants in the most legally tenuous position" (Portes, 1978, p. 475). The structural role played by unauthorised migration in the broader context influences the impact of length of residence and the recognition of pre- and post-migration skills. In this dissertation, I analyse the relations between employment conditions and citizenship and non-citizenship statuses in order to better understand their mutual influence (see Part II)

At another level of analysis, Portes showed in the segmented assimilation theory that co-ethnic relations played an important role in integration. Since then, the thesis of ethnic enclaves, economies or entrepreneurship has been used to understand migrants' occupational mobility. Whereas Portes and his collaborators proposed that strong co-ethnic communities in receiving societies offered an alternative path to downward assimilation in terms of the creation of job opportunities and promotion channels (Eric Fong & Chan, 2010; Portes & Zhou, 1993; Shih, 2006), other scholars have been more sceptical about the positive influence of ethnic employer-employee relations on integration based on other social divisions such as gender, citizenship, generation, etc. (Grzymała-Kazłowska, 2005; Hellermann, 2006; Light, 2007; Moya, 2007; Schrover, van der Leun, & Quispel, 2007; Villares-Varela, 2018). This dissertation contributes to this debate by discussing the occupational mobility outcomes of Peruvian men and women who engage in ethnic business initiatives (see Chapters 6 and 7)

Despite the inconclusive results, the analysis of the role of relations in receiving societies points to another analytical dimension. By the means of these relations, migrants might be channelled to job positions in the secondary labour market regardless of their skills. Against the idea of migration as an individual choice, the relations of migrants in the receiving societies also explain their labour-market participation in combination with capitalism trends. As I discuss in the next section on transnationalism, these relations might offer information, housing and other material help and simultaneously exercise mechanism of control and closure. The ambiguous effects of co-ethnic relations on occupational mobility are analysed in Chapters 7 and 10.

In addition, the impact of citizenship on occupational mobility has yielded valuable insights. Douglas Massey and his collaborators have systematically analysed unauthorised Mexican immigrants to the USA for the last three decades. This research has corroborated the double

disadvantage of unauthorised migrants in the US labour market and the counterproductive effects of border reinforcement and militarisation to contain them (Donato & Massey, 2016; Durand et al., 2016; Massey, 1987; Massey & Riosmena, 2010). On the basis of rational choice, the theory of immigration controls stipulated that the raising of costs for migration would discourage (poor) potential migrants who do not succeed in their visa application (Massey, Durand, & Pren, 2016). However, research has not confirmed this assumption.

Drawing on new economics of labour migration and social capital theory, Massey and his collaborators tested the wage penalty for unauthorised migrants. This framework conceives migration as a decision inserted in the household dynamics to cope with temporary or permanent insufficiency of economic resources: remittances (Massey & Riosmena, 2010). Inspired by social capital theory, Massey developed the theory of cumulative causation to explain the ways in which migrants mobilised not only family relations but also neighbourhood and community relations to reduce the costs of migration (Massey, 1990). In this sense, border enforcement and militarisation can be circumvented by using relations to finance higher costs and reduce higher risks (Massey et al., 2016). Although relations between prospective migrants and those already settled represent an advantage, they also orient the former to precarious segments of the labour market. The first disadvantage of unauthorised migrants thus lies in the lower wages in migrant-dominated employment sectors. The second disadvantage stems from an in-group hierarchy based on citizenship that prevents unauthorised migrants from earning the same wages as their legalised counterparts (Durand et al., 2016). In combination with migrant networks, citizenship influences a so-called entrapment of unauthorised migrants in precarious jobs despite their length of residence or levels of skills (Reyneri, 1998, 2004). Throughout this dissertation, I analyse the citizenship dynamics, occupational mobility and social connections of Peruvian migrants who have experienced unauthorised residency spells.

This research also shows that immigration controls evolve with (un)expected results and have time-sensitive impacts on migrants' occupational mobility (Czaika & de Haas, 2016; Massey et al., 2016). The most important explanation for the rise in unauthorised Mexican migration is the restriction of circulation movements across the borders (Massey et al., 2016). Although most Mexican migration crossed the US border, foreigners from other Latin American countries arrived with tourist visas or temporary work permits and overstayed on both sides of the Atlantic (Connor & Massey, 2010). Furthermore, immigrant controls increasingly stratify the rights assigned to the ongoing proliferation of legal statuses (Goldring & Landolt, 2013a; Meissner, 2017; L. Morris,

2001). In this sense, the unauthorised migration dynamics are not static: there are pathways into and out of this legal category (e.g. regularisation and irregularisation) that display different effects on occupational mobility (Reyneri, 1998). Although there are pathways out of unauthorised legal statuses, scholars have presented evidence for the long-term effects of unauthorised status on the occupational mobility of migrants after their regularisation, and the risk of losing (again) rights abroad (Christensen, 2014; Goldring & Landolt, 2011). Given the dynamics of regularisation and de-regularisation pathways, I analyse their effects on occupational mobility in the Part II of this dissertation.

Research on the socio-economic integration of migrants has emphasised the features of occupational mobility such as distribution into employment sectors and wage gaps. Human capital theory provided the first explanations for success or failure in socio-economic integration. Other theoretical frameworks have complemented the premises (and promises) of skill-based self-selection and progressive accumulation, such as segmented labour markets, cumulative causation, double disadvantages, etc. This valuable research has expanded our knowledge about socio-economic integration. Beyond individual features, the capitalism in receiving societies and co-ethnic relations reinforce the precarious employment conditions for particular groups of foreigners. However, some important questions about the role of citizenship and levels of skills remain and I address these in Chapters 5 – 8, notably in order to disentangle the conflation of low-skilled and unauthorised migration as well as high-skilled migration and successful integration. The analytical separation of unauthorised and authorised migration is no more appropriate than the separation of high- and low-skilled migration, because legal statuses or skill levels are not sufficiently reliable predictors of occupational mobility outcomes. This dissertation thus proposes of study the ways in which immigration controls shape regularisation and de-regularisation pathways that ultimately have an impact on the occupational mobility patterns of highly-skilled and unskilled migrants.

I.1.2.1.2. Intermarriage

Although earlier academic debates about socio-economic integration were mostly gender-blind, the subsequent debates about another important integration measure, intermarriage, put women at the centre. Although the study of migrant women in Migration Studies has been neglected until recently, the analysis of family migration represents a domain where migrant women appeared as "tied movers" of male migrant workers, who arrived to perform a domestic caregiver role (Morokvasic, 1984, 2011). While I address the main features of gender in Migration Studies in the following

section, I present here the ways in which intermarriage, which is predominantly conceived with the presence of a foreign woman, has been interpreted for integration outcomes.

Since the assimilationist approach, intermarriage was conceived as an important indicator for the disappearance of social distance between migrant and non-migrant groups and the premium way to achieve acculturation into mainstream society (Alba & Nee, 1997). Given that marriage frequently happened between socio-economically similar parties (e.g. levels of education), the rates of marriage between dissimilar parties would be a proof of increasing openness of the mainstream society and acculturation of the minority groups. Recently, research on intermarriage has acknowledged two contradictory trends: the decline of marriage rates in Western societies and simultaneously the increasing rates of partnering where the spouses hold different nationality/citizenship (Kofman, 2004; S. Scott & Cartledge, 2009; Song, 2009). Also, the concept of "intermarriage" might overlook forms of partnering that are not formalised as marriage but which include migrant and native partners.

In the light of inflows and outflows, the average age for going abroad coincides with the average age for partnering: between the mid-20s and mid-30s (S. Scott & Cartledge, 2009). Regardless of motivations, migrant populations travel at specific moments in their life courses such as occupational and family transitions. Although the formalisation of partnership by marriage has declined in younger generations, the age of migrants suggests that there is a growing rate of native/migrant partnership formation. Besides the multiplication, there seems to be a diversification in the timing and sequence of events: couples meet during short-term visits abroad, entertain a long-distance relationship and later decide to live together in one of the partners' country, or one moves to a country, subsequently meets the native partner and decides to stay as a result (S. Scott & Cartledge, 2009). Consequently, the quantitative assessment of intermarriage rates is not sufficient to grasp the diversification and dynamics of this phenomenon. In this sense, this dissertation brings a qualitative perspective to this debate, by focusing on the timing and sequences of partnership, marriage and parenthood for Peruvian/Swiss couples and on their influence on citizenship dynamics and occupational mobility.

Qualitative and quantitative research on these forms of partnering has evaluated the effects of native/migrant partnering on integration. Drawing on the individual-based assimilationist approach, scholars have conceptualised the "tied mover" theory to understand the effects on socio-economic integration. The members of the couple calculate the costs and benefits of migration to

maximise the rewards (Adrian Bailey & Boyle, 2004; Halfacree, 2004). The value assigned to the male career thus explains the "sacrifice" of the female spouse for the sake of the family. Consequently, women in heterosexual relations are expected to follow the male partner to his home country as the "trailing wife". On the one hand, scholars have argued that these migrant women benefit from a "fast-track" socio-cultural integration in comparison with other types of migrants. Thanks to the native partner and his networks, these migrant women achieve language proficiency, understanding of the local costumes and insertion into collective activities. Partnering amongst EU citizens with different nationalities has shown that socio-cultural integration positively interacts with socio-economic outcomes such as labour-market participation for these women (S. Scott & Cartledge, 2009). Most migrant women had already mastered the local language, had previously travelled abroad and had exercised professional occupations. In combination with the birth of children, these migrant women envision permanent residency and invest their resources at destination rather than activities back home (S. Scott & Cartledge, 2009). While reinforcing the idea of country of birth and of skill level differences on integration, this research pointed out the presence of high-skilled women in family migration (Kofman & Raghuram, 2005). Contrary to the assumption that migrant women are primarily caregivers, I discuss the implications of studying migrant women with contradting skill levels, inside and outside the domestic sphere, more thoroughly in the Part III of this dissertation.

On the other hand, other scholars have been concerned about the shortcomings of these forms of partnering. The "trailing wife" paradigm displays gender inequality in relation to paid employment and family caregiving at multiple levels (Creese, Dyck, & McLaren, 2008; Donato, Piya, & Jacobs, 2014). It is not only about the assessment of individual potential on the labour market but also the context. At the context level, the gender dimensions of paid employment and family caregiving represent important factors. According to the employment sector, the male-dominant occupations (e.g. engineers) hinder the participation of women professionals due to requirements for round-the-clock availability, constant travelling, long working hours, etc. (Raghuram, 2004b). Female-dominant occupations (e.g. education, social work and care) might present greater difficulties in validating credentials, and offer lower salaries and fewer promotion opportunities (Creese, Dyck, & Tiger Mc Laren, 2011; Iredale, 2005; Liversage, 2009a). The care regimes at destination may also reinforce the division of labour within the couple: for the case of Switzerland, the absence of paternity leave, the expenses and scarcity of childcare services and gender norms have played an important role in the occupational mobility of migrant women (Riaño, Limacher, Aschwanden,

Hirsig, & Wastl-Walter, 2015). Consequently, the traditional model of family roles – male breadwinner/female caregiver – are also reinforced in the destination countries, such as Switzerland. I discuss this idea more thoroughly in Chapters 8 and 9.

However, some neo-assimilationist trends conceptualise groups of women in family migration (e.g. non-EU, Muslim, etc.) as vehicles of patriarchy that jeopardise egalitarian values in Western societies (Kofman et al., 2015). Consequently, socio-cultural integration is not perceived as a positive result but as an alarming failure of these forms of partnering. Using the discourse of promoting so-called Western gender equality values, integration programmes are provided to enforce the selection of foreign spouses based on ethno-national stereotypes and social class in the admission, permanent residence and naturalisation processes, for instance the educational attainment of the foreign spouse and/or the economic resources of the couple (Kofman, 2018; Kofman et al., 2015; Schrover & Moloney, 2013). This selectivity might change the family migration inflows to better educated and more privileged women and reinforce the feminisation of highly-skilled migration (Dumitru & Marfouk, 2015). Whereas a smooth acculturation is supposed to be achieved amongst this group of women, the socio-economic integration of these women is not automatically guaranteed (Bordoloi, 2015; Clerge, Sanchez-Soto, Song, & Luke, 2015). Without the improvement of conditions for women's employment and family caregiving, these integration measures mainly reinforce the (citizenship) inequality between migrant and native spouses. This dissertation helps to identify a paradoxical process: despite the fact that middle-class Peruvian women generally adhere to career-oriented femininities, the combined influence of the Swiss migration and care regimes tends to reinforce their caregiving role in the professional and family spheres (see Chapters 4, 5, and 9).

In contrast with the idea that intermarriage dissolves social distance, the status exchange theory sheds light on the fact that unions between migrant and native partners can be explained by the inequalities between them rather than the growing similarities (Guetto & Azzolini, 2015; Maffioli, Paterno, & Gabrielli, 2014). The meaning of intermarriage has socio-legal connotations that challenge the idea of integration: for many years, female foreign spouses lost their nationality when marrying a male native across European countries (Kraler, 2011; Schrover & Moloney, 2013). The restrictive labour migration legislation for citizens from the Global South seems to be replaced by an increase in family migration inflows from these countries – for instance, several European countries showed a growing rate of family migration after the guest-worker period (Kofman, 2004). Therefore, some groups of native/migrant partnership might formalise the relation more frequently

than in less restrictive migration contexts in order to settle together in the destination country. At the same time, family migration policy aims to distinguish between "real" and "sham" marriages based on the ethno-national markers and gender of foreign spouses: for instance, men are more suspected of being disguised "economic migrants" (Fernandez & Jensen, 2013; Fleischer, 2011). In combination with these measures, stratification in migration regimes reinforces the dependent position of foreign spouses. To understand these inequalities, the status exchange theory proposes that partner selection depends on the resources of each party. For instance, the migrant partner might perceive the socio-legal gains of marrying a native citizen and be open to exchanging his/her resources (e.g. educational attainment or care provision) with low-ranked members of the native population (Guetto & Azzolini, 2015; Lu, 2012). Instead of integration, intermarriages might be characterised by structural inequality within couples. This dissertation discusses the ambiguous influence of mixed marriages - between Peruvian and Swiss citizens – on their economic integration (see Chapter 8 and 7).

Other shortcomings in the conceptual assumption that intermarriage lead to integration stem from theoretical ambiguities. The definition of intermarriage depends on broader contexts: the role of ethno-national markers (nationality and religion), phenotypical features or citizenship inequalities seems to change between receiving societies to characterise this type of partnering (Beck-Gernsheim, 2007). The interaction with integration is not clear: integration might be an outcome of intermarriage or vice versa (Song, 2009). Regarding the dissolution of social divisions, dissimilarity might be at the centre of this type of partnering. As said before, foreign spouses might have higher levels of skills but lower (or no) citizenship resources than the native spouse (Guetto & Azzolini, 2015; Schrover & Moloney, 2013). The socio-cultural divisions might be preserved by exoticisation or prejudices against the foreign spouse within the couple and the native spouse's networks (Fleischer, 2011; Song, 2009). Finally, the socio-economic returns on marriage to a Swiss citizen are highly variable. Due to gender and citizenship inequalities, particular power relations between spouses determine the ease of access to authorisations to reside/work in Switzerland, the distribution of family caregiving responsabilities and labour market participation patterns.

Intermarriage as an indicator of integration has inspired gender-related debates in Migration Studies. Whereas the visibility of women in family migration displays the traditional assignment of women to the domestic sphere in migration theory, research on socio-economic integration also sheds light on the linked lives of native/migrant spouses and the influence of family arrangements on occupational mobility. Furthermore, the quantitively and qualitatively growing importance of family

migration (rather than labour migration) from the Global South has triggered academic debates about ethno-national stereotypes and citizenship inequalities in partnership and family formation in migration experiences. The life-course stages of occupational and family transitions show an important influence on the formation of these couples and the integration of foreign spouses. Yet what happens after the formation of the partnership is less discussed in terms of socio-cultural and economic integration such as parenthood and/or divorce. This dissertation thus questions the role of marriage to a Swiss citizen in relation to economic integration, labour-market participation patterns, particularly after the transition to parenthood and/or divorce, and to attitudes towards the home country. Drawing on the intersectional contribution to integration studies, I focus on the citizenship dynamics and occupational mobility of high- and low-skilled female and male migrants after marriage with a native citizen (see Chapters 4, 7 and 8). To fully understand the ways in which migrants negotiate their daily lives across national borders, I also explore the transnational dimension of these processes (see Chapter 10).

I.1.3. Transnationalism

Transnationalism represents a turning point in Migration Studies. In the mid-1990s, sociologists and anthropologists in the USA started a thought-provoking debate about migrants' relations and feelings in relation to their home country which continues to our day. Against the idea widespread in assimilation theories, the uprooting nature of migration was questioned. Moreover, path-breaking theoretical advances followed, such as the critique of methodological nationalism. After briefly explaining the extent of the transnational framework impact on Migration Studies, I present two important dimensions: the spatial spread of relations and the simultaneous forms of belonging/identification. Both are exemplified in the brief literature review about transnational families and immigrant associations. While discussing the role of ethno-national markers, the interactions between gender and social class enables me to better address the role of transnational social networks and frames of reference in migration experiences (see Part IV). More precisely, I address the time-sensitive dimension of cross-border relations and feelings of belonging in Chapter 10 of this dissertation.

I.1.3.1. A turning point in Migration Studies

> "Finally, locating migrants within transnational social fields makes clear that incorporation in a new state and enduring transnational attachments are not binary opposites (…) Instead, it is more useful to think of the migrant experience as a kind of gauge which, while anchored, pivots between a new

land and a transnational incorporation. Movement and attachment is not linear or sequential but capable of rotating back and forth and changing direction over time. The median point on this gauge is nor full incorporation but rather simultaneity of connection (…) The challenge, then, is to explain the variation in the way that migrants manage that pivot and how host country incorporation and homeland or other transnational ties mutually influence each other" (Levitt & Glick Schiller, 2004, p. 190).

The above quotation summarises the most important elements of the transnational perspective that I address in this section: transnational ties and attachments. It also alludes to the critique of the assimilation/integration thesis, which predominantly analysed the adaptation of migrants to the receiving society and sometimes considered relations and/or identifications with the home country as a menace (Erdal & Oeppen, 2013). Less evident in the quotation but essential to the transnational lens is the criticism of the methodological nationalism and the analytical use of ethno-national markers. In the following paragraphs, I present the academic debates about *trans*nationalism and the ways in which authors have operationalised it. Then I reflect on both dimensions: networks and feelings of belonging.

In the 1990s, USA scholars developed a so-called "transnational perspective" that criticised the analytical focus on migrants' experiences within the borders of the host nation-state. The transnational framework focuses on the ways in which migrants maintain relationships with their home country (Glick Schiller et al., 1995; Portes, Guarnizo, & Landolt, 1999). These authors stressed that migrants could maintain feelings of belonging to their country of origin, without compromising their identification with the language and cultures of their destination country or countries (Erdal & Oeppen, 2013; Grillo, 2007; Tsuda, 2012). These theoretical advances represent a turning point in two senses. In relation to Migration Studies, assimilation/integration theories were questioned. In relation to the broader social sciences, transnationalism represented a clear argument against theoretical and methodological nationalism.

"Methodological nationalism is understood as the assumption that the nation/state/society is the natural social and political form of the modern world in social sciences" (Wimmer & Glick Schiller, 2002, p. 301). From a broader perspective, methodological nationalism includes the fact of ignoring the historical imbrication between nationalism and nation-states, the assumption that nation-states are the natural setting for research and the territorial delimitation of objects of study that coincide with borders of the nation-state (Chernilo, 2006; Wimmer & Glick Schiller, 2002). The emergence and consolidation of the social sciences were highly influenced by this socio-political context. Although transnationalism was not the first attempt at an alternative approach (e.g. Wallerstein's

World System), this framework particularly questions the role of nation-states and the political borders between them based on migration experiences.

In relation to Migration Studies, methodological nationalism is part and parcel of post-war theoretical developments in this field for three reasons. Modern nationalism equates different conceptions of peoplehood that migration seems to defy: the people as a sovereign entity based on democracy, citizenry with equal rights before the law, as a solidarity group and an ethnic community (Wimmer & Glick Schiller, 2002). The understanding of these impasses and their consequences was the main endeavour of the discipline. As said before, the earliest work on assimilation theory was focused on measuring the differences between immigrants and nationals and describing the pathways of incorporation into the mainstream society. Moreover, the study of migration gained disciplinary recognition by documenting cross-border movements since these practices were perceived as exceptional based on the sedentariness rule within nation-states (Cresswell, 2010; Dahinden, 2016; Salazar, 2017). Finally, the conceptualisation of migrants resonated with marginal and liminal positions in terms of ethnicity and citizenship that seemed to naturalise the difference: the migrant Other (Anthias, 2013; Dahinden, 2016; Dumitru, 2015). For all these reasons, methodological nationalism represents a sort of blueprint of Migration Studies developments.

The theoretical and methodological proposals of transnationalism in Migration Studies aimed to break the nation-state container. In contrast with the assimilation approach, adopting a transnational lens implies that migration can no longer be seen as a synonym of "uprootedness" from the home country and that severing the links with the country of origin is by no means a prerequisite for integration into the host country. Consequently, methodological adjustments emerged, such as multi-sited or itinerant fieldwork (Wilding, 2007). In line with the emergence of information and communication technology, the broad span of this theoretical framework has yielded path-breaking results regarding the impact of migration on mobile and non-mobile populations that remain globally interconnected through the circulation of goods, money and ideas. However, some problematic assumptions emerged in the process. Drawing on global studies, some research has emphasised that communication technology was the motor of change into another epoch of humanity. Other scholars have already acknowledged that cross-border relations and belongings do not represent a distinctive marker of our times, and the other geo-political scales continue to play an important role such as the local and the national (Dicken, Kelly, Olds, & Wai-Chung Yeung, 2001; Kosygina, 2016; McIlwaine, 2010; Robertson, 2005).

Another important shortcoming of the transnational lens is the different forms of operationalisation. The emergence of transnationalism happened on both sides of the Atlantic, but these scholars showed different standpoints and methods. In the light of the theoretical ambiance, USA scholars were concerned about the homeland and newland connections, whereas their Europeans counterparts seemed more interested in the idea of transnational ties as a community where migrants are embedded (Levitt & Glick Schiller, 2004). Moreover, a theoretical and methodological division appeared among the USA scholars. Nina Glick Schiller and her collaborators used qualitative methods to advocate an epistemological change that questions the assimilation approach (Dahinden, 2017; Glick Schiller et al., 1995; Levitt & Glick Schiller, 2004). In this sense, the question is to understand the ways and the reasons for the emergence and dissolution of transnationalism according to the structural opportunities and limitations in a multi-scalar context. In contrast, Portes and his collaborators used quantitative methods to test whether transnationalism represented a new social phenomenon that deserved a new theoretical tool (Dahinden, 2017; Portes, 2001; Portes et al., 1999; Portes, Guarnizo, & Landolt, 2017). Instead of questioning assimilation theory, the focus was on testing test the extent of transnational ties and belonging amongst migrant populations and whether it represented an alternative adaptation pathway. Drawing on the segmented assimilation theory, research has concluded that transnationalism was limited amongst migrant populations and faded away in time and over generations. While the former standpoint presented transnationalism as a new perspective, the latter was concerned with the pertinence of transnationalism as an object of study (Dahinden, 2017).

In view of these different standpoints, many scholars considered transnationalism a "catch-all" concept in need of further clarification and operationalisation (Faist, Fauser, & Reisenauer, 2013). Most research has addressed multiple dimensions of transnationalism: political, economic, social and cultural, such as dual citizenship and activism, remittances and development, families and caregiving, and consumerism (Erdal & Oeppen, 2013; Levitt & Glick Schiller, 2004; Portes, 2001; Portes et al., 1999; Tsuda, 2012; Vervotec, 2004). However, two theoretical clarifications are important. The first one shows the distinction made by the transnational lens between ways of being and ways of belonging (Dahinden, 2009; Levitt & Glick Schiller, 2004; Tsuda, 2012). The second is the operationalisation of different levels of analysis from larger processes to degrees of participation (Faist et al., 2013). Both clarifications proposed the conceptualisation of transnational social fields or spaces. The idea of moving the analysis beyond the nation-state did not imply the de-conceptualisation of the social where the individual intersects with the global. Without a

conceptualisation of the social, there is a great risk of overlooking the power relations exercised by the actors within structures and organisations (Levitt & Glick Schiller, 2004). Although their borders do not coincide with national ones, the definition of transnational social fields or spaces considers a set of networks and transactions through which ideas, practices and resources are unequally exchanged, organised and transformed (Faist et al., 2013; Levitt & Glick Schiller, 2004). This medium-range conceptualisation interacts with other levels of analysis, such as transnationalisation, which involves broader processes in various fields, and transnationality, which refers to the degree of connectivity amongst migrant and non-migrant (Faist et al., 2013). The last level also evokes the second theoretical distinction: there is no need for geographical mobility to show a degree of transnationality. Put in other words, there are ways of being in the transnational space that show the actual relations and practices and there are ways of belonging that show the practices that enact an identity that demonstrates a conscious connection to a particular group (Dahinden, 2009; Grillo, 2007; Levitt & Glick Schiller, 2004; Tsuda, 2012). The two dimensions do not necessarily correspond in extent and impact. This dissertation carefully considers the social space in which Peruvian migrants connect with the global by analysing multi-level power relations and subjectivities (see Part IV).

Besides the multidimensional nature of transnationalism, this operationalisation clarifies the roles of transnational ties and belongings. It is not only a matter of the geographical spread of relations but of simultaneity. The qualitative change of the transnational perspective is not about adding other geographical locations to the analysis (e.g. sending countries), but the understanding of the ways in which movements and transactions between migrants and non-migrations across the borders of states mould everyday activities and relationships and are in turn influenced by multiple laws and institutions (Faist et al., 2013; Levitt & Glick Schiller, 2004). Two consequences arise from this standpoint. Transnationalism as a perspective is not opposed to the processes of incorporation in another nation-state. By contrast, the analytical focus is on whether and under what conditions transnational ways of being and belonging exist and disappear (Dahinden, 2009; Levitt & Glick Schiller, 2004). As said before, the operationalisation of the transnational lens is also composed of multiple dimensions that resonate with those of integration. As said before, current trends in Migration Studies propose to analyse the ways in which the relations and compromises in the receiving society articulate with those of the home country (Erdal & Oeppen, 2013; Grzymala-Kazlowska & Phillimore, 2017; Levitt & Glick Schiller, 2004). In this sense, the assumption that migrants are always able to mobilise ethno-national solidarity and identification is highly questioned;

therefore, the building and maintaining of migrants' relations and belongings are the analytical outcome. Therefore, Peruvian migrants' cross-border relations and belongings help to understand their different forms of adaptation to the destination country (see Chapter 13).

Although the understanding of transnationalism as a perspective clearly questioned methodological nationalism and assimilation theories, some research seems to reinforce ethnicity-centred standpoints and naturalise migration-related differences. As said before, assimilation, multiculturalism and integration approaches seem to assume qualitatively and quantitatively the centrality of ethno-national markers to address experiences in migration. There seem to be community- and top-down approaches to understanding ethno-national markers. While criticising methodological nationalism, a slippage of standpoint happened in treating migration as the analytical container. Without recognising the historical influence of the modern nation-state on the emergence of Migration Studies, several state-created categories are used as analytical categories, such as undocumented or illegal migrants. Put in other words, the uncritical opposition of citizens to migrants naturalises migration-related differences and provides ethno-national markers with a renewed analytical strength (Dahinden, 2016). Paradoxically, transnational studies refer to nation-states as the entity that is crossed, and migrant and migration categorisations seem to be still bound to this political construct. While the important role of the nation-state has been widely corroborated in the study of cross-border movements (e.g. migration law and enforcement), the delimitation of the object of study frequently uses nationality as a boundary marker between migrant and non-migrant groups (Dahinden, 2016; Wimmer & Glick Schiller, 2002). This dissertation thus proposes to move beyond ethno-national markers, by focusing on the intersections of ethnicity with gender and class within a national group of migrants.

In addition, the focus on ethno-national markers has tended to downplay other socio-cultural markers (e.g. gender, social class) and to neglect the analysis of daily encounters in local spaces (e.g. newcomers vs. long-settled migrants) (Dahinden, 2013; Wimmer, 2004). Of course, these categories exist and create specific realities and inequalities, but the question is whether and in which settings these categories are relevant, and how they intersect with other categories of difference (see, for exemple, Chapters 10 and 12) (Anthias, 2013; Dahinden, 2016). In addition to a migrant background (or the lack thereof), other categories of difference might explain interactions within the migrant population and between the mobile and non-mobile groups. In combination with an intersectional approach, theories of ethnicity helped to disentangle the role of ethno-national markers in particular settings. Against community- and top-down approaches, theories of boundary processes based on

internal and external categorisations as well as social closure mechanisms enable us to understand the role of ethnicity in relation to other markers of difference (Wimmer, 2004). The questionings focus on the ways in which migrants and non-migrants perceive differences and what strategies of group formation they pursue in a particular setting (e.g. neighbourhood) (Dahinden, 2013; Wimmer, 2004). Drawing on interpretive and social network analysis, the discursive and practical forms of boundary-making are addressed, where ethno-national markers might not be central or depend on other categories such as class, generation, etc. (Dahinden, 2013; Wimmer, 2004). To counteract the naturalisation of migrant-related categories, this dissertation applies an interpretative and network analysis of the transnational ties and belongings of migrants and emphasises intra-group variations by gender and class. I pay particular attention to the dynamics and simultaneity of relations and belongings (see Chapters 11 and 12) and also consider migrants' boundary-making practices (see Chapter 10).

I.1.3.2. Transnational networks: composition and time

Although transnational relations, transactions, ways of being are central to the perspective, research using social network analysis is not widespread in Migration Studies (Herz & Olivier, 2012; Ryan, Erel, & D'Angelo, 2015). On the basis of the few exceptions, it is currently widely accepted that not all migrants entertain similar transnational networks. Drawing on social capital theory, the analysis of social networks amongst migrant populations has focused on the composition of relations. The number and features of relations determine the quality of the (potential) capital. Social capital varies based on the homogeneity or heterogeneity of the network composition. Whereas the former has been qualified as negative, the latter has been qualified as positive (Dahinden, 2009; Ryan, Umut, & D'Angelo, 2015).

In Migration Studies, the analysis of migrants' networks has focused on the nationality and place of residence of contacts (Bolíbar et al., 2015; M. J. Lubbers, Molina, & McCarty, 2007). Following ethno-national markers, this research predominantly identifies ties with the homeland and the host country and conceptualises ties with co-nationals and natives as mutually exclusive. Co-national ties are considered "bonding" and ties with natives are considered "bridging" (Ryan, 2011). Whereas a large number of co-national ties at both locations were presumed to reveal ethnic enclaves and downward mobility, a higher number of local ties with host country members was often considered to be synonymous with successful integration (Domínguez & Watkins, 2003; Molina, Valenzuela-García, Lubbers, García-Macías, & Pampalona, 2015; Patulny, 2015). In Part IV, I present a more

45

detailed discussion of the shortcomings of Migration Studies' approaches to transnational networks. Here, I briefly mention two of the most important shortcomings.

Although the analysis of social networks enables us to focus on relations instead of categories (Dahinden, 2009), the sole focus on composition based on nationality and location seems to reinforce an ethnicity-centred dichotomy of co-nationals vs. natives. Several authors thus advocate a less simplistic assessment of migrants' relations and the analysis of the meaning given by them to these relations (Dahinden, 2009; Patulny, 2015; Ryan & Mulholland, 2015). Instead of an opposition, bonding and bridging represent the extremes of a continuum with positive or negative effects. Given the transnational perspective, the combined analysis of ways of being (e.g. relations) and belonging (e.g. identification) better depicts the embeddedness of migrants in transnational fields. Besides ethno-national markers or cross-border movements, gender and family transitions such as motherhood might yield different network compositions (Ryan, 2007; Ryan & Mulholland, 2013). In addition, migrants' relations are not only circumscribed to the homeland or the new land but are also geographically spread over other locations (Bolíbar et al., 2015; Moret, 2016; Ramos, 2017). This dissertation analyses the impact of life-altering events on the composition of migrants' networks (see Chapters 10 and 11) and the mobilisation of these networks for cross-border mobility (see Chapter 12).

Another shortcoming in social network analysis in Migration Studies is time. While the questioning of the circumstances of the appearance, maintenance and dissolution of transnational ties is central, time-sensitive research is scarce (Ryan & Mulholland, 2015; Waters, 2011). The focus on the structure of relations induces a static approach. However, migrants do not constantly rely on co-national ties or permanently maintain ties back home (Dahinden, 2005; Hellermann, 2006). Furthermore, length of residence does not guarantee the disappearance of co-ethnic ties or the consolidation of relations with natives (Akkaymak, 2016; Bolíbar et al., 2015). Besides the focus on structure and meaning, it is thus important to assess the dynamics of social networks in migration experiences, which I fully address in Part IV of this dissertation.

I.1.3.3. Simultaneity: transnational frames of reference

As said before, simultaneity is a key dimension of the transnational lens. "Here and there" represents the bi-focal nature and simultaneity of transnationalism (Grillo, 2007; Vervotec, 2004). However, several scholars have pointed out that research has predominantly focused on connections with the home country without considering the implications for conditions in the

receiving society (Tsuda, 2012). From the unique focus on the assimilation processes, simultaneous participation and dual engagement still seem overlooked in the transnational lens. The idea of migrants' simultaneous engagement in (at) least two places seems to be understudied. Instead of an additive approach, the aim is to theorise simultaneity in the way that incorporation in the receiving country and cross-border engagement with the sending country are conceptualised as related processes (Faist et al., 2013; Levitt & Glick Schiller, 2004; Tsuda, 2012). The final chapter of this dissertation illustrates the potential results of an analytical endeavour that combines consideration of forms of adaptation at destination with the study of migrants' transnational embedding practices.

While the analysis of social networks helps to understand those processes in relation to ways of being, the simultaneity of ways of belonging seems more problematic. The approach to cultural dimensions in the transnational lens presents particular challenges. Against a rucksack approach to culture, migrants do not transplant their identities, belongings and resources from one country to another; rather, they participate in processes of transformation at multiple scales (U. Erel, 2010; Umut Erel, 2015). The questioning revolves around the ways in which migrants "challenge and transform existing classificatory systems of cultural validation" (U. Erel, 2010, p. 647). In so doing, transnational social spaces also create transnational frames of reference (Fresnoza-Flot & Shinozaki, 2017). Migration brings places together such that cultural expressions and categories of difference (e.g. gender, social class, ethnicity, etc.) are complicated by conceptualisations and practices in another place (Adhikari, 2013; Mahler & Pessar, 2001; Zamora, 2016). However, there is not only a juxtaposition of different understandings but assessments in one society depend on those of the other society (Shinozaki, 2017). Furthermore, the presence of co-ethnic relations might provide a cultural community where alternative conceptualisations and practices emerge (Umut Erel, 2015; P. F. Kelly, 2012; McIlwaine, 2010). The transnational frames of reference thus sheds light on the ways migrants adhere, challenge and transform their identifications and belongings in migration-related settings. Drawing on intersectionality approaches, this dissertation studies the ways in which femininities and masculinities as well as class positionings change in migration-related settings, such as immigrant associations and bi-national couples (See Chapters 6 and 9).

Instead of an object of study, transnationalism represents a theoretical and methodological turn in Migration Studies. Based on the critique of methodological nationalism in general and the ethnicity-centred approaches in Migration Studies, the transnational perspective advocates questioning the simultaneity of forms of being and belonging in migration experiences. In addition, this standpoint also criticises the sedentarism bias that I discuss in the last part about the mobility lens. Here, the

focus is on transnational social fields made up of social networks and degrees of embeddedness as well as the transnational frames of references that transform migrants' ways of belonging. To better understand both processes, I briefly present two topics of study: the transnational family and immigrant associations.

I.1.3.3.1. Transnational family and gender

The development of Migration Studies shows the intersections between research on family migration and the visibility of gender in this field. Consequently, the transnational lens in family migration follows particular forms of visibility and invisibility of gender. Considering gender as a normative concept in relation to the behaviour that is expected of men and women and the power relations that emanate from this process (Schrover & Moloney, 2013, p. 12), Migration Studies shows distinct periods of gender analysis. As said before, the gender-blind period of the assimilation approach only showed the presence of migrant women as "tied movers" and in intermarriages. The emergence of the feminist critique in Migration Studies between the 1980s and 1990s then coincided with the increase in family reunification after the restriction of labour migration policies on both sides of the Atlantic (Boyd, 1989; Morokvasic, 1984, 2011; E. Smith, 1980). At the turn of the century, the growing academic interest in family migration under the transnational lens shed light on the position of (a particular group of) migrant women: the domestic care worker and the migrant mother (Hochschild, 2001; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2001; Salazar Parreñas, 2001). The literature of Global Care Chains (GCC) triggered enriching research about the unequal cross-border connections of family caregiving and employment conditions for migrant women. But scholars have recently questioned the extent of the gender approach in GCC and the subsequent family migration research (Baldassar & Merla, 2014b; Dumitru, 2014; Kofman & Raghuram, 2015). In the following paragraphs, I briefly address the theoretical advances and shortcomings of this perspective that are most relevant to this dissertation (see Part III for a more complete discussion).

After decades of gender-blind approach in Migration Studies, one of the earlier intersections between family migration research and gender discussed the position of migrant women in the "tied movers" analysis and the intermarriage effects on integration. Although women appeared in the literature, men were still assigned to labour migration and women considered as family dependents.

Family migration was perceived as a gender imbalance against women[3]. However, gender did not represent an important analytical element. Research only focused on the economic dimension of the decision-making process while leaving out the broader socio-cultural issues in family migration (Halfacree, 2004; D. P. Smith, 2004). Until the 1990s, family migration did not receive much attention in Migration Studies. A few exceptions questioned this standpoint and addressed the family in terms of social networks and gender roles (Boyd, 1989; E. Smith, 1980). Four reasons explain this situation: the predominance of economic theory (e.g. human capital theory), which mainly measured financial costs and benefits; the individualist standpoint, which analysed the individual's relations with the state; and the economy vs. social dichotomy, which overlooked non-labour-market migration (Kofman, 2004). During this time, Migration Studies showed a limited conceptualisation of family in terms of location (receiving society) and socio-cultural dimensions (power relations and gender). Paradoxically, this theoretical absence coincided with changes in migration inflows from labour migration to family migration due to legislation restrictions (Kraler, Kofman, Kohli, & Schmoll, 2011).

Even though family migration became the first mode of legal entry, the scholarly interest in family migration began after the 1990s and portrays another intersection with the study of gender in migration. The GCC literature shed light on the cross-border organisation of family caregiving: the delegation of care work from women in the Global North to women from the Global South who worked as domestic care workers (Hochschild, 2001; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2001; Salazar Parreñas, 2001). Most of the studies referred to migrant mothers who delegated their own family caregiving to relatives at home, in order to provide paid care for other people's children abroad, often under precarious working and living conditions. These migrant women become the protagonists of the analysis of cross-border practices and subjectivities to maintain family life (Bridget Anderson, 2015; Brites, 2014; Courtis & Pacecca, 2014; Escrivá, 2000; Gavanas, 2013; Gutierrez-Rodriguez, 2014; Moya, 2007; Razavi & Staab, 2010; Rother, 2017; Skornia, 2014). This burgeoning literature provided a timely contribution to understanding intersecting inequalities in the globalised world: gender, social class, citizenship, etc. Beyond the labour market, recent research has pointed out the analytical importance of migration and care regimes for understanding the family life of these migrant women (Ambrosini, 2015; Merla, 2014a; Simonazzi, 2008). The conceptualisation of civic

---

[3] As previously stated, research on integration and/or multiculturalism also depicts these migrant women as problematic.

stratification analysed the growing differentiation within migrant populations based on nationality and legal status, which in turn influences the rights to family reunification and welfare, which yield forms of stratified reproduction (Bonizzoni, 2011; Fresnoza-Flot, 2014b; E. Morris, 2014; L. Morris, 2001; Schweitzer, 2015). Non-access to services, such as health, child or elderly care, and family reunion have an impact on the giving and receiving of family care across borders. Migration Studies thus changed the focus towards these migrant women in their family commitments across borders and their employment conditions at destination.

Although the analysis of migrant women was absent for decades in Migration Studies, the feminisation of the objects of study triggered by GCC seemed limited. As stated by Mirjana Morokvasic, forms of visibilisation of migrant women interact with forms of invisibilisation (Morokvasic, 2011). On the other hand, the GCC approach to family and caregiving in migration also displayed shortcomings.

Understandably, the focus on migrant women at the expense of migrant men represented an attempt to compensate for their prior invisibility. However, this analysis seems to depict the situations of some migrant women in terms of traditional gender scripts such as domesticity and victimhood (Morokvasic, 2011). Other situations of migrant women were invisible in Migration Studies. In the case of care, other scholars have criticised the absence of analysis of high-skilled care occupations also performed by migrant women (e.g. nurses) (Isaksen, 2012; Kofman & Raghuram, 2015; Yeates, 2012). In this sense, the idea of feminisation of migration was questioned. On the one hand, the recognition of a quantitatively and qualitatively new presence of migrant women in this period neglected the historical but invisible place of women in migration inflows (Morokvasic, 2011; Schrover & Moloney, 2013). On the other hand, the premise of the feminisation of migration characterised as the inflows of unskilled, poorly paid domestic care workers not only neglects the migration of high-skilled women in general but also omits the high educational level of these migrant care workers (Dumitru, 2014; Dumitru & Marfouk, 2015). GCC literature seems to assume the absence of skills of migrant women working as domestic care workers abroad, instead of exploring the ways in which their qualifications were not validated in the receiving country. Given the systematic conflation of migrant women with unskilled domestic care workers, scholars have verified statistics to confirm that high-skilled migration is particularly highly feminised (Dumitru & Marfouk, 2015; Isaakyan & Triandafyllidou, 2016). Yet, the recognition of migrant women's skills is problematic in general: female-dominated occupations (health, education and care) show higher formal and informal restrictions than the male-dominated ones (finance, technology, engineering)

in terms of validation of education credentials, mobility rights and employment conditions during migration (Kofman & Raghuram, 2015; Man, 2004; Triandafyllidou & Isaakyan, 2016a). This dissertation contributes to these debates by showing the ways in which the gender-based hierarchy of occupations (SSH vs. STEM) and gender norms (male breadwinner and female caregiver) produce specific citizenship dynamics and occupational mobility for low- and highly-skilled Peruvian men and women (see Pars II and III).

Another form of invisibility in the GCC literature is the place of migrant men in domestic service. Historically and currently, groups of migrant men work in the domestic care sector of receiving societies (Kilkey, 2010; Kilkey, Perrons, & Plomien, 2013; Sarti, 2010; Sarti & Scrinzi, 2010; Scrinzi, 2010). Furthermore, the focus on transnational motherhood neglects the participation of migrant men as spouses and fathers (Adhikari, 2013; Pribilsky, 2004, 2012; Salazar Parreñas, 2008). As much as the omission of plural situations of migrant women, the absence of migrant men in the care sector and the family showed the feminisation of gender in GCC literature and Migration Studies. In other words, the exclusive focus on migrant women does not necessarily represent a satisfactory gender approach in Migration Studies. A broader scope is necessary to address gender in migration by systematically comparing the multiple experiences of migrant women and men, and the transformations of femininities and masculinities in migration (Mahler & Pessar, 2001). Therefore, this dissertation systematically compares the occupational and family conditions of Peruvian men and women.

In relation to family research in Migration Studies, the conceptualisation of these cross-border forms of family caregiving as chains has emphasised the commodification of family care and the one-directionality of these transactions (Baldassar & Merla, 2014a; Kofman & Raghuram, 2015; Yeates, 2011, 2012). It seems that hands-on care follows the south-to-north direction while other forms of care (e.g. remittances) follow the north-to-south direction, permanently placing some as receivers and others as givers. In addition, the debates about GCC seemed to normalise a (Western) family model: only nuclear family members and co-present relations were perceived as adequate, whereas other forms of family life and care were perceived as problematic (Fog Olwig, 2012, 2014). Interestingly, the definition of family in receiving nation-states legislation was also restricted in the 1990-2000 period (Adrian Bailey & Boyle, 2004; Kraler et al., 2011). In contrast to this rather simplistic vision of the migrant family, the transnational lens that I adopt in my analysis proposes a more dynamic and extensive conceptualisation.

The emergence of research inspired by the transnational lens argued that migrant families did not cut off their ties with their homeland, but rather sustained these contacts through the circulation of various forms of care (de Bruine, Hordijk, Tamagno, & Sánchez Arimborgo, 2013; Fouron & Schiller, 2001; Giralt & Bailey, 2010; Wall & Bolzman, 2014). Theoretically, transnational families should be considered a family form where their members must deal with the opportunities and constraints of (at least) two national institutional settings as well as transnational and international contexts (Baldassar & Merla, 2014b). In recent research, the concept of the circulation of care has also expanded the analytical focus of GCC, in order to cover care flows simultaneously and diachronically in multiple directions where all family members (migrant and non-migrant) are givers and receivers according to gender, generation, place of residence, legal status, etc. (Baldassar & Merla, 2014a). This conceptualisation broadens the scope of analysis, to include other relations than the mother-children dyad that was central to the GCC literature, such as grandparents, siblings, etc. I particularly address the plural forms of cross-border family relations, via the study of remittances, in Chapter 11.

Like the GCC literature, research on the transnational family has focused on low-skilled and/or least privileged migrants (Baldassar & Wilding, 2014; Singh & Cabraal, 2014; Varrel, 2011). However, the theoretical advances of transnational family studies can contribute to a better understanding of highly-skilled migration and upper-class migrant families. Given the feminisation of high-skilled migration, social class might play an important role in the circulation of care (e.g. dual-earner couples). Instead of the economist view of human capital theory, the analysis of migrant couple's negotiations considers their embeddedness in transnational family relations. Negotiations about caregiving thus influence the timing and extent of labour-market participation at all levels of skills (Creese et al., 2008, 2011; Dyer, McDowell, & Batnitzky, 2011; Kõu, van Wissen, van Dijk, & Bailey, 2015; Raghuram, 2004b; Ryan & Mulholland, 2013; Schaer, Dahinden, & Toader, 2016a). Furthermore, the analysis of the transnational family involves key transitions in the life course that changes care arrangements and occupational careers: education, employment, partnership, parenthood and ageing parents. Even single male migrants have to cope with family life-cycles and care obligations in relation to occupational choices: unmarried Indian male engineers thus take their family obligations towards elderly parents back home into account when planning the next steps in their international careers (Kirk, Bal, & Janssen, 2017; Varrel, 2011). Consequently, this dissertation combines analysis of occupational mobility with transnational family dynamics for low- and highly-skilled Peruvian migrant men and women (see Chapter 7 and 8).

The transnational lens of family life in migrant population coincided with the diversification of family migration. The emergence of a global marriage market made up of student migration, internet dating and tourist travel led to the growing importance of family-formation migration: bi-national and transnational marriages (Kraler et al., 2011). The former describes the union of a migrant and a native with citizenship and cultural differences. The latter describes the union between a citizen with migrant background and a person from their parent's home country. Both of these forms seem highly stigmatised in family migration policy as sham marriages (Kraler, 2011; Schrover & Moloney, 2013). Although women represent the higher proportion, migrant men have increasingly appeared in family-formation migration (Fernandez & Jensen, 2013; Fleischer, 2011; Kraler et al., 2011). Yet the perception of these unions shows gendered morals where migrant men are considered a risk and women are considered at risk (Schrover & Moloney, 2013). In Chapter 6, I discussed the ways in which legally-inspired categories such as "sham marriage" can prevent Peruvian women from taking on leadership roles in migrant associations.

This dissertation thus systematically compares the experiences of migrant men and women who negotiate family caregiving across borders and employment at destination. Drawing on a life-course approach, questions of family-formation migration and the subsequent labour-market participation patterns of migrants with different levels of skills are addressed (Part III). I also analyse the interactions of family and occupational transitions locally and transnationally.

I.1.3.3.2. Immigrant associations

Another important object of study from a transnational perspective is the political participation of migrants. In contrast with the transnational lens on family migration, the transnational lens on the political participation of migrants has shown opposite developments on the two sides of the Atlantic. In the USA, scholars emphasised homeland ties and the role of the sending states in order to critique the assimilation perspective (Guarnizo, Sanchez, & Roach, 1999; Landolt, Autler, & Baires, 1999). In the EU, scholars have focused on the receiving settings, with for example the political opportunity structure approach in line with a multiculturalist approach (Fennema & Tillie, 1999; Jacobs & Tillie, 2004). Although the debates about immigrant associations were widespread, USA scholars started analysing Home Town Associations (HTA) earlier than their European counterparts (Caglar, 2006). However, recent EU research has expanded the focus of analysis to assess migrants' political participation beyond co-ethnicity in the receiving nation-state, such as homeland politics, mobilisations and the role of gender and social class in political participation

(Alberti, Holgate, & Tapia, 2013; Bridget Anderson, 2010; Margheritis, 2007; McIlwaine & Bermúdez, 2011; Morales & Pilati, 2014; Però & Solomos, 2010).

I.1.3.3.2.1. Differences on the two sides of the Atlantic
In the 1990-2000 decade, the differences between European and USA academia in relation to migrants' political participation correspond to contextual and theoretical features. Besides the quantitative inequality, research on political participation showed qualitative differences on the two sides of the Atlantic.

In the USA, scholars did not consider the receiving state as an important analytical element since they were comparing different national groups. Furthermore, the criticism of the assimilation heritage based on transnationalism triggered the focus on homeland ties. Research focused on the roles of HTAs, remittances, and government and non-government actors (e.g. political parties, churches and NGOs) in sustaining relations between migrants and non-migrants back home (Landolt et al., 1999; Levitt & Lamba-Nieves, 2011; Popkin, 1999; Strunk, 2014). However, some scholars questioned only considering sending and receiving nation-states. In this sense, methodological nationalism expanded to two locations instead of just one, but the analytical circumscription to political borders remained (Caglar, 2006).

In contrast, EU theoretical development about migrants' political activities and engagement shifted to a multicultural framework. In a first phase, it was assumed that migrants' connections to the homeland were not a threat to assimilation but rather a normal situation in view of an imminent return home. Up until the 1980s, research on the political participation of migrants was scarce. In contrast to the idea of migration as a reversible and temporary phenomenon, scholars who belonged to the multicultural/integration framework started to focus more on the political incorporation of migrants in the receiving society. Here, the country of origin as well as the destination nation-state were important variables: research compared one national group in different EU countries or diverse national groups in one host country. In this context, research on migrants' political participation in relation to their home country was not popular (Caglar, 2006). Yet an important approach emerged to address migrants' activities and engagement in the receiving countries since the 1990s: the political opportunity structure (POS).

Drawing on social capital theory, the POS approach assessed the relationship between organisational behaviour and political participation amongst migrant populations in Europe (Fennema & Tillie, 1999; Jacobs & Tillie, 2004). The key element in this approach is the assessment

of the national opportunity structure for political participation (e.g. the integration and citizenship regimes in receiving nation-states) for ethnic capital formation. Scholars measured the influence of the ethnic civic community (i.e. the density and cohesion of networks of ethnic organisations) on broader political participation (e.g. meeting, advocacy and lobbying at neighbourhood or city level, and participation in local elections) (Fennema & Tillie, 1999; Jacobs, Phalet, & Swyngedouw, 2004). The premise is that the amount of ethnic social capital embedded in a social network throughout the involvement of migrants in associations over time will influence the level of political trust and the intensity of political participation (Fennema & Tillie, 1999; Jacobs & Tillie, 2004). So, the degree of ethnic civic community explains the higher or lower political participation of migrant groups in particular receiving nation-states. Although earlier work assumed a causal link between ethnic civic community and political participation, scholars have already questioned the immediate association between voluntary work and the creation of trust and the enhance of political participation (Berger, Galonska, & Koopmans, 2004; Jacobs & Tillie, 2004; Vermeulen, 2005). Although criticisms have emerged, the main trend in the literature was to expand this framework.

The POS has been criticised for its analytical circumscription in the (ethno-national) group level while overlooking the individual elements of ethnic social capital, such as education, gender, language proficiency, citizenship, etc. Together with this shortcoming, other questionings emerged: the unequal distribution of ethnic social capital within groups and the forms of cross-cultural capital in relation to gender and class, such as pan-ethnic or union-trade mobilisations (U. Erel, 2010; Jacobs & Tillie, 2004; McIlwaine & Bermúdez, 2011). Beside the inclusion of the individual level of analysis, other POS scholars have advocated a more complex treatment of the opportunity structure for the formation of ethnic social capital. It is thus important to consider the types of organisations and the activities performed as well as the networks in which the organisations are embedded (Ryan, Umut, et al., 2015). Moreover, the analysis of the opportunity structure should also consider sub-national levels (Jacobs & Tillie, 2004; Manatschal & Stadelmann-Steffen, 2014). However, the criticism of the conceptualisation of a homogeneous receiving context delayed triggering the application of a transnational lens.

Other scholars have developed research on the dynamics of organisational life, that is, the nature and continuity of immigrant associations (Schrover & Vermeulen, 2005). Like the POS approach, the main goal continued to be to assess the settlement processes of migrants where political participation is given an important place. Although the focus was still on the receiving society, the temporal dimension added to the understanding of the functions and evolution of political

participation amongst migrants (Cordero-Guzmán, 2005; Moya, 2005). Immigrant associations have different and evolving functions: offensive (claim making organisation) or defensive (providing protection), and integration-oriented (links with the host society) or ethnic-oriented (ethnic differences) (Cordero-Guzmán, 2005; Moya, 2005; Schrover & Vermeulen, 2005). Common debates that associated the emergence of immigrant associations with particular differences were called into question using historical and diachronic data. To understand the ways in which immigrant associations originate and manage to survive, three dimensions are important: migration processes, the opportunity structure and the features of the immigrant community.

Here the POS is conceived as the extent to which powerful groups, including governments, are vulnerable or receptive to new claims from groups that hold a marginal position in the political system (Schrover & Vermeulen, 2005). Support from the political structure also depends on the gender and legal position of the newcomer: the paradox that women are considered less attached to the national state and, simultaneously, are considered as the bearers of ethnic identity yields an ambiguous presence of migrant women in associations (Schrover & Moloney, 2013; Schrover & Vermeulen, 2005). Results showed that there is not a linear relation between the three factors but rather a bell-shaped interaction: too much or too little competition with the government or other social actors leads to reduced organisation activity, and too small or too large communities experience problems in maintaining organisations (Schrover & Vermeulen, 2005). Interestingly, this type of research was conducted in European countries with a multiculturalist approach to integration, such as the Netherlands, Belgium, Sweden, etc., where the government played an important role in collective ethnic identity formation amongst the migrant population.

I.1.3.3.2.2. Alternatives to POS
Recently, the POS approach seems to have progressively given way to the adoption of a more transnational lens in EU research on the political participation of migrants. Other scholars have begun analysing the role of HTA, homeland politics (e.g. voting from abroad) or pan-ethnic mobilisations of migrant men and women at destination (Bridget Anderson, 2010; Caglar, 2006; Escrivá, Santa Cruz, & Bermúdez, 2010; Margheritis, 2007; Morales & Pilati, 2014; Però & Solomos, 2010). Instead of the bifocality of the USA transnational scholars, these studies consider a broad geographical spread of political ties amongst migrants in relation to their home country (Bermudez, 2010; Morales & Pilati, 2014; Paerregaard, 2008). Another issue is the homogeneous conceptualisation of the receiving and sending settings. Just as the integration framework in relation to receiving countries, some research inspired by the transnational lens also displays a black-box

idea of sending countries. The analysis based on scales thus considers the local levels of analysis to disentangle the uniformity of national territories (Caglar, 2006).

Furthermore, the political participation of migrant women is increasingly being considered in research on immigrant associations (McIlwaine & Bermúdez, 2011; Schrover & Moloney, 2013; Tomlinson, 2010). The links between gender and political participation in migration shed light on another topic: volunteering work, that I thoroughly address in Chapter 6.

In contrast to Migration Studies, the analysis of volunteering work in diverse forms of organisations has addressed the gender dimension of political participation (Hustinx, 2010; Petrzelka, 2006; R. F. Taylor, 2004). Given the gender division of labour, some studies have argued that some women perform a "third shift" since they provide formal and informal unpaid work for clubs, neighbourhoods, communities, etc. (Gerstel, 2000; R. Taylor, 2016; R. F. Taylor, 2005; Windebank, 2008).

In the same vein, the political participation of migrant women (and men) in immigrant associations depends on the organisation of paid and unpaid labour in their daily lives and family cycles (McIlwaine & Bermúdez, 2011). The articulation of paid and unpaid work takes place on many levels: the accumulation of family unpaid work might hinder migrant women's voluntary work, while the performance of voluntary work might enhance (ethnic) employment opportunities (Tomlinson, 2010). Moreover, the recognition given to their voluntary work depends on gender discourses and practices (Ainsworth, Batty, & Burchielli, 2014; Petrzelka, 2006). Gender orders can be challenged or reinforced in immigrant associations (U. Erel, 2010; McIlwaine, 2010). In the light of the stereotype of the white middle-class lady who volunteers in humanitarian associations (R. F. Taylor, 2005), voluntary work (re)creates gender and social class-based distinctions. Consequently, this dissertation proposes to analyse the participation of migrant men and women in immigrant associations in relation to family dynamics and occupational mobility (see Chapter 6). In the light of these co-ethnic networks as sources of transnational frames of references, the focus is on the articulation and recognition of voluntary work along citizenship, gender and class lines.

This review of the emergence of a transnational lens in Migration Studies in general, and in family migration and immigration associations in particular, has enabled me to identify a series of theoretical developments that are key to this dissertation. The simultaneity of the ways of being and belonging evokes relationships and subjectivities across borders. This dissertation uses social network analysis to understand the geographical location and composition of migrant's social

networks, as well as the meanings attached to given relations (see Part IV). In addition, the conceptualisation of transnational frames of references enables me to grasp the interactions of categories of differences on multiple scales (see Chapter 6 and 9). The transnational perspective thus emables me to counteract the ethnic-centred approaches. Social networks and frames of references are contingent on time (see Chapter 10). The transnational lens not only encourages the analysis of processes of adaptation at destination and the connections to the homeland, but also suggests time-sensitive methods for assessing the evolution of these processes. Besides simultaneity, another dimension is bifocality, which means the focus on only two geographical references. In Migration Studies, the focus on the homeland/newland national territories alone represents a risk of methodological nationalism by overemphasizing the importance of (some) national borders. The mobility paradigm provides analytical tools to complexify the socio-spatial approach.

I.1.4. Mobility

In the mid-2000s, another paradigm started to influence the focus of Migration Studies: the so-called mobility turn (Cresswell, 2010; Sheller & Urry, 2006). The main criticism of this paradigm was the normalisation of sedentarism, as well as the tendency for Migration Studies scholars to focus on one-off unidirectional geographical mobility between two nation-states (Glick Schiller & Salazar, 2013; Schapendonk & Steel, 2014). Given that migration is not a linear process of uprooting-movement-regrounding between two locations, adopting a mobility lens improves our understanding of transnationalism and integration. The mobility lens proposes a framework to understand the interrelated periods of immobility and mobility as well as the power differentials in the access to and speed of cross-border movements (Schapendonk & Steel, 2014, pp. 263–264). It also analyses the journeys that change direction and accumulate a series of destinations and are also composed of zones of transit and confinement (Collyer & De Haas, 2012; Jeffery & Murison, 2011). For instance, the mobility lens enables researchers to understand different forms of multi-stepped migration and return migration.

Here, theoretical developments have again varied on each side of the Atlantic. European scholars have emphasised the fact that the legal integration of non-EU migrants (e.g. acquisition of a European passport) does not automatically imply their settlement in that member state. Due to barriers to socio-economic integration in that country (e.g. labour-market discrimination, economic instability) foreign-born EU citizens might decide to re-emigrate to another EU member state by activating transnational connections and free-movement rights instead of choosing to return to

their homeland (Jeffery & Murison, 2011). In the following, I briefly explain the mobility lens and present the links with Migration Studies.

I.1.4.1. The Mobility Lens Paradigm

The mobility lens paradigm emerged from three main criticisms raised against previous approaches: the normalisation of sedentarism, post-national deterritorialisation, and the bipolar and linear conceptualisation of migration (Cresswell, 2010; Glick Schiller & Salazar, 2013; Sheller & Urry, 2006). The first critique questioned the Social Sciences for perceiving stability and place as normal and distance and placelessness as abnormal (Sheller & Urry, 2006). Drawing on the criticism of methodological nationalism, the mobility lens paradigm proposed to avoid the construction of the unit of analysis in line with the idea of the territorial fixity of the nation-state as the container of social processes. The mobility lens paradigm thus aims to understand the wide variety of movements of ideas, objects and people and the immobile infrastructure that organises them on multiple scales. Besides physical movements, mobility involves shared meanings about such movement, as well as the different experienced and embodied practices of mobility (Cresswell, 2010). Some experience the enhancement of multiple and extended connections across long distances by the proliferation of communication tools and technologies. However, these same devices reinforce the immobility of others. Creswell thus proposed six elements to assess the nature of mobility: its motivation, speed, rhythm, routes, subjectivity and frictions (Cresswell, 2010).

As far as motivations and routes are concerned, it was argued that mobility does not necessarily represent freedom (e.g. forced migration) and that immobility is not always undesired (e.g. authorisation for settlement in the host country). This analytical solution does not adhere to the post-national deterritorialisation standpoint and the glamorisation of mobility. Instead of the celebration of the liquidity and fluidity of the contemporary world, this paradigm emphasised the interactions of mobility and immobility. Since the fluidity of some depends on the fixity of others, the processes of deterritorialisation go hand in hand with processes of territorialisation. As Sheller and Urry put it, "these diverse yet intersecting mobilities have many consequences for different peoples and places that are located in the fast and the slow lanes across the globe" (2006, p. 207). The politics of mobility are thus at the centre of the analysis. The complicated relations between mobility and immobility are the result of power relations and ultimately mobility is conceived as a resource that is unequally distributed according to gender, class, ethnicity, etc. (Cresswell, 2010; Glick Schiller & Salazar, 2013).

Given the unequal global-spanning relationships of power, the regimes of mobility approach proposed a more suitable analytical framework: the idea is to explore the relationships between the privileged movements of some and the co-dependent but stigmatised and forbidden movements of others (Glick Schiller & Salazar, 2013, p. 118). Furthermore, the relationships of power in the interconnections of mobility and immobility are shaped by relations of capital production in specific local contexts. Consequently, the analysis of geographical movements goes hand in hand with the analysis of social mobility (e.g. downward and upward) (Glick Schiller & Salazar, 2013). The politics of mobility thus addresses the ways in which mobility and immobility display power differences in terms of access and speed and the ways in which these combinations in turn influence power inequalities locally and transnationally.

Without overlooking the politics of mobility, the aim was to bring together a wide and diverse array of movement - of objects, technology and people - across scales ranging from the body to the globe (Cresswell, 2010). Therefore, another criticism raised by the proponents of the mobility lens paradigm concerns the frequent conceptualisation of migration as moving from one state of fixity to another. An example of this bipolarity is the linear analysis from the country of origin to the country of destination as a one-off relocation following the conventional order of uprooting, movement and re-grounding (Collyer & De Haas, 2012; Jeffery & Murison, 2011; Schapendonk & Steel, 2014). Several scholars have pointed out that migration is made up of intersecting moments of rest and mobility as well as corridors of fast movement and zones of transit (Collyer & De Haas, 2012; Schapendonk & Steel, 2014). Given the positionality in time and space of migrants, their journeys consist of multiple geographical poles and directions of movements. One example of these forms of fragmented migration is secondary or onward migration, discussed in Chapter 12.

I.1.4.1.1. An illustration: onward migration

The topic of onward migration has been addressed by scholars on both sides of the Atlantic. On the one side, the study of multi-staged migration showed the ways in which, because of a lack of resources at the outset, migrants planned a journey made up of a series of destinations until they finally achieved the desired one. The first destination might represent an important step for the accumulation of resources before moving on to the final desired destination (Paul, 2011, 2015). This so-called step-by-step migration sheds light on the hierarchy that informs migrants' projects and the ways in which migrants accumulate socio-economic resources and knowledge in their periods of settlement before reaching the final destination. However, other scholars have focused

on multi-staged migration where migrants do not have a clear idea of their ultimate destination. The case of onward migration within the European region shows some particular features (see Chapter 12).

I.1.4.1.1.1. Multi-staged migration in the EU

In contrast to step-by-step migration, scholars who have analysed so-called onward migration in the EU context clearly evoke issues of integration, transnationalism and citizenship (Jeffery & Murison, 2011). Considering the particular context of free movement in the region, third country nationals who have obtained naturalisation in one member state might activate their mobility rights to re-emigrate to another. One case is naturalised refugees who may not have chosen the first destination and once they have obtained naturalisation re-emigrate to other countries where they have connections or perceive better opportunities (Ahrens, Kelly, & van Liempt, 2014; Liempt, 2011; Lindley & Van Hear, 2007). This type of secondary migration questions two assumptions about integration and transnationalism. The first is that legal integration (e.g. access to citizenship) automatically involves settlement in the host country or facilitates the choice of return migration. In reality, legal integration might be trumped by the limitations to socio-economic integration, such as discrimination in the labour market, leading to underemployment, etc. (Ahrens et al., 2014; Lindley & Van Hear, 2007). Moreover, the idea of return migration as a ready second option for migrants has not been corroborated. Several scholars have pointed out that homecoming patterns are not definitive but circular, and adapt to the integration and the availability of resources back home (Horn, 2017; Jeffery & Murison, 2011; Moret, 2016; Schuster, 2005). The second assumption is linked to transnationalism. Here, transnationalism does not only include one country of origin and one country of settlement; rather, it includes at least three countries where migrants might maintain connections (Moret, 2016). Therefore, this type of mobility sheds light on multipolar forms of networks and subjectivity in the transnational space. This topic in discussed in Chapter 12, particularly in relation to the pendular movements of migrants between Peru and Switzerland.

Another case is labour migrants from Latin America in Europe. Like refugees, they might obtain citizenship in European countries such as Spain, Portugal and Italy due to colonial and/or family ties (Córdova Alcaraz, 2012; Mas Giralt, 2017). In contrast with refugees, these Latin American migrants decided to re-emigrate in relation to one specific event: the 2008 economic downturn (Mas Giralt, 2017; Pereira Esteves et al., 2017; Ramos, 2017). Although they might have envisioned settlement in the first destination, they decided to re-emigrate to other EU members states, such as the UK, in order to provide for their families in Spain or Portugal or start a new migration project

there (Pereira Esteves et al., 2017; Ramos, 2017). The motivation for this secondary form of migration depends on the life-course stage, and shows the diversity of feelings about mobility amongst these populations (e.g. older migrants are more reluctant while younger ones envision more freedom) (Ramos, 2017). Regardless of their citizenship and migration knowledge, some of these migrants to the UK end up performing in the same precarious jobs as at the beginning of their migration project to Spain (Mas Giralt, 2017; Ramos, 2017). Consequently, their onward migration was not planned but highly reactive to the evolving context in receiving societies. In this dissertation, I analyse the multi-staged mobility of Peruvians who first migrated to LAC countries before coming to Europe (see Chapter 12). Although these movements can also be made without any legal authorisation, these forms of secondary migration in the EU context show how migrants enact citizenship strategically.

I.1.4.1.2. Strategic citizenship

The case of the EU sheds light on one particular dimension of the politics of mobility: citizenship. Recently, scholars have argued that the growing acceptance of dual citizenship has produced a shift in the meaning of citizenship, towards something called strategic citizenship (Harpaz, 2018; Harpaz & Mateos, 2018). In other words, persons with non-Western nationalities strategically acquire a second citizenship in order to improve their access to mobility. As said before, studies of migration and legal status shed light on forms of precariousness in migration. Given the plurality of citizenship statuses, we need a dynamic analysis that questions state-defined categories by observing their daily enactments. Instead of a top-down perspective, these studies have re-centred the focus on migrants' tactics and on the various directions of their legal trajectories. By enquiring about multi-staged migration, scholars have found that citizenship might enable migrants to develop mobility patterns that range from frequent homecoming to re-emigration to other destinations (Jeffery & Murison, 2011; Moret, 2016). Higher degrees of legal integration seem to increase cross-border movements and relations in transnational spaces. Migrants might obtain citizenship in locations that are not deemed to be the most appropriate for installation, and they might use this legal document to eventually achieve access to their desired destination. In this dissertation, I analyse the case of Peruvian migrants who obtained Spanish citizenship, before mobilizing the right of free-movement to Switzerland after the 2008 Great Recession (see Chapter 12)

Adopting a mobility lens highlights the ways in which migrants combine periods of immobility and mobility, on the basis of changing conditions and aspirations. It also sheds light on the fact that

migrants may have transited through several previous destinations and may have moved back home on several occasions. Moreover, there is the recognition that migrants' transnational networks and interests are not circumscribed to home/host locations. Given that naturalisation does not necessarily mean permanent residence, the representation of integration is also challenged. Research on these multidirectional and multipolar mobility patterns contributes to broadening the geographical focus of transnational and integration processes. My contribution to this debate is fully addressed in Chapter 13.

This brief literature review on assimilation, transnationalism and mobility frameworks in Migration Studies enables me to present the questions that are at the heart of this dissertation. As shown above, debates in Migration Studies have pointed out some shortcomings: the dichotomies found in conceptualisations of migration that might lead to compartmentalisation of objects of study (high- vs. low-skilled, women vs. men, unauthorised vs. legal migration, etc.), the naturalisation of migrant-related categories (e.g. unauthorised migrants) and the treatment of migration as a linear and bipolar journey. Consequently, this dissertation proposes to address these challenges. Drawing on the idea that integration and transnationalism interact, I focus on the legal, employment and family dimensions of migration to assess the ways in which migrants negotiate their compromises and practices at destination and on a global scale. In the following section, I present in detail the research questions that help me to understand the dual process of integration and transnationalism.

I.2. Research questions

Drawing on this brief review of theoretical advances in Migration Studies, I now present the main analytical endeavours of this thesis. Based on prior debates, the present study contributes to the questioning of dichotomies in gendered migrant experiences. Instead of the compartmentalisation of objects of study, the main goal is to propose an analytical framework for comparing various migration experiences and assessing stratification processes based on gender, class and citizenship status. Without assuming the preponderance of any particular category of difference, I analyse the processes of citizenship diversification, the feminisation of highly-skilled migration, and multi-staged migration and homecoming patterns.

The conclusions of the theoretical debates outlined above yield three main challenges to migration scholars. Evidently, theoretical advances in Migration Studies also shed light on the influence of gender, social class and ethno-national markers on migration experiences. Yet, those factors cannot completely predict the evolution of individual migrant trajectories. Debates in Migration Studies

have distinguished typical situations amongst migrants based on their gender, social class or ethno-national markers. In addition, policy-making institutions and governments have also divided migrant populations and assigned them different rights . Sometimes the two processes of categorisation reinforce each other, particularly when scholars borrow state-defined categories to delimit their topics of study (e.g. legal categories). In this sense, the first challenge is to address the compartmentalisation of research topics, such as the analytical separation of high- and low-skilled migration, as in previous research carried out within an assimilation framework or based on human capital theory. Previous studies have pointed out the emergence of dichotomies in the ways scholars and policy-makers categorise migration experiences that might lead to a compartmentalisation of Migration Studies that hinders the understanding of experiences which do not fit permanently into those categories (Collyer & De Haas, 2012; Crawley & Skleparis, 2017; Ho, 2016; Schrover & Moloney, 2013).

Although already questioned by the transnational lens, the second challenge revolves around the naturalisation of migrant-related differences. Besides the opposition between categories of migrants, scholars and policy-makers sometimes seem to assume outcomes of certain types of migrants based on ethno-national markers and citizenship status: e.g. the association between Western highly-skilled migration, upward socio-economic mobility and frictionless integration, and the association of undocumented migration from the South with precarious employment and ethnic enclosure. However, highly-skilled migrants might also experience legal irregularisation and downward occupational mobility, and unauthorised migrants might achieve legal security and succeed in moving up the socio-occupational ladder (Axelsson, 2016; Christensen, 2014; Parella, Petroff, & Solé, 2013; Raghuram & Kofman, 2004). Instead of linking particular outcomes to a given category of migrants, the focus is on understanding the ways in which migrants' experiences evolve along multiple pathways of integration.

The third challenge is related to the shift in the conceptualisation of migration, from a linear and bipolar approach to a plural and dynamic understanding. Some transnational studies seem to categorise migration as a one-step journey that links two places: origin and destination (Schapendonk & Steel, 2014, p. 262). Yet, the geographical scope of migrants' cross-border movements does not follow one direction, nor are their social networks circumscribed to only two locations. In the light of the mobility lens paradigm, this research aspires to broaden the analytical focus beyond the host/home dyad. This research focuses on the composition and coverage of migrants' transnational networks. For instance, the idea of smooth integration amongst highly-

skilled migrants seems to be explained by their greater contact with host citizens (e.g. at work and in residential neighbourhoods) and their more internationally composed networks, while the problematic integration of unauthorised migrants seems associated with the fixation on co-national contacts at home and destination. However, highly-skilled migrants might show compatriot-dominated ties whereas undocumented migrants might entertain more diverse and extensive networks (Patulny, 2015; Ryan & Mulholland, 2015). Besides skills, other categories of difference interact to shape the composition and geographical coverage of migrants' transnational networks.

In the following section, I explain the ways in which the three main questions of this dissertation aim to answer the above-mentioned challenges to Migration Studies.

I.2.1. Analysis of three processes in migration

The above discussion sheds light on three main challenges in Migration Studies: the compartmentalisation of topics, the naturalisation of migration-related differences, and the linear and bipolar approach to cross-border experiences. The thematic specialisation in Migration Studies provides rich and detailed research findings. However, the resulting compartmentalisation might end up reinforcing certain dichotomies in analytical categories: high- vs. low-skilled migrants, unauthorised vs. legal migrants, homeland vs. destination, permanent vs. temporary settlement. Therefore, this thesis proposes an integrative approach that compares migration experiences that have often been treated separately in previous studies: female and male, low- and high-skilled, unauthorised and naturalised migrants as well as single-step and multi-staged migration.

The goal is to prevent the normalisation of certain migration-related differences that automatically homogenise and oppose particular groups of migrants, and mobile and non-mobile populations. Consequently, this thesis analyses the conditions under which migrant-related labels (e.g. unauthorised, family reunification, etc.) intersect with other categories of differences such as gender, class and citizenship status to explain current migration experiences. It also considers a dynamic and broader geographical scope of cross-border movements and feelings of belonging beyond the home/host dyad.

The general ambition of this thesis emerges from the categorisations found in Migration Studies in relation to gender, skills, ethno-national markers and citizenship status. However, not only scholars and policy-makers participate in categorisation processes: migrant men and women act upon these categories by contesting, using and reinterpreting them. Interactions among migrants, individually

and collectively, also show differentiation and stratification processes based on the above-mentioned categories and others less present in the literature and legislation (e.g. social class, generation, age, etc.). While questioning static, top-down categorisations, this thesis also considers the ways in which migrants adhere to certain categorisations, contest others and create new ones in their daily interactions. In this sense, migrants develop tactics to remain in or attain categories that provide better rights or prestige and to contest other categories that are deemed undesirable.

To do so, this research specifically addresses three issues: the dynamics of citizenship status, the feminisation of highly-skilled migration, and the dynamics of multi-staged journeys.

I.2.1.1. Dynamics of citizenship status

First of all, this thesis aims to contribute to the literature on unauthorised migration by analysing the dynamics of citizenship shifts according to gender and skills. Drawing on non-citizenship and strategic citizenship theories, I compare the legal trajectories of migrant men and women with different levels of skills and analyse the ways in which they handle processes (ir-)regularisation.

The construction of socio-legal categories involves not only top-down imposition from receiving states but also historical processes and daily negotiations between migrants and multiple actors. While the state defines access to the constellations of rights and services, migrants are not passive actors in this process (Chauvin, Garcés-Mascareñas, & Kraler, 2013a; Goldring & Landolt, 2013a; McIlwaine, 2015). Besides addressing control at borders, migrants approach key actors to negotiate not only formal but also substantive access to entitlements (Bloemraad, 2017). For instance, conditionality refers to the ways in which migrants attain formal and informal conditions for settlement and access to services. At destination, they draw on certain normative "frameworks of deservingness" (Chauvin & Garcés-Mascareñas, 2014; Schwenken, 2013; Willen, 2012). They accumulate knowledge regarding administrative procedures, jurisprudence and legislation by means of migrant and non-migrant networks, community services and political participation (Miszczynski, 2013; van Meeteren, Engbersen, & van San, 2009; Willen, 2012). This knowledge enables them to make demands and to exercise (degrees of) substantive citizenship. Unauthorised migrants might thus navigate progressively between various non-citizenship categories, thus becoming less illegal or even eventually achieving naturalisation or dual nationality (Harpaz, 2018; Harpaz & Mateos, 2018). Consequently, there are not only ways of losing legal status, but also tactics for gradually accessing permissions and services. Inspired by several authors, this dissertation focuses on the processes of both phenomenon by using the concepts of irregularisation and regularisation in

analysing migrants' legal trajectories (Ambrosini, 2015; Cvajner & Sciortino, 2010; Düvell, 2011; Reyneri, 1998; Schweitzer, 2014; van Meeteren et al., 2009). Migrant men and women might also mobilise state-defined legal categories to recreate in-group stratification such as a moral hierarchy between unauthorised and naturalised migrants (McIlwaine, 2015; McIlwaine & Bermúdez, 2011). Citizenship dynamics thus influence co-national relations and in turn the inequalities of citizenship status become distinction markers, for example, within migrant associations.

In the light of the migration regimes and daily encounters with key actors, I analyse the gender and class dimensions of deservingness frameworks based on the ways conditionality for residence and services are imposed and negotiated in the Swiss context. I analyse the ways in which migrants mobilise knowledge about deservingness frameworks and develop tactics to cope with legal barriers and accumulate resources (e.g. information, contacts, documents). Although shifts between citizenship statuses have an impact on occupational attainment, employability along gender and class lines is also one of the conditions for attaining (different degrees) of security in the receiving country. The regularisation and irregularisation processes thus interact with the labour market and employment conditions of different groups of migrants.

I.2.1.2. Gendered patterns of occupational mobility

Secondly, this thesis focuses on gendered patterns of occupational mobility in relation to family and legal trajectories. In comparison with male-dominated low- and high-skilled migration, I pay particular attention to the feminisation of highly-skilled migration.

In so doing, this thesis contributes to debates about the specificities of or similarities between high- and low-skilled migration. The main goal is to understand the ways in which skills are obtained and recognised across borders. Besides the (non-)recognition of foreign education credentials, this study addresses the acquisition of university degrees in the host country and the returns on these qualifications, notably in the form of employment outcomes. The recognition of skills also depends on (ir)regularisation processes. Instead of dividing migrant populations based on their education credentials at a given moment in time, this study focuses on migrants' occupational trajectories, including transitions from education to employment as well as pathways into and out of (precarious) jobs, within and across national borders.

Moreover, employment transitions at all levels of skills depend on gendered family trajectories Partnership and parenthood influence migrant men and women differently, and in turn the

accumulation or delegation of caregiving responsibilities has an impact on employment transitions and mediates the return on skills in the labour market. These returns vary by the type of qualification and the labour market segment that migrants can access, but also on the care regimes that provide family models and institutional settings that promote (or not) women's employment in general, and that of migrant women in particular.

The study thus addresses the ways in which processes of occupational (im)mobility through migration depend on the recognition of skills and on the organisation of family caregiving along more or less distinct gender lines.

I.2.1.3. Multi-stage cross-border mobility

This dissertation also addresses the multiple stages and directions of cross-border movements, relations and belongings. The main goal is to assess the geographical scope and directions of migrants' journeys and activities. Instead of unidirectional links between two locations, I analyse network and mobility patterns that include several destinations and different types of social relationships.

Drawing on social network literature, I focus on migrants' transnational ways of being and belonging. On the one hand, I analyse the composition and geographical spread of their social networks. On the other hand, I interpret the meaning given to these relationships, notably in terms of settlement and return aspirations. This analysis thus explores the ways in which integration might depend on the frequency of visits back home and how co-ethnic networks might enable upward occupational mobility at final destination. Drawing on the mobility lens literature, it also focuses on multi-staged journeys, I am particularly interested in exploring how migrants might accumulate resources at a first destination, then seek better opportunities in other countries, or combine regular visits back home with settlement abroad.

Access to networks and different mobility patterns illustrate the extent to which migrants are able to plan their journeys, adapt to evolving host settings and/or deal with biographical transitions. I analyse the timing and purpose of stays abroad and in the homeland, as well as the multiple directions of cross-border activities such as remittances.

I.2.2. Limitations

The aim of this dissertation is to contribute to the three challenges identified in Migration Studies. Nevertheless, this study has some limitations. The first is the risk of ethnicity-centred research or methodological nationalism based on the case study of a single group of migrants of the same national origin. However, the theoretical sampling in this study aims for within-group heterogeneity, such as female and male, low- and high-skilled, unauthorised and legal members of this group. Besides questioning dichotomies, the aim is to understand the mechanisms that are common to migration experiences that are commonly treated separately in the existing literature. Instead of separating topics of study, the idea is to emphasise the potential contribution of Migration Studies to the study of broader social phenomena.

Another limitation is the choice of two main analytical dimensions – family and employment trajectories – to address issues of integration and transnationalism, along with the emphasis on three categories of difference, namely gender, social class and citizenship or legal status. This study does not address issues of religion or racialisation in migration. Yet, the focus on the family and employment trajectories does enable us to contribute to ongoing debates about the interactive and evolving nature of transnationalism and integration.

The analysis of citizenship dynamics, occupational attainment and multidirectional mobility patterns enables us to shed light on integration processes and on transnationalism. Instead of assuming that integration is somehow opposed to transnationalism, this study contributes to understanding them simultaneously (Erdal & Oeppen, 2013; Grzymala-Kazlowska & Phillimore, 2017). The analytical focus on legal, family and employment trajectories thus recognises the time-dependent and multi-layered nature of these integration and transnationalism as dynamic and evolving processes. The combination of life-course and social network methodologies aims to do justice to the time-sensitive complexities of migration experiences, even within a single national group living in the same destination country at the time of study.

Part I - Chapter 2

Migration and gender regimes in the Swiss and Peruvian contexts

Introduction

To understand the role of global contexts, national and sub-national settings in the experiences of migrant men and women, this chapter provides a description of migration and gender regimes in Switzerland and Peru. The focus on the two types of regimes provides valuable information for analysis of the family and occupational trajectories and networks of Peruvian men and women in Switzerland. Regimes (of any kind) evoke "a set of principles, norms and rules, and decision-making procedures around which actors' expectations converge in a given issue" (Boucher & Gest, 2014, p. 183). The analysis of regimes addresses a plurality of actors: the state, the market, the family and the non-profit sector, and the interaction between the political, economic and cultural dimensions of societal contexts (Esping-Andersen, 1990). Migration regimes refers to the interaction between admission, settlement and naturalisation processes, as well as the dynamic categorisations of migrants, as family member, student, worker or undocumented migrant (FitzGerald, Cook-Martín, García, & Arar, 2017; Schrover & Moloney, 2013). Care regimes refers to the provision, rights, obligations, funding and access to routes to care (Merla, 2014b; Simonazzi, 2008) in different national or regional settings. Differentiation processes in migration regimes have short- and long-term consequences for the global experiences of migrants, whilst care regimes in home and host countries impact their family and employment trajectories. The presentation of the two regimes thus aims to help us to better understand the stratification of migrant populations along gender, class and ethno-national lines.

In the following section, I discuss debates surrounding the definition of migration regimes before presenting the main features of the Swiss migration regime and of Peruvian migration generally, then more particularly to Switzerland. In the next section, I discuss the definition of gender and care regimes, before describing the main features of Peruvian and Swiss gender and care regimes. Finally, I explain the ways in which these contextual features inform my analysis of Peruvian family and occupational trajectories and networks in Switzerland.

I.2.1. Migration regimes

This section seeks to discuss the impact of global, national and sub-national contexts in relation to migration. Drawing on the theoretical debates around migration regimes, I present the main features of three processes: admission, settlement and naturalisation in Switzerland. These processes illustrate the interaction of economic, legal, political and cultural dimensions of transnational migration patterns. The evolving dynamics of migrant categorisation shed light on the diversification and stratification of this population along gender, class and ethno-national lines. Finally, I describe the main features of Peruvian migration in general and in relation to the Swiss migration regime in particular.

I.2.1.1. Multiple actors and public policy issues

The concept of regime evokes the arrangements of multiple actors in policy-making, implementation and outcomes, and the processes of stratification that go along with this. The notion of "welfare regime" is one of the most frequent uses of this concept. Thanks to the pioneering work of Gosta Esping-Andersen (1990), the analysis of the historical processes of de-commodification and de-familialisation sheds light on the different arrangements across European societies between the state, the market and families to provide support to dependent persons. Following a wave of feminist outcry in reaction to his initial typology of social protection or "welfare regimes" (Lewis, 1992), instead of assuming that the state (through public policy) was the only provider of welfare, Esping-Andersen later (1999) emphasised the interactions between multiple actors and the multidimensional nature of welfare policy and the issues addressed. The historical analysis of actors' struggles also showed the dynamic nature of stratification processes in relation to rights and access to welfare. Despite criticisms of the "welfare regime" typology (Franzoni, 2008), this analytical framework has inspired several scholars in Migration Studies, who aim to compare the complex interactions at play between different institutional actors in relation to the admission, settlement and naturalisation of migrant groups, in order to grasp the nature of relations between nationals and the immigrant Other, as well as within migrant populations.

I.2.1.1.1. Definitions and debates

Although migration scholars have embarked on the production of various migration regime typologies, the definition of this analytical tool is not always consistent in the literature. Unlike prior concepts such as migration systems (Fawcett, 1989), the notion of "migration regimes" commonly

addresses the ways in which "states differ in their patterns of immigration policies and their outcomes, conditioned by historical legacies, situated norms, institutional constraints, popular will, the character of sending states, and situated economic forces" (Boucher & Gest, 2014, p. 184). Besides comparing receiving states, the notion of migration regimes provides insights into different stages of the migration process, notably including admission, settlement and naturalisation, but rarely addressing issues like onward migration. In addition, this analytical tool highlights the gap between government immigration policy and actual migration outcomes. Consequently, the study of "migration regimes" represents a flourishing field for analytical comparisons in Migration Studies.

The study of migration regimes commonly distinguishes immigration policies from so-called "incorporation policies" (FitzGerald et al., 2017). The former involves laws and regulations that control the volume and composition of inflows and admittance of (precise groups of) immigrants, while the latter involve policies that are designed to facilitate settlement in the host society. Also, the analysis of naturalisation addresses the ways in which states test whether foreigners who seek to become members of the host nation have demonstrated "sufficient integration" since their arrival (e.g. years of residence, competence in national languages, practical knowledge of the "national culture") (FitzGerald et al., 2017; Peters, Vink, & Schmeets, 2016). This section distinguishes between incorporation policies and integration. The term "integration" is also used by scholars and policy-makers to refer to the migration stage after admission. However, this term is only used in this section when it appears in policy documents, and the concept of incorporation policies, as said before, addresses the policies in relation to migrants' settlement.

Typologies of migration systems or regimes have yielded heterogeneous results. On the one hand, existing typologies of immigration policies tend to distinguish between English-speaking settler states (United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand) and Northern European states that maintain post-colonial links and/or guest-worker programmes to the sending countries, and former sending states of Southern Europe that have more recently become immigrant-receiving countries (Spain, Italy, Portugal) (Boucher & Gest, 2014, p. 186). Recently, typologies of immigration controls have addressed the effects of travel visa policies on the dynamics of immigration and emigration (Czaika & de Haas, 2016) as well as the distribution of skilled and unskilled migrant labour (Boucher & Gest, 2014). On the other hand, typologies based on the analysis of incorporation policies tend to distinguish between those states that integrate former members of multi-ethnic empires from those receiving states that focus on ethnic dimensions (e.g. culture and language), those states that adopt

a republican model linked to laws and those states with a so-called "multicultural" model of incorporation (Boucher & Gest, 2014, p. 187; Huddleston et al., 2011). In addition, other typologies assess the different degrees of welfare services amongst migrant populations in receiving countries (Bonizzoni, 2011; Huschke, 2014). Thus, typologies of migration regimes tend to treat the different stages of the migration experience separately rather than addressing the interactions of all stages of the migration experience over a migrant's life-course.

Although these migration regime typologies provide valuable information for understanding admission, settlement and naturalisation conditions, scholars have pointed out some shortcomings. These include the unclear indicators to measure policy measures (laws and informal or formal rules) and their outcomes. Commonly, the variables of interest are the size of immigration intake, the composition of such migration patterns, the visa categories for immigration, the temporary/permanent divide, and the rights accrued following settlement (Boucher & Gest, 2014, pp. 189–190). Furthermore, several scholars have pointed out the nexus between immigration and incorporation and the analytical advantages of considering them together. For instance, while admission policies have included legal selection of "assimilable" migrants and/or some measure of their "integration potential" (FitzGerald et al., 2017), these features of incorporation policies might attract and repel (particular) immigration flows (Hercog & van de Laar, 2016; A. M. Paul, 2011). Instead of a one-dimensional approach, the characterisation of migration regimes benefits from an analysis of admission processes alongside settlement and naturalisation stages.

The analysis of migration regimes also addresses policy gaps. Policies represent a heterogeneous set of potentially incoherent and contradictory laws, measures and regulations that target (specific groups of) migrants differently (Czaika & de Haas, 2016). There are differences between policy discourses, policies on paper, policy implementation and policy impacts that yield three types of gaps: discursive, implementation and efficacy. For instance, the discursive gap refers to the fact that policies on paper are often more nuanced than the policy discourses of politicians. The implementation and efficacy gaps refer to the fact that policy effectiveness is commonly assessed by the policy discourses – instead of policy implementation – that lead to an overestimation of failures (Czaika & de Haas, 2016, p. 4). Migration regimes also involve processes that yield heterogeneous, unequal and contradictory outcomes, as well as unexpected influences of non-migration realms of policies. Based on political and economic contexts, restricting the entry of asylum seekers and low-skilled workers may co-exist with more liberal attitudes towards highly-skilled migrant workers (Hercog, 2017). In this context, family reunification and unauthorised

migration represent alternative pathways into a given country, which should be analysed in relation to care regimes (e.g. limitations of unpaid and paid care provision) (Ambrosini, 2015; Blinder & Jeannet, 2014; Lu, 2012). Consequently, the characterisation of migration regimes displays not only formal but also informal arrangements and outcomes

I.2.1.1.2. Tensions between migration policies, implementation and outcomes

Drawing on the idea that migration regimes do not represent a coherent and static set of formal rules, scholars have focused on migrant categorisation processes in order to grasp the potential tensions between policy discourse, implementation and outcomes (Crawley & Skleparis, 2017; Schrover & Moloney, 2013). Migration regimes include the categorisation of migrants and the differential allocation of rights and desirability of each of these categories. The state uses the formal categorisations of migrant populations as a tool of governance, through which groups are constituted as problems in need of a policy response (Schrover & Moloney, 2013, p. 10). Categorisations are constantly renewed with the intention of excluding and denying rights or including and granting rights. Although the state is the main authority involved in categorising migrants, other actors such as employers, the media or informal pressure groups also influence these dynamics (Schrover & Moloney, 2013). In these struggles and arrangements, relatively arbitrary categories are established and these in turn influence the differential allocation of rights and the arguments for claiming them. Consequently, migration regimes display the different ways in which the most common categories such as refugees or asylum seekers, labour migrants and family migrants are delineated, mobilised and contested by a range of actors.

Although proposing a hierarchical system, migration regimes do not convey fixed and mutually exclusive categories. For instance, the legal categories of asylum, family reunification, labour migration, etc. do not describe migrants' experiences perfectly and permanently, due to their evolving motivations and personal situations. Although the presentation of migrant categories as univocal facilitates governability, several scholars have pointed out the shortcomings of "categorical fetishism" in Migration Studies (Collyer & De Haas, 2012; Crawley & Skleparis, 2017). This refers to the tendency of academics to adopt unquestioningly the categorisations commonly used by policy-makers, politicians and journalists. Using state-defined categories to delineate subjects of study tends to reinforce dichotomies such as asylum vs. labour migration, and to produce a mismatch between the reality of mobile people and the tools used to analyse their experiences

(Crawley & Skleparis, 2017). The analysis of migration regimes would benefit from analysing all migrant categories in relation to each other, instead of looking at each one in isolation.

When analysing the most common migrant categories, it is also important to acknowledge that they are not empty vessels into which people can be placed neutrally. In the categorisation processes, the homogenisation and simplification of migration experiences are highly political mechanisms, so these categories are constantly subject to changes and struggle. In this sense, some scholars have recommended studying the processes through which these categories evolve. As stated by Schrover and Moloney: "categories of migrants are like communicating vessels […] migrants change categories […] when one route closes, another may open, and the bureaucrats who decide on entry or residence might allocate them to different categories…" (2013, p. 10). Consequently, the characterisation of migration regimes addresses the time-dependent and political processes of the categorisation of migrants and migrant groups.

Another line of thought on migrant categorisation demonstrates how the analytical categories of gender, class and ethnicity play an important role in shaping migrant experiences. Several scholars have pointed out that the ability to move between categories of asylum, labour and family migration is different for men and women, and that ideas about gender along with class and ethnicity shape debates around these categories of migration in the media and political discourse (FitzGerald et al., 2017; Mascini & Bochove, 2009; Ruffer, 2011; Schrover & Moloney, 2013). Besides their distinct numerical presence in migration flows, scholars have stressed the tendency for migrant men to be classed as "risks" and for migrant women to be seen as a group "at risk" (Schrover & Moloney, 2013). In addition, ethno-national markers such as religion or country of birth affect these representations historically. The relevance of the analytical categories of gender, class and ethnicity is not the same in all contexts or at all times. For instance, assessments of the assimilation potential of migrants no longer rely on inherited, immutable biological features, as was the case in 19th-century America. Rather, contemporary European countries seem to emphasise the individual features of achievement, such as human capital, to assess assimilability (FitzGerald et al., 2017). Although ethnic selection is still important, the basis for ethnic selectivity has undoubtedly shifted from "race" to cultural traits. Consequently, migration regimes are also embedded in specific historical moments as well as gender, class and ethnicity orders.

I.2.1.1.3. Migrants and migration regimes: passive actors?

Another angle of the migration regimes debates suggests that migrants are not only actors who comply passively with the requirements of a given set of legally defined opportunities and constraints. For this reason, some scholars advocate adopting a bottom-up rather a top-down perspective for understanding admission, settlement and naturalisation processes (Bloemraad, 2017; Chauvin & Garcés-Mascareñas, 2014; Goldring & Landolt, 2013a; Harpaz & Mateos, 2018; McIlwaine, 2015; Schwenken, 2013). Drawing on the premise that migration regimes are not necessarily imposed on migrants from above, these scholars shed light on the ways in which migrants deal with state-defined categories and the (absence of) authorisations for travel, employment, family life, welfare, political participation, etc. Collectively and individually, migrants mobilise their resources to engage in categorisation struggles and requests for rights in the receiving countries. Although migrants are identified as non-citizens, several scholars have pointed out that the understanding of citizenship is inherently linked to non-citizenship processes and experiences, and that a formal perspective based on laws and constitutions is insufficient to grasp citizens and non-citizens' experiences (Goldring & Landolt, 2013a). It would be highly naïve to assume that all citizens exercise rights and access services equally. In the same sense, non-citizens might informally negotiate access to services in their daily encounters with public servants or other institutional actors.

Drawing on transnational networks, migrants might mobilise their "legal consciousness" about universal rights to defy the restrictive legal frameworks they encounter in receiving countries (Schwenken, 2013), or use the available definitions of "deserving migrants" to achieve regularisation (Chauvin, Garcés-Mascareñas, & Kraler, 2013b; Goldring & Landolt, 2013a). Instead of assuming a dichotomy, citizenship and non-citizenship represent the two ends of a continuum where migrants develop tactics to shift between legal categories and to gain rights progressively. Furthermore, the growing acceptance of dual nationality demonstrates changing dynamics of citizenship: citizens from the Global South increasingly use ancestry or naturalisation to claim nationality from a Global North country to enhance mobility rights (e.g. visa-free travel). This conceptualisation of strategic citizenship challenges the territorial rootedness of nationality (Harpaz & Mateos, 2018). Although naturalisation processes do not guarantee equal treatment between migrant-origin citizens and non-migrant citizens (Reiter, 2012), scholars have also pointed out that migrants might use their multiple nationalities strategically (Joppke, 2018). Naturalisation in one EU country might be part of a larger mobility project that does not involve settling in the receiving country where the passport was issued

(Lindley & Van Hear, 2007). Consequently, the characterisation of migration regimes also involves recognising the tactics that migrant men and women adopt to cope with the limitations and opportunities they encounter within receiving states.

In presenting the debates about migration regimes, the previous section showed the dynamic and multidimensional features of struggles and arrangements around this public issue between plural and unequal actors. The following presentation of the Swiss migration regime intends to provide an idea of the context within which Peruvian migrant men and women experience migration. Migration regimes influence the occupational and family trajectories of migrants along gender, class and ethnic lines. Several scholars have pointed out that immigration controls and naturalisation requirements have long-lasting effects on migrants' occupational careers abroad (B. Anderson, 2010; Goldring & Landolt, 2011). Moreover, different legal pathways into admission and settlement have an impact on migrants' obligations and capacity to perform family caregiving locally and transnationally. They also tend to advantage better-off migrants who had previously had access to higher education in their home countries, while providing unequal recognition to members of different occupational groups, such as care workers and engineers (Kofman & Raghuram, 2015; Mezzadra & Neilson, 2013). Moreover, the legal conditions for admission and settlement might limit the options of non-EU citizens for work migration but other routes arise such as family reunification or unauthorised migration. All categories of immigration imply gender-based obligations and rights in relation to employment and family caregiving. The following characterisation of the Swiss migration regime thus emphasises these elements: historical measurements of assimilability, requirements for different types of admission, settlement and citizenship, (ir-)regularisation pathways, and features of the current migrant population.

I.2.1.2. The Swiss migration regime

This section seeks to describe the Swiss migration regime in relation to the employment and family trajectories of migrant populations. After describing Switzerland's general features in this respect, I present historical features of migration policy-making and immigrant waves since the middle of the 20th century. The following discussion addresses the three dimensions of admission, settlement and naturalisation. While presenting the formal requirements and public opinion about migrant flows, for work, study or family reunification, I discuss the ways in which migrants are able to shift from one category to another. In addition, this migration regime includes different mechanisms of regularisation that illustrate the interstices of dichotomies such as short-term/permanent and

78

unauthorised/authorised migration. Finally, I focus on the processes of naturalisation in Switzerland that co-exist with situations of double-nationality Swiss citizens from abroad: Swiss citizens born elsewhere, non-citizens born in Switzerland and EU citizens with similar-to-Swiss-citizens' rights based on the Free Movement of People Agreement (FMPA).

I.2.1.2.1. Policy background and outcomes in migration to Switzerland

The Swiss migration regime has been classified elsewhere under different categories such as a guest-worker or rotation system or post-World War two (WWII) immigration country and has traditionally received a low score for incorporation policies in international comparisons (Boucher & Gest, 2014; Huddleston et al., 2011). The Swiss migration regime shares historical periods of immigration waves and policy-making with other European countries from the seasonal-worker programme and the current skills-based selectivity trends. However, the Swiss regime also has distinctive features, such as a multi-lingual society (four national languages), strong federalism and direct democracy (e.g. popular referendums) that complicate the policy processes and the arrangements between the state, labour-market actors, political parties and civil society (Afonso, 2013; Manatschal, 2015; Wichmann et al., 2011). Since the cantons and municipalities are responsible for the implementation and management of federal laws, these sub-national levels play an important role in policy-making, implementation and outcomes. Besides the historical trends in the European region, Swiss migration policies show the interactions between the role of federal laws and referendums for policy-making, and the sub-national differences in implementation.

The dynamics of the Swiss migration regime can be presented in three distinctive periods of immigration and incorporation policies, political and economic contexts, waves of immigration and the socio-cultural constructions of the immigrant Other. Ruedin, Alberti and D'Amato (2015, p. 6) have proposed a categorisation in three distinct periods, stretching between 1848 and the present day: the liberal period, the restrictive period and the expanding period. Economic trends and socio-political contexts have influenced the historical evolution of three legal instruments: federal laws, decrees and referendums. Furthermore, ethno-national markers in combination with gender have created different representations of the immigrant Other in these periods (C. Fischer & Dahinden, 2016).

I.2.1.2.1.1. Liberal period (1848-1921)

The first period is characterised by the signature of free-movement agreements with 21 European countries and the dominant role of cantonal authorities in relation to immigration policy (Piguet, 2013). For instance, European foreigners and Swiss citizens had practically the same rights, except voting rights, and the former could access naturalisation after two years of residence. The economic context was favourable to the recruitment of semi-skilled and unskilled foreign workers due to the industrialisation processes. Most of the foreigners came from neighbouring countries: Germany, Italy, France and Austria. In this period, the representations of the immigrant Other followed traditional gender representations where the migrant workforce was expected to be unskilled and male and where migrant women only appeared as homemakers. Those migrant women who worked as domestic servants or in agriculture remained largely invisible in public debates (C. Fischer & Dahinden, 2016).

I.2.1.2.1.2. Restricting inflows and settlement (1921-1974)

Following this liberal period, the aftermath of the two world wars led to a restriction of immigration inflows to Switzerland. During this second period, foreigners were prevented from settling and gaining Swiss nationality, notably through the promotion of a temporary residence for work status (Piguet, 2013). This period also saw the introduction of a three-level decision process (municipal, cantonal and federal) in relation to migration policy. With the Federal Act on Swiss Citizenship in 1952, naturalisation processes depended on decisions being taken at all three levels of the political spectrum and required a preliminary twelve years of residence. Another example of this restrictive stance is the Federal Act on Foreign Nationals (FNA), introduced in 1931, where residence and work authorisations were integrated into three categories of permit: seasonal (nine months non-renewable = permit A), yearly (twelve-months, renewable = permit B) and settlement (permit C). In this period, half of the foreign workforce arrived with a seasonal permit (Plewa, 2013). Seasonal workers could not change employer and the renewal depended on the availability of work contracts. Access to rights depended on longer lengths of residence: four years for family reunification and transformation to a permit B, and ten years for settlement permits.

In this context, the so-called first wave of immigration was characterised by the arrival of Italian and Spanish men working in agricultural, construction and tourism, and their female counterparts working in domestic service and the textile and food industries. Seasonal recruitment and housing separated migrant men and women and largely mirrored the gender segregation of the Swiss labour

market. Migrant women become visible in the 1960s' public debates about family reunification for seasonal workers, but they were portrayed as burdens for the Swiss welfare system or as guardians of the home (C. Fischer & Dahinden, 2016). It is important to note that Swiss women were also largely excluded from the public sphere and political participation: they had to wait until 1971 to win the right to vote at a federal level.

In the meantime, the political context showed a growing negative perception of foreigners. "*Überfremdung*" illustrates the fear of foreign overpopulation mobilised by civil society organisations and nationalist political parties that yielded three referendums against immigration. Instead of concerns about economic and trade cycles, this concept emphasised the cultural aspects of the Swiss national identity that were deemed to be endangered by the influx of certain migrant groups. Gender become an important signifier of cultural difference: migrant men (Italians) were portrayed as dangerous womanisers, preying on Swiss women and girls, and migrant women were depicted as responsible for the rapid growth of the migrant population due to their "careless" reproductive practices (C. Fischer & Dahinden, 2016).

At the end of this period, a new alliance between the federal government, cantonal authorities and business led to the adoption of a quota system, and the abrogation of the seasonal-worker system in 1970.

I.2.1.2.1.3. Expanding migration policies and regulation (1974 to the present day)

The third period (1974 to the present day) is characterised by the expansion of migration policy due to the growing coverage of domains and the politicisation of this issue in the public sphere. Besides this political context, the economic trends associated with the oil crisis of the early 1970s and higher unemployment rates in the 1990s, and the new arrangement with business representatives, in favour of the recruitment of highly-skilled foreign workers in finance, science and technology. In this context, the so-called second wave of immigration was largely made up of Portuguese nationals and citizens of the former Yugoslavia. These groups were diversified with the arrival of citizens from Latin America, Africa and Asia. Although this period led to the adoption of more encompassing policies, these regulations failed to guarantee social, economic and political rights for immigrant populations, especially for non-EU citizens.

On the one hand, the explicit aim was to achieve policy uniformity and to improve regulation by addressing all aspects of immigration (Ruedin et al., 2015). On the other hand, the suspicion of

immigrant populations mobilised ideas of "cultural distance". During this period, the international community also became an important actor, and the Swiss government dealt with the influence of international legal frameworks and the EU community. This socio-political trend influenced policy-making and implementation in the form of a three-circle model for admission, adopted in 1998. Drawing on ethno-national markers, this model proposed the preferential admission of citizens from the European Union (EU[4]) and the European Free Trade Association (EFTA[5]), the admission of citizens from rich countries – the United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand – and the prohibition of migrants from other countries, with the notable exception of highly-skilled workers. After the adoption of the FMPA agreement with the EU, this model was replaced in 2008 by the Federal Act on Foreign Nationals (FNA): both legal mechanisms distinguish and stratify the admission and settlement authorisations between EU/EFTA[6] and non-EU citizens.

The liberalisation of the movement of EU citizens to Switzerland not only restricted the admission and settlement of third country nationals, but also reinforced cultural-based arguments against their admission. Although the idea of "cultural distance" conflates cultural (dis)similarities with geographical distance, "*Überfremdung*" moved from populist initiatives to policy-making in this period (C. Fischer & Dahinden, 2016). From an explicit non-integration policy in the previous periods, the design and implementation of "integration" policies that targeted third country nationals became apparent in this third period. Once again, public debate focused on family reunification measures, highlighting the risks of forced, arranged and/or sham marriages (C. Fischer & Dahinden, 2016). The promotion and measurement of "integration" was explicitly aimed at the spouses of non-EU migrants, who had to sign "integration agreements" with cantonal authorities as a condition for admission and settlement.

At the turn of the 21st century, gender representations of the immigrant Other became widely popular. In line with post 9/11 stigmatisation of Muslims in Europe, the Swiss People's Party (SPP) mobilised gendered images to promote referendums against migrant groups, depicting male criminals and veiled women. These images mirrored a wider instrumentalisation of gender equality

---

[4] Countries of the EU in 1995: Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Denmark, Ireland, United Kingdom, Greece, Portugal, Spain, Austria, Finland and Sweden.

[5] Countries of the EFTA: Iceland, Liechtenstein, Norway and Switzerland.

[6] For simplicity, in the rest of this document the abbreviation EU also includes EFTA countries. In 2018, Switzerland recognizes the following countries as member states of the EU: Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Chypre, Croatia (restrictions for work), France, Germany, Italy, Luxembourg, Estonia, Finland, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malte, Netherlands, Denmark, Ireland, United Kingdom, Greece, Portugal, Poland, Czech Republic, Rumania, Spain, Slovenia and Sweden.

discourse, whereby male chauvinism and female subordination came to be portrayed as cultural traits that distinguished (particular groups of) foreigners from Swiss nationals (C. Fischer & Dahinden, 2016). While gender discrimination is associated with the immigrant Other, the disadvantaged position of Swiss women remains invisible in public debate.

After briefly presenting the evolution of the Swiss migration regime, we need to stress the hierarchy between EU and non-EU citizens in terms of admission and settlement. Another important feature is "integration potential" based on gendered ethno-national markers. Besides immigrants' nationality, the implementation of these policies depends on sub-national settings (cantons and municipalities), as well as local languages and rural/urban divide. Beyond legal distinctions, immigrants fare differently in Swiss society in terms of legal, economic and political incorporation according to a wide range of unequal situations and regional particularities. To understand these features, I next present the current situation of the non-EU foreign population in relation to EU migrants.

I.2.1.2.2. Admission, settlement and naturalisation in Switzerland

To understand the role of ethno-national markers and sub-national contexts, this section illustrates the inequalities in immigration and incorporation policies for EU and non-EU nationals in Switzerland. While presenting these differences, I discuss the role of the cantons and municipalities. Switzerland possesses an executive federalism that delegates the implementation of policies and laws to the sub-national authorities (Wichmann et al., 2011). These authorities enjoy different degrees of autonomy in relation to different migration stages: larger for settlement, naturalisation and "integration" policies than for admission stages.

I.2.1.2.2.1. Admission

The admission stage separates the EU and non-EU migrant populations. In admission for work, the former group enjoys free circulation for job-hunting and employment while the latter group is admitted subject to proving the needs of the Swiss economy and the individual skills of the immigrant: the "essential employment clause". Moreover, the definition of skills seems restricted to "rare" expertise in the technology, finance and scientific sectors, and potential employers must file the request for authorisation by proving the unavailability of Swiss or EU candidates. In addition, the entrance of EU citizens has no quota system while the admission of non-EU citizens has a quota for short-term permits (permit L for less than 12 months) and long-

term permits B (more than 12 months and renewable). The quotas are defined on a yearly basis and are larger for short-term permits than long-term ones: 4,000 for permit L and 2,500 for permit B in 2016 (State Secretary for Migration, 2017, p. 14). Short-term permits are predominantly allocated to non-EU citizens.

The role of the cantonal and municipal authorities in the admission process is not as important as in the settlement and naturalisation processes (Wichmann et al., 2011). Although the decision on admission is a three-level process, the admission of non-EU population depends predominantly on the prior examination of the (labour-market) authorities at the federal level, for example the announcement of each quota. While EU citizens receive a five-year work permit, non-EU citizens receive a year-long permit renewable under the condition of continuity of the employment relations (see Table 1). If non-EU citizens want to change employer or canton/municipality, another authorisation procedure must be filed.

These legal mechanisms have an impact on the migration inflows to Switzerland. There is a minority of non-EU citizens admitted as workers, while EU citizens represent the majority of immigrants. In 2016, 43% of the total inflow were EU citizens exercising their right to work in Switzerland whereas only 3.6% of non-EU citizens were admitted for employment purposes (State Secretary for Migration, 2017, p. 8). Most of these EU citizens were Germans, Italians, French and Portuguese, who represented 15%, 16%, 6% and 13% respectively of the permanent foreign population, whereas 28% of this population came from non-European countries (State Secretary for Migration, 2017, p. 4). In the same year, the foreign workforce worked in the hospitality sector (hotel and restaurants), hi-tech industries, and the health and personal services sectors (State Secretary for Migration, 2017). In this sense, the Swiss labour market shows a sandwich-like distribution of foreigners at the upper and lower levels of the socio-economic hierarchy (Aratnam, 2012).

Besides EU citizens, who benefit from free circulation authorisations, family reunification is the second most important source of immigration inflows. In 2016, it represented 31.3% of new arrivals (State Secretary for Migration, 2017, p. 8). In contrast with EU citizens, immigrants from non-EU countries show higher rates of family-related admissions than employment-related admissions (Kristensen, 2017, p. 10). From 2011 to 2015, family reunification was the most common administrative reason for entry amongst African, American and Asian citizens: 37.4%, 58% and 34% respectively (NCCR ON THE MOVE, 2017a). Only 51% of United States citizens arrived

through family reunification procedures, whereas this was the case for 71% of Brazilian citizens (NCCR ON THE MOVE, 2017a). It seems that the family reunification admission is more widespread amongst South Americans than North Americans.

Table 1. Swiss permit system for EU and non-EU citizens for education, work, family and settlement

	EU/EFTA citizens[7]	Non-EU citizens	"Cas de rigueur" Hardship cases
Training / Study	Permit L/B Sufficient financial resources + admission to higher education. Access to employment during and after training.	Visa according to nationality: Sufficient financial resources[8] + admission to higher education. Permit B for 1 year. Renewable by proving student status, good grades + financial resources. Permit L for 6 months after graduation for job-hunting.	Permit B for apprenticeship after compulsory education if 5 years of school in Switzerland, employers' request 1 year before graduation + identity disclosure.
Work	Right to stay 3 months without a permit + additional 3 months of permit L for job-hunting. Permit B for 5 years with a job contract of at least 12 hours / week.	Employer request. Employer must prove there is not a Swiss or EU citizen available + quotas + "specialised skills". Permit L if job contract less than 12 months Permit B for one year if job contract more than 12 months. Renewable by proving (same) employment contract.	Permit B for one year if "successful integration", financial autonomy, long-term stay in Switzerland + identity disclosure. Renewable by proving "successful integration".
Family	Permit B for 5 years: spouses, children (up to age 21) and parents.	Within the first 5 years of stay, permit B for spouse and children (up to age 18) by proving financial autonomy + appropriate housing. Permit B for 1 year Renewable unless divorce.	
Settlement	5 years of permit B → settlement permit C	10 years of permit B → settlement permit C unless legal issues, social assistance or legal convictions Exceptions: 5 year of permit B → settlement permit C If USA or Canadian citizens If "successful integration" If married to a Swiss citizen Automatically given to children aged 0 to 11 eleven years old with a Swiss parent	10 years of permit B → settlement permit C unless legal issues, social assistance or convictions.

---

[7] Except for Rumanian, Bulgarian and Croatian citizens.
[8] Non-EU foreign students have access to student permits by proving the availability of private savings ($20,000 for each year of study) or institutional financial aid.

Source: Author's own elaboration based on (Morlok et al., 2015; The Federal Council, 2005).

Although family reunification is not subject to annual quotas, admission depends on the main applicant's nationality and type of permit (see Table 1). Although the main criteria are financial autonomy and adequate housing, EU citizens can reunify with parents, spouses and children whereas Swiss and non-EU citizens can only reunify with spouses and children. The deadlines and age requirement for children also are less strict for EU citizens (see Table 1). In addition, the permit of those who arrived as family members depends on the main applicant's legal and economic situation for renewal. In this sense, it represents a dependent legal pathway to admission and settlement.

These legal mechanisms interact with changing family-formation patterns in Switzerland. Marriages between two Swiss citizens have declined from almost 70% in 1943-1979 to less than 50% in 1994-2013, whereas marriages involving at least one foreign spouse have doubled (Mosimann, 2016, p. 8). In 2016, only 48% of marriages were composed of two Swiss citizens, 36% were bi-national marriages of a Swiss citizens and a foreign spouse and 16% of marriages were of two foreign nationals (SFSO, 2017j). Amongst Swiss/foreign marriages, 54% involve a Swiss man and a foreign woman (SFSO, 2017j). In view of the dependent legal status of the foreign spouse for admission and renewal, some authors have pointed out the negative gender effects of these administrative procedures (Gafner & Schmidlin, 2007; Riaño, 2011; Riaño & Baghdadi, 2007b). Since the main condition for admission and renewal is to fulfil the family purpose of residence, these foreign spouses – who are predominantly non-EU migrant women – are more likely to be full-time family carers than to be employed in the host country.

The third highest rate of admission concerned 11% of immigration flows in 2016 and included migrants who came to train or study in Switzerland (State Secretary for Migration, 2017, p. 8). This type of admission is not subject to quotas, but there are distinctions based on nationality. In total, 7.5% of citizens from European countries between 2011-2015 were admitted as students, as compared with 34%, 18% and 11% of citizens from Asia, America and Africa respectively (NCCR ON THE MOVE, 2017a). Although the formal requirements are the same for EU and non-EU citizens (i.e. proof of acceptance in a Swiss Higher Education (HE) institution and sufficient financial resources), the admission process for non-EU citizens is actually longer and more expensive. The main barriers are the acquisition of travel visas, the recognition of foreign degrees and the high administrative fees (Guissé & Bolzman, 2015). In Switzerland, the renewal of the

student permit is also harder for this population due to long waiting periods and the requirement of receiving good grades, with sufficient economic resources (Guissé & Bolzman, 2015). Given that non-EU citizens have restrictions on their right to work, many of them struggle to combine employment with their studies. Up until 2011, non-EU students had to leave Switzerland after earning a degree. Currently, they can request a short-term permit L for six months for the purpose of job-hunting (Riaño, Lombard, & Piguet, 2017).

These administrative mechanisms have an impact on the foreign student population in Switzerland. Since the 1990s, the percentage of foreign students has increased from 10% to 17% in 2013, most of whom are Master's and PhD students (P. Fischer & Gerhard Ortega, 2015, p. 6). Although admission as students is higher for non-EU citizens than their EU counterparts, citizens from neighbouring countries such as Austria, Germany, France and Italy represented the majority of the foreign student population in 2012/2013 (P. Fischer & Gerhard Ortega, 2015). Only 27% of the foreign student population came from non-EU countries, and they represent the group of foreign students who declared most difficulties with housing and finances (P. Fischer & Gerhard Ortega, 2015). Interestingly, the gender gap amongst international students is slightly in favour of women (51% in 2013) (P. Fischer & Gerhard Ortega, 2015, p. 18). In addition, the distribution of foreign students amongst fields of study showed that the majority enrolled in technical subjects and economics, with a smaller group enrolled in medical and pharmaceutical sciences (P. Fischer & Gerhard Ortega, 2015).

The discussion of the admission process in the Swiss migration regime shows the differentiation and stratification of inflows based on nationality between EU and non-EU citizens. Most of the foreign population in Switzerland comes from EU countries: neighbouring countries, Portugal and Spain predominantly, and other countries in Europe like former Yugoslavia and Turkey show the highest numbers (SFSO, 2017i). However, in 2016, a remaining 3.7% of the total foreign population come from the American continent (SFSO, 2017i). The EU citizens exercise their right of free circulation for employment purposes predominantly, whereas non-EU citizens are admitted for family reunification and training purposes. Admission processes are also unequal due to longer and more expensive procedures and a greater quota of short-term permits for non-EU citizens. Renewal of permits is highly restrictive: non-EU citizens are discouraged from changing employer or residence and from bringing their family members to Switzerland. In addition, the yearly renewal of permits requires the collection of adequate proof of status and the stress of long waiting periods

for an answer.[9] Non-EU spouses are also legally and socially dependent on the main applicant: these legal and administrative procedures seem to assign them to the family sphere rather than the labour market. Non-EU students also seem to struggle with requirements and conditions of their legal status before and after their arrival in Switzerland.

After presenting the admission stages, the next section discusses the settlement processes where sub-national authorities have a more important role in decisions as well as the outcomes in terms of employment and family situations based on nationality.

I.2.1.2.2.2. Settlement and "integration"

The Swiss migration regime has a settlement permit (C) that grants economic and social rights equal to those of Swiss citizens. In contrast to other permits, the legal settlement is unconditional and of unlimited duration. This settlement permit offers other rights: political participation at sub-national levels (usually after several years' residence), inter-cantonal mobility and the unconditional right to family reunification (spouse and children aged under 18) (Kurt, 2017). Besides years of residence, the acquisition of this permit depends on immigrants' "integration". Although this concept is mentioned in the 2008 Federal Act on Foreign Nationals (FNA) and in other legal texts, there is no clear definition of what it entails. In this sense, sub-national authorities have considerable room for manoeuvre (Wichmann et al., 2011). Cantons and municipalities are in charge of the measurement of "integration" (Kurt, 2017; Wichmann et al., 2011). In contrast with the admission stage, settlement conditions are thus highly variable from one canton to another. Although the acquisition of a permit C does not formally depend on nationality, these sub-national authorities seem to make a distinction between EU and non-EU citizens at the point of signature of "integration agreements". Furthermore, the incorporation outcomes of the foreign population show differences based on nationality and gender in the labour market and family life.

The transition to legal settlement represents the division between the non-permanent and permanent foreign populations, for example the difference between fixed-term residence authorisations (e.g. permits L and B) and long-term residence authorisation (e.g. permit C). For 2015, the Swiss migration regime show a higher share of permanent foreign population (62%) than non-permanent foreign population (33%), and the permanent foreign population predominantly

---

[9] Immigrants without a valid residence permit who are waiting a renewal must pay 100CHF for a visa to travel abroad and be able to return to Switzerland again.

comes from neighbouring countries (Kristensen, 2017, p. 15). Given the role of sub-national settings in the decision for settlement, the distribution of foreigners in the 26 Swiss cantons is important. Most EU citizens from Portugal, Italy and Spain congregate in the French- and Italian-speaking cantons, whereas most EU citizens from Germany and Austria as well as citizens from Eastern European countries such as Serbia, Kosovo, Turkey and Macedonia tend to congregate in the German-speaking cantons (Kristensen, 2017, p. 16).

Despite its vague definition, "integration" is an important criterion for legal settlement. Formally, the 2008 FNA describes three dimensions of "integration": respect for laws and public order, participation in the national economy and competence in one of the national languages. However, the measurement of "integration" shows great variability. Besides the nationality of the applicant, the role of sub-national authorities is important in migrants' transitions to legal settlement based on "successful integration".

There are different ways of transforming a fixed-term resident permit into a settlement permit. Commonly, the settlement permit might be available after 10 years of residence, subject to proof of financial independence and proficiency in one national language (Wichmann et al., 2011). Besides the absence of a criminal record, the means of proving financial independence may vary considerably: from proof of employment contracts and pay slips to an employer's guarantee of permanent employment and documents that show no social benefit has been allocated to the applicant in the last five years (Kurt, 2017). The length can also be reduced to five years according to nationality (e.g. Canada and USA) and/or "successful integration" of the candidate (Kurt, 2017). Each cantonal and municipal authority has its own criteria for assessing "integration": for instance, cantons may differ in the minimum language requirements (Common European Framework of Reference for Languages) from A1 in the federal law to B1 in Glaris and Zurich (Kurt, 2017). To assess "integration", some cantons ask for family-related documents, such as school reports, childcare arrangements (e.g. Luzern) and signed commitments to the continuity of the marriage (Kurt, 2017). This transition is a right for EU-28/EFTA citizens and foreign spouses of Swiss citizens after five years of residence (Kurt, 2017), but is only a possibility for non-EU immigrants. Consequently, the nationality of the candidate and the way this is interpreted by sub-national authorities have an important influence on access to settlement.

These legal procedures influence the timing of legal settlement for foreigners in Switzerland. The evolution of the legal status of the migrant population that arrived in 1998 showed that, after four

years of residence, 60% of this population held a permit B and 12% of this group held a permit C, but after five years the proportion of permit B holders dropped to 27% and those with permit C went up to 36% (NCCR ON THE MOVE, 2017e). After 11 years of residence, 40% of this population had obtained legal settlement (permit C) (NCCR ON THE MOVE, 2017e). Since the proportion of permit C holders doubled in the fifth year of settlement, the assessment of "successful integration" by the cantonal and municipal authorities seems to be vital here.

Cantonal and municipal authorities oversee the promotion and assessment of "integration" (Kurt, 2017). On the one hand, they design and implement "integration" policies that affect all foreigners. There are integration centres and coordination offices that manage the directives, programmes and databases. Most of the programmes involve language classes and training for employment. On the other hand, these authorities use one mechanism that only affects non-EU citizens: the "integration agreement". Some groups of migrants have to sign an "integration agreement" to renew their permits and achieve settlement – non-EU women in family reunification, and those with an "integration deficit", such as reliance on social benefits (Wichmann et al., 2011). As will be explained in the next section, the degree of urbanisation, the linguistic region and the composition of the foreign population in cantons influence these conceptions of "integration" and citizenship.

Scholars have thus pointed out the ways in which cantons and municipalities in combination with perceptions about nationalities shape decisions about the settlement of foreigners. The measurements of "integration" also show a class bias. Besides the argument of the "cultural distance" of non-EU citizens, proficiency in one Swiss national language is stricter for "migrants" than it is for "expats" (Yeung, 2016). Native English-speakers are rarely required to learn any national language since English is valued as a sign of internationalisation, and German-speaking foreigners are usually considered to be integrated (regardless of the frequent use of the Swiss-German dialect in daily interactions). In contrast, despite their proficiency in one national language, French-speaking Africans are not automatically considered well integrated. In combination with perceptions of ethno-national markers, the assessment of "integration" seems also to depend on the applicant's social class and level of skills.

Besides the legal and administrative mechanisms for legal settlement, this stage in the migration process also involves incorporation outcomes. Employment and family life are commonly addressed to understand immigrants' incorporation into the host society. Unemployment rates are higher for foreigners in general: 8% for foreigners in comparison with 3% for the non-migrant

population in 2015, except for German citizens, who show a rate equal to Swiss citizens. Furthermore, in 2015, the unemployment rate went up to 15% for non-EU citizens (Kristensen, 2017, pp. 29–30). Labour-market segregation based on nationality not only has implications for unemployment rates but also affects employment conditions.

Interestingly, foreigners in Switzerland are more qualified than Swiss nationals. In 2017, 35% of foreigners had achieved a university degree, as against 25% of Swiss citizens (SFSO, 2018). Despite the popularity of vocational education and training (VET), Switzerland is one of the OECD countries that show a high percentage of highly-skilled migration and a positive net brain gain in relation to the qualifications of the domestic population (Docquier & Marfouk, 2002)

As previously mentioned, the immigrant population occupies a sandwich-like position on the Swiss labour market: foreign workers are located at the top and bottom of the socio-occupational hierarchy. However, the distribution at both extremes depends on nationality. In the 2010-2014 period, 22% of managers and 28% of workers in elementary occupations were foreigners born in EU countries, whereas 6% and 29% were non-EU foreigners (NCCR ON THE MOVE, 2017f). Thus, while EU citizens are located at the top and the bottom of the hierarchy, non-EU citizens seem concentrated solely at the bottom. A closer look shows a more fine-grained stratification based on nationality. In 2015, EU citizens surpassed even Swiss citizens in the managerial and professional occupations, whereas Swiss citizens were concentrated in the intermediate professions. Amongst non-EU citizens, those from outside Europe surpassed other nationalities in personal services and sales occupations while those from European countries were concentrated in elementary occupations (Kristensen, 2017, p. 32). However, both groups of foreigners increasingly have tertiary-education levels. For the 2011-2015 period, 41% of citizens from non-OECD countries of the American continent (i.e. South America), had a tertiary-level education on arrival in Switzerland (NCCR ON THE MOVE, 2017d). This rate had almost doubled from the 28% observed in 1990-1999. The rate amongst EU countries also follow this trend , with an increase from 34% between 1990 and 1999 to 53% in the period 2011-2014 (NCCR ON THE MOVE, 2017d). Whereas the greater presence of EU citizens in the upper segments of the Swiss labour market might be explained by the higher proportion of high-skilled inflows, the low rate of non-EU citizens in those segments is at odds with the high-skilled nature of these inflows.

Overqualification frequently affects migrant populations along gender lines. In Switzerland in 2001-2015, 52% of these highly-qualified inflows were women (NCCR ON THE MOVE, 2017d).

However, migrant women show higher rates of overqualification than their male counterparts. For 2015, almost 25% of migrant women with tertiary-level education were overqualified for their current jobs, as against 16% of their male counterparts (Kristensen, 2017, p. 33). Given that the national average is almost 15%, this indicates a stronger influence of gender than nationality. Overqualification might also be linked to distribution across occupations: scholars have pointed out that the recognition of tertiary-education degrees is harder in female-dominated occupations, such as education, health and social work than in male-dominated ones such as science, technology and engineering (Kofman & Raghuram, 2015; Seminario & Le Feuvre, 2017). Although Switzerland suffers from labour shortages in health and engineering occupations (SECO, 2016), public discourses about high-skilled inflows seem to favour (male) engineers, rather than (female) nurses (Hercog, 2017). More detailed information about these female and high-skilled inflows would help to understand the mechanisms of migrant women's overqualification in Switzerland.

The available information about distribution across occupations shows that gender-based segregation is more important than the migrant/non-migrant divide. For 2016, the gender segregation of the labour market showed slight differences based on migration background. Independently of their background, men were concentrated in the professions (non-migrant: 45% and migrant: 40%) and craft occupations (non-migrant: 18% and migrant: 20%), whereas women were concentrated in the professions (non-migrant: 45% and migrant: 41%) and service/sales occupations (non-migrant: 21% and migrant: 26%) (SFSO, 2017c). However, migrant women were more likely to be in elementary occupations than their male counterparts and those without migrant background (SFSO, 2017c). Although gender segregation seems stronger than the migrant/non-migrant division, there is no available information about gender and nationality in each type of occupation, for instance whether non-EU women from Europe, Africa, Asian and Latin America are found at the top or the bottom of the occupational hierarchy.

Besides overqualification, migrant women seem to be particularly at risk of precarious employment conditions. In general, 30% of migrant women, as against 19% of Swiss women earn less than the Swiss median wage (Kristensen, 2017, p. 34). Migrant women are particularly subject to low wages. For 2014, the group of occupations in services and sales shows a higher rate of migrant people with low wages (SFSO, 2017m). Unsurprisingly, the highest rate of migrant people with low wages was found in the elementary occupations (SFSO, 2017m). Nationality seems to play an important role in wage levels: 13% of Swiss nationals are in this earnings category, as compared with 35% of those from countries outside Europe (Kristensen, 2017, p. 35). In addition, migrant women and those

from countries outside Europe worked more frequently in jobs with irregular schedules (e.g. overnight shifts, Sunday and on-call) (Kristensen, 2017, pp. 36–37)

Interestingly, the family situation of migrant women reveals some unexpected results. Although gender-based labour-market segregation affects all women in Switzerland, the situation of migrant and non-migrant mothers is rather different. Since discussion of family-employment arrangements is central to characterisation of the Swiss care regime, I only present here the labour-market participation patterns of mothers and fathers along the migrant/non-migrant divide. For 2014, migrant and non-migrant fathers show the same high rate of full-time employment (87%) whereas migrant mothers show a higher rate of full-time employment than their Swiss counterparts: 24%, as against 11% (SFSO, 2017o). It seems that part-time employment is more widespread amongst Swiss mothers (74%), whereas non-employment is more widespread amongst migrant mothers (27%) (SFSO, 2017o). One hypothesis for the higher full-time occupation rates amongst migrant women /mothers might be the share of those with tertiary-education levels. However, another explanation might revolve around the importance of the male breadwinner and female caregiver gender role model in Switzerland (Giraud & Lucas, 2009; Giudici & Gauthier, 2009). Again, information about migrant women's occupation rates according to nationality would help us to clarify the exact nature of the migrant/non-migrant divide.

In combination with the rise in bi-national marriages and marriages between foreigners, the composition of households in Switzerland has changed over time. Between 2011 and 2013, 27% of all households were composed of people with a migration background and 12% with mixed origin (migrant and non-migrant). Although information about transnational family relations is not available for the Swiss migrant populations, recent statistics have shown a high proportion of family members who come from another country and/or have migrant background. The family life conditions of migrants affect a big proportion of households . In 2011-2013, 55% of the youngest children (aged up to 6 years) in Switzerland belonged to mixed or migrant households (SFSO, 2017k). Households with migrant members seem to be responsible for raising the next generation in Switzerland. Consequently, rights and access to social services for migrant populations are fundamental. Surprisingly, mixed and migrant households show higher rates of institutional childcare than non-migrant households: 48%, 47% and 29% respectively in 2013 (SFSO, 2017b). By contrast, 42% of non-migrant households used non-institutional childcare, of which 40% was in the form of unpaid childcare, whereas migrant and mixed households show lower rates of unpaid childcare: 25% and 38% respectively (SFSO, 2017b). The gender distribution of domestic and

family tasks showed that EU male citizens spent a couple more hours a week on household tasks than their Swiss counterparts – 19 hours against 17 hours, on average – whereas EU female citizens spent more than their Swiss counterparts: 32 hours against 28 hours (SFSO, 2014a). Citizens from countries outside Europe followed the same unequal distribution between men and women: 16 and 31 hours respectively (SFSO, 2014a). The unequal distribution of childcare and domestic tasks in Switzerland thus follows gender and nationality lines.

In the light of these employment and family patterns, the situation of the migrant population in Switzerland clearly varies according to gender and nationality. The role of the foreign workforce in the labour market is still important, and the proportion of migrants in Swiss households is far from negligible. However, migrant groups show different employment patterns, usually along the EU/non-EU divide. Despite the feminisation of high-skilled inflows, migrant women are overqualified for the precarious jobs they tend to occupy. In contrast with their Swiss counterparts, they show higher rates of employment, particularly full-time, after motherhood, and they make more frequent use of institutional childcare facilities. Nevertheless, the distribution of domestic and family tasks shows traditional gender patterns, with men spending less time than women regardless of nationality.

After revising the settlement processes and incorporation outcomes, the following section discusses a potential stage in the migration experience: naturalisation.

I.2.1.2.2.3. Naturalisation

Naturalisation[10] is probably the phase of migration over which the cantonal authorities in Switzerland maintain the highest level of autonomy and control (Loretan & Wanner, 2017). Each canton has its own decrees about the criteria and form of access to full citizenship. Moreover, municipalities play an important role in the decision-making process, notably through the creation of ad-hoc committees for naturalisation requests. Some cantons have created fast-track procedures for young people with migrant backgrounds (Wichmann et al., 2011).

Although the length of residence required before a naturalisation procedure varies from one canton to another, there is one point in common: years spent in the country with a short-term, student or

---

[10] In 2018, a new Federal Act on Swiss citizenship came into force: the most important changes are the harmonization of criteria across cantons and the fact that permit C is now a condition for naturalisation (Kurt, 2017).

asylum-seeker's permit do not count. Some cantons impose a minimum number of residence years in that particular canton (Kurt, 2017). Also, each canton offers a fast-track procedure for foreign spouses and children of Swiss citizens[11] (e.g. shorter years of residence), but still based on an evaluation of their "successful integration". Cantons share most of the criteria used for assessing "integration": language proficiency, knowledge about Swiss culture, financial autonomy, respect for laws and public order and participation in civil society (associations, clubs, etc.). However, the ways in which cantons handle the naturalisation process reveal different degrees of inclusion and exclusion.

In 2014, Switzerland showed a naturalisation rate of 2% of its foreign population, and most of them were regular procedures rather than fast-track decisions: Geneva showed the highest rate of 3%, whereas Glarus, Nidwalden and Obwalden show the lowest rate, between 1 and 0.8% (NCCR ON THE MOVE, 2017c). Zurich, Valais and Lucerne also showed rates above the national average (NCCR ON THE MOVE, 2017c). After seventeen years of residence, only 27% of EU citizens had been naturalised, while the rate for non-EU citizens was twice as high: 55% (NCCR ON THE MOVE, 2017b). Most of them were nationals from Russia, Ukraine and Thailand. Brazilians and Dominicans show the highest rate amongst Latin Americans: 60% and 56% respectively (NCCR ON THE MOVE, 2017b). Although the Federal Act on Swiss Citizenship has recognised dual nationality since 1992, the returns on acquiring the nationality of the receiving country differ between migrant groups: those from non-European countries are naturalised more frequently (Loretan & Wanner, 2017). Given the unequal rights between EU and non-EU citizens, it is no surprise that the latter apply for naturalisation as soon as they meet the prerequisites (Loretan & Wanner, 2017; Peters et al., 2016). Interestingly, the probability of naturalisation is 27% higher for migrant women than for men (Loretan & Wanner, 2017, p. 17). Some explanations might be linked to the cause of migration (family reunification instead of economic migration) or the higher levels of "integration" attributed to female migrants by the political authorities.

According to the language spoken and the level of urbanisation, cantons show exclusive or inclusive treatment of naturalisation requests. It seems that rural German-speaking cantons such as Nidwalden and Obwalden have a more restrained conception of citizenship than urban centres in French-speaking regions such as Geneva (Wichmann et al., 2011). Another dimension is the

---

[11] Since 1992, foreign spouses and children of Swiss citizens no longer receive automatic access to Swiss citizenship.

nationality and education level of the foreign population: cantons with high rates of high-skilled "new" migrants from EU countries, the USA, India and Australia seem more flexible than cantons with high proportions of old waves of less-skilled immigrants (Wichmann et al., 2011). Furthermore, social class influences naturalisation rates: employed migrant university degree holders were naturalised more frequently than less-educated and unemployed foreigners (Loretan & Wanner, 2017). In this sense, "integration potential" does not only consider financial autonomy but also education levels, thus reinforcing a preference towards "expats" over "migrants" (Yeung, 2016).

Throughout the three stages of the Swiss migration regime (admission, settlement and naturalisation), the concept of "integration" appears as a key element. From admission to the transition to settlement and subsequently citizenship, this regime shows an integration model where the upgrading of migrants' legal status happens at different moments based on "integration" exams at each stage (Kurt, 2017). Each permit improves economic, political and social rights, but the transitions are long and difficult. Although "integration" is considered individually, belonging to non-EU national groups negatively affects the upgrading process in terms of length and requirements. Given that sub-national settings have a certain degree of autonomy here, the place of residence has a huge influence on settlement and naturalisation outcomes. Incorporation outcomes in terms of employment and family life also show the influence of gender in employment rates and childcare arrangements.

Without assuming a linear process between migration stages, the Swiss migration regime does not only imply the progressive improvement of entitlements from permit B to settlement and then citizenship. This regime includes processes of de-regularisation, as in the case of undocumented migrants (*sans papiers*).

I.2.1.2.3. Regularisation and de-regularisation processes in the Swiss migration regime

The risk of losing legal authorisation to reside/work is higher after admission, then declines after settlement (e.g. access to long-term residence) and disappears at naturalisation (e.g. access to the Swiss passport). If a migrant cannot prove her/his purpose of residence – employment, training or family reunification – they cannot benefit from the annual B permit renewal process. For instance, only foreign spouses with at least three years of marriage and sufficient proof of "successful integration" can renew their permits after divorce (Wichmann et al., 2011). Although it is highly rare, a settlement permit can be revoked after five years due to "integration deficits", for instance

constant dependence on welfare payments (Kurt, 2017). In 2015, it is estimated that there were at least 76,000 immigrants without residence authorisation in Switzerland (Morlok et al., 2015). Two thirds of these unauthorised migrants had overstayed their tourist visas, and the rest had remained in the country after the expiry date of their permit B or C (Morlok et al., 2015). Although the label *sans papiers* is commonly used to designate these groups of unauthorised migrants, the majority actually possess valid passports and identity documents.

These estimations only counted non-EU foreigners who had stayed over one month without authorisation and had no plans to return home. Other possible cases such as EU citizens without residence authorisation are not taken into consideration. Given the new inflows of EU citizens who fled the late 2000s financial crisis, some of them might struggle or decide not to acquire a residence permit (e.g. by working in undeclared jobs, or not paying taxes). Besides irregular entry into the country, the Swiss migration regime involves different pathways into de-regularisation after several years of residence.

There are important sub-national differences: unauthorised migrant populations show different legal and socio-economic features and access to rights and regularisation according to the linguistic region of residence. Zurich is estimated to host 28,000 unauthorised migrants, while Geneva has 12,000 and the Vaud canton 13,000. Those in German-speaking cantons seem to come from the asylum system,[12] while those in French-speaking cantons seem to be non-EU visa overstayers. The former showed an increasing trend in relation to new asylum seekers while the latter showed a declining trend due to job competition with newly arrived EU citizens (e.g. from Spain).

Overall, nine out of ten unauthorised migrants are in employment (Morlok et al., 2015), although their occupational distribution also shows sub-national differences. In the German-speaking rural cantons, unauthorised migrants are employed in the construction, hospitality and agricultural sectors, whereas in the French-speaking cantons they are mostly working in the domestic service sector (71%) (Morlok et al., 2015). In 2014, about 43% of the unauthorised migrant population in Switzerland was composed of Central and South Americans (Morlok et al., 2015, p. 40). This proportion rises to 46% in the French-speaking cantons (Morlok et al., 2015, p. 41), including Geneva and Vaud (Carbajal, 2007; Flückiger, Luzzi, Urantowka, & OUE, 2012; Valli, 2007).

---

[12] In this section, I do not address the asylum part of the Swiss migration regime, which has its own legal framework and jurisprudence.

Unsurprisingly, these French-speaking cantons showed the highest share of women amongst the unauthorised migrant population (62%), whereas women made up just 17% of unauthorised migrants in the German-speaking cantons (Morlok et al., 2015, p. 42). Consequently, it seems that Latin American women working in domestic services tend to congregate in the urban centres of French-speaking cantons (Carreras, 2008). However, these women are generally overqualified, because most of them have secondary or even tertiary-level qualifications (Morlok et al., 2015, p. 44; Seminario, 2011). Besides the lack of authorisation, their jobs involved highly precarious working conditions: short-term contracts, low wages and high rates of employer-employee conflict.

In addition, cantonal differences exist in relation to the rights and regularisation practices for unauthorised migrants. In general, they have the right to access health services and the obligation to have health insurance, whereas those who are employed have to pay their share of social insurance contributions (Ruedi, 2010). In general, 27% of unauthorised migrants have a social insurance card (the rate is as high as 49% in the French-speaking cantons), but only 18% of their employers pay their share of contributions (Morlok et al., 2015). Formally, they can take out insurance against work accidents and disability, and they can benefit from retirement pensions, maternity leave and family benefits. However, they cannot claim unemployment benefit. Given that unauthorised residence/employment is considered a crime, the exercise of these rights is rather ambiguous due to the fear of identity disclosure and subsequent imprisonment and expulsion.

Since the mid-2000s, the legal framework has imposed tighter controls, including federal laws against undeclared work, and database exchange between social insurances and foreign police services (Morlok et al., 2015). However, some cantons foster the exchange of information between employment inspections for undeclared jobs and the immigration control service, while others do not allow exchange between authorities. With the exception of the 2011 legal regulation of minimum wages in the domestic sector, the legislation for unauthorised migrants has not changed for decades (Della Torre, 2017; Morlok et al., 2015). Two exceptions are Geneva[13] and Vaud, cantons that implement particular measures towards unauthorised migrants, which will be presented in more detail later.

---

[13] The Papyrus initiative in Geneva (Della Torre, 2018).

Apart from the Human Rights Convention, the only legal mechanism that enables the regularisation of unauthorised migrants is the *cas de rigueur* (hardship clause), introduced into the 2008 FNA.[14] In contrast to other EU-member states like Spain and Italy, the Swiss government systematically refuses the general amnesty of undocumented migrants. The hardship clause is a case-by-case mechanism that illustrates the power of discretion of the cantons, since the federal instance almost always accepts the recommendation of the local authority (Della Torre, 2017). There are some general criteria: "successful integration", respect for public order, five years of residence, family, economic and health conditions as well as the study of changes to re-integrate in the home country (Della Torre, 2017; Morlok et al., 2015). However, these criteria are not defined in precisely the same way by all the cantonal authorities: some cantons check the number of years the children of applicants have been attending Swiss schools and take their academic results into account, while other cantons emphasise employment conditions, such as job contracts and skill levels (Della Torre, 2017). Regularisation outcomes thus varied from 176 approved cases per year in Geneva and 105 approved cases in Vaud to one approved case in Zurich for 2014 (Morlok et al., 2015). Although there is an slight increase in regularisation outcomes after 2008, this legal mechanism has only regulated 1% of the estimated unauthorised population in Switzerland (Della Torre, 2017). Recent studies have shown that after regularisation the employment rate of the migrants increases (Morlok et al., 2015).

However, recent changes are important. In 2013, a new legal mechanism came into force to allow unauthorised adolescents to continue an apprenticeship (part-time training and part-time work placement), a widespread form of post-compulsory education in Switzerland (Morlok et al., 2015). The Papyrus operation that was introduced in Geneva in 2017 brought positive results. After several years of negotiations, the alliance between cantonal authorities, trade unions and civil organisations yielded a proposition to clarify the requisites for regularisation through the hardship clause that was finally approved at the federal level in 2017. The clarification of the criteria for qualification for the hardship clause led to the regularisation of 1,093 migrants, many of whom were Latin American (42%) and female (70%), who were highly-skilled but had been working for several years in the domestic service sector (Della Torre, 2018). The very low rate of refusal of the cases approved at the cantonal level by the federal agency indicates that the clarification of criteria simplified the procedure for applicants and for the public servants. However, the implementation of this

---

[14] This legal mechanism is different from the one for asylum seekers.

procedure in just one canton probably reinforced inequalities amongst the migrant population in Switzerland as a whole.

The composition of the unauthorised migrant population and those who achieved regularisation in Switzerland shows the heterogeneity of this population in terms of admission, gender, education level and employment. Categorisation processes are time- and context-dependent. Although the legal frameworks aim to promote the progressive "integration" of migrants and the upgrading of their rights, legal trajectories are not unidirectional but may sometimes involve a succession of regularisation and de-regularisation steps. Given that Latin American citizens make up a large share of unauthorised migrants in Switzerland, I now propose to describe the features of Peruvian migration in general and then to Switzerland in more detail.

I.2.2. Peruvian migration to Switzerland

To understand Peruvian migration to Switzerland, this section presents some historical and current features of this process. The geographical diversification of Peruvian emigration is closely linked to the historical waves of immigrants to Peru. However, Peruvian migration covers a hierarchy of geographical destinations and social class selectivity (Durand, 2010; Takenaka & Pren, 2010b, 2010a). I briefly present the features of Peruvian migration in general, before presenting the main features of Peruvian migrants in Switzerland.

I.2.2.1. Immigration waves

Throughout the pre-colonial, colonial and republican periods, Peru's history was marked by internal and external migration. The pre-colonial management of ecological niches promoted the interaction between ethnic groups of the Coast, Highlands and Amazonia. The colonisation era (1542-1821) initiated the forced migration of African slaves and the European presence that continued after independence (Durand, 2010). When slavery was abolished in 1854, other forms of (forced) labour migration from China and Japan took place, between the end of the 19th century and middle of the 20th century. These labour migrants came to replace African slaves and/or forced indigenous labour from the Highlands in the coastal *haciendas* and guano industry*,* and the mining and construction in the Highlands (Takenaka, Paerregaard, & Berg, 2010). Peru was part of the Pacific migration network. Chinese indentured workers (known as *coolies)* first arrived in the 19th century and their numbers peaked when the United States introduced a law against Chinese migration in 1882: 90,000 *coolies* arrived during the period from 1848 to 1874 (Paerregaard, 2013). Riots against the Chinese

eventually led to the legal prohibition of Chinese migration to Peru in 1930. Thanks to bilateral agreements, Japanese labourers from rural areas arrived with temporary contracts to fill their places in the labour market (Paerregaard, 2013). Despite xenophobic demonstrations and forced deportations during WWII, Peru still has the second largest Japanese community in Latin America. In the 19th century, there were 50,000 Europeans in Peru, with Spaniards topping the list until 1860 when they were outnumbered by Italians (Durand, 2010). German citizens arrived to "colonise" the Amazonian Highlands and their descendants have remained there, whereas British citizens arrived with import/export industries (Paerregaard, 2013). These immigration waves were male-dominated: 86% of the foreign population were males in 1876 (Paerregaard, 2013). After a drastic decline from the mid-20th century, the immigration waves to Peru have been increasing since 2009, but they continue to be male-dominated: 60% between 1994 and 2010, with 13% from the USA (Sanchez, 2012). Some scholars have pointed out that the high share of male migrants led to the frequency of mixed marriages (Paerregaard, 2013), which yielded a highly diverse and stratified society: European descendants belong to the upper social segments, Asian descendants belong to the lower-middle or lower social segments, and African descendants are at the bottom of the social hierarchy, close to indigenous ethnic groups (Trelles, 2014).

I.2.2.2. Hierarchy of destinations

The diverse origins of migrants to Peru influenced the choice of destinations abroad. However, the dynamic stratification of outflows created a geographical hierarchy of destinations (Paerregaard, 2013). As with many Latin American countries, most Peruvian migration throughout the 20th century was to the United States; however other destinations, such as Japan, Spain and Italy were also popular. This is an illustration of patterns of trans-generational migration where the descendants of the 19th century European and Asian migrants use identities, nationalities and genealogies to benefit from ethnic citizenship in European and Asian countries (Durand & Massey, 2010; Harpaz & Mateos, 2018). Peruvian migration also involves intra-regional migration to Chile and Argentina (Takenaka et al., 2010). Historical dynamics of stratification lead to a current destination hierarchy that places the USA at the top, followed by Japan (due to high wages). Spain and Italy are the preferred European destinations due to perceived cultural similarities and finally Chile and Argentina, which are represented as the "last options" of cheaper and easier access (e.g. transportation and visa-free entry). Consequently, the choice of destination depends on Peruvian migrants' social class in the home country, but migrants accumulate resources during their travels to their desired destination (A. M. Paul, 2015). Peruvian migration thus shows patterns of

onward/multi-stepped journeys (Durand & Massey, 2010; A. M. Paul, 2011) that start in Latin American destinations and eventually arrive at European destinations, following successive job offers and using accumulated resources and information.

Each destination can be associated with different but interconnected periods. Peruvian migration to the USA and Europe started in the 1950s with the student migration of the urban upper classes of Lima. The emigration gender ratio between 1951-1960 was 60% men and 40% women (Sanchez, 2012, p. 29). Afterwards, rural women who had arrived from the Highlands to work as domestic employees in Lima started to follow their employers to Miami, and then activated their networks to bring their families and *paisano/as* (fellow hometown residents). In contrast, urban men from the working class neighbourhoods in Lima arrived in New Jersey to work in the blooming textile industry (Paerregaard, 2013). Both USA locations remain important enclaves of the subsequent waves of Peruvian emigration in the 1970s and 1990s.

However, the progressive restrictions of USA immigration policy and controls since 1980, combined with the growing unemployment rate in Peru, led to the emergence of alternative destinations for new waves of emigration. The economic crisis and the political violence of 1980-1990 led to a Peruvian exodus where emigration rates doubled from 1.5% in 1988 to 4% in 1998 (Sanchez, 2012). At that time, Spain, Italy and Japan had less restrictive immigration laws than the US: Peruvian men worked in Japanese factories whereas Peruvian women worked in private households in Spain and Italy. In the 1990s, Japanese laws extended the rights of residence and work for second and third generations of Peruvians with Japanese ancestry and their families, and more generally offered foreigners access to unskilled jobs (Paerregaard, 2013). During the same period of 1980-1990, Spain favoured the residence and work permits of citizens from her former colonies, regularly organised amnesties for unauthorised migrants, and offered work permits for domestic service jobs (Paerregaard, 2013), as did Italy. Peruvian migrants to Italy concentrated in Milan (Skornia, 2014). In contrast to emigration to Japan, Peruvian migration to Spain and Italy was highly feminised and came from the urban middle classes of Lima. These countries adopted mechanisms to encourage Latin American women into domestic jobs regardless of their qualifications (Escrivá, 2000, 2003; Gil Araujo & González-Fernández, 2014; Izaguirre & Anderson, 2012). In general, the gender ratio of Peruvian migration reached a turning point at the end of the 20th century: women made up 48% of the total of migratory outflows between 1981 and 1990, as against 57% between 1991 and 2000. This increase coincides with the emigration waves to Spain and Italy (Sanchez, 2012, p. 12)

From the mid-1990s, when the job opportunities in Spain and Italy became scarcer, neighbouring countries such as Chile and Argentina appeared as potential new destinations for Peruvian migrants (Fuentes & Reyes Campos, 2003). In contrast with the migration waves to the USA and Europe, these Peruvian migrants came from less privileged urban backgrounds. However, Peruvian women also led these outflows, and ended up working in the private households of Santiago and Buenos Aires (Izaguirre & Anderson, 2012; Mora & Undurraga, 2013). The journeys to both countries imply lower travel expenses and offer visa-free entry. In 1998, the Peruvian and Argentinian governments signed an agreement to control Peruvian migration (Paerregaard, 2013). Since then, the 2000 economic crisis in Argentina has created a wave of returnees. Whereas the growth rate of emigration to Chile increased by 20% from 2002 to 2010, the equivalent increase was only 7% for Argentina (Sanchez, 2012, p. 84).

In combination with the end of the political violence and the economic crisis in Peru, the turn of the 21st century brought the end of Fujimori's dictatorship and new democratic elections. The period between 2000 and 2010 was nevertheless characterised by emigration growth: in comparison with 1999, 2000 showed a 20% increase in national emigration rates, followed by a further 48% increase in 2002 This trend went up until 2009, when there was an 11% decline which triggered a decreasing trend in emigration rates that has continued until today (INEI, 2016b, p. 18). Improvements on the economic and political front have not necessarily led to major changes to the living conditions of Peruvians, who continue to seek better opportunities abroad. As we will see, it could be argued that the expansion of enrolment in post-compulsory schooling, but the contraction of adequate employment opportunities, have fuelled this latest emigration wave from Peru. In the meantime, the number of Peruvian returnees is increasing, from 11,000 between 2000 and 2002 to 25,000 between 2013 and 2016. Of these returnees, 35% come from Chile, 15% from the USA and 10% from Spain (INEI, 2016b, pp. 53–62). While the high rate of returnees from Chile might reflect a form of circular migration, the geographical distance and recent economic crisis in the USA and Spain suggest return migration practices. Besides equal proportions of men and women, 48% of returnees were aged 20 to 39 (INEI, 2016b, p. 58). At present, return migration co-exists with increasing emigration from Peru (Ansion, Mujica, Piras, & Villacorta, 2013).

I.2.2.3. The Peruvian exodus

Between 1990 and 2015, almost three million Peruvians (9.5% of the population) left the country (INEI, 2016b, p. 18). From an immigrant-receiving country at the end of the 19th and beginning of

the 20th century, Peru became a migrant-sending country from the middle of the 20th century and this has continued until the beginning of the 21st century. The USA continues to host the highest percentage of Peruvian residents abroad (32%), followed by Spain (16%), Argentina (14%), Italy (10%), Chile (9%) and Japan (4%) (Sanchez, 2012, p. 88). In 2015, the gender ratio also continued to favour migrant women, who represented 53.2% of the total migrant population (INEI, 2016b, p. 28). Furthermore, 51% of Peruvians living abroad were born in Lima, with a further 10% originating from another coastal region (INEI, 2016b, p. 35).

During the Peruvian exodus, the governments neglected the emigration phenomenon. Until 2001, the only legislation that affected Peruvians abroad was the double-nationality law, adopted in 1996. However, politicians and the media tended to condemn Peruvian migrants for leaving their country and families (Paerregaard, 2013; Skornia, 2014). However, the vote of Peruvians abroad entered the centre stage in electoral processes after Fujimori's dictatorship in 2001.

From 2000 onwards, presidential candidates canvassed the votes of Peruvians abroad and the benefits of the remittances they were sending back home appeared on the political agenda. Peruvian emigrants thus started to be portrayed more positively. Since then, several programmes have been adopted with a view to better channelling remittances, encouraging property investments in Peru and promoting Peruvian products abroad (Skornia, 2014). In 2001, President Alejandro Toledo created the Secretariat of Peruvian Communities abroad, which aimed to: "defend the well-being of Peruvian communities abroad and promote their protection and defend their interests and rights in the countries of destination… without discrimination" (Berg, 2010, p. 127). Although the fulfilment of this goal is questionable, this state agency coordinated legislative proposals such as the Law on Return Migration that was approved in 2005. This law offers tax exemptions and favourable mortgage loans for returning migrants (Berg, 2010). Another mechanism to promote the electoral participation of Peruvian migrants, via consulates abroad, was the adoption of democratically elected advisory councils composed of residents registered abroad. In 2006, President Alan Garcia proclaimed the "Peruvians Abroad Day". Although civil society organisations were becoming scarcer, this more favourable context yielded the creation, in 2010, of an association of family members of Peruvian migrants and Peruvian returnees (AFEMIPER). Interestingly, most of the leaders of this influential organisation are women who had returned to Peru after years abroad (Ansion et al., 2013). The current context of crisis in the main destination countries of Peruvian emigrants, such as the USA, Spain and Italy, might fuel the advocacy for Peruvian returnees further in the future.

I.2.2.3.1. Stratification patterns: ethnicity, gender and social class

Besides a clear hierarchy of destinations, Peruvian emigration also shows distinctive stratification patterns compared with those associated with other Latin American countries. Peruvian migration predominantly involved urban settlers in Lima, and is selective in gender, ethnic and class terms. Peru's republican history is characterised by the centralised development of social services and welfare infrastructures in Lima and a few other coastal cities, to the exclusion of most of the Andes Highlands and the Amazonian region (Contreras, Incio, López, Mazzeo, & Mendoza, 2016). Given that the highest proportion of indigenous people resides in these regions, Peruvian inequality follows an ethnic and geographical distribution (Garavíto, 2010; Thorp & Paredes, 2011; Trelles, 2014). Internal migration towards Lima preceded international migration to Peru: whereas the former was a strategy to escape poverty in the 1950s and 1960s or political violence in the 1980s and 1990s, the latter mirrored other tactics. Peruvian international migrants do not represent the poorest of the poor, and they usually do not qualify as poor in Peru (Takenaka & Pren, 2010b). Although there are examples of Peruvian migration from Andean urban centres and rural communities of Peru (Berg, 2015), the majority of Peruvians living abroad belong to other social groups. Originating from the capital and coastal cities, they represent a privileged group in terms of ethnicity and social class.

Peruvian households with migrant family members abroad are concentrated in the middle classes. In 2006, 80% belonged to the intermediate strata between the richest and the poorest in the country[15] (OIM, 2008, p. 25). These groups also received the highest amounts of remittances and this has inspired several authors to consider migration a mechanism that reinforces inequality in Peru (Paerregaard, 2015; Takenaka & Pren, 2010b). Although there is heterogeneity within this intermediate stratum, the heads of these households in Lima were more likely to have post-compulsory education than the national average: 12% have technical qualifications and 18% a university degree in 2015 (the national averages for university degrees is 17% and for technical qualifications is 10%). They are also more likely to be in salaried or independent employment (IPSOS Peru, 2016). Indeed, university education is widespread in the Peruvian urban middle classes

---

[15] The socio-economic classification of Peruvian households includes five groups: A, B, C, D and E. The first two represent the upper classes (14%), whereas the C and D strata represent the middle and lower middle classes (49%). The E category represents the least privileged groups (37%), who are concentrated in rural areas, while the upper and middle classes are over-represented in Lima (IPSOS Peru, 2016).

(Huber & Lamas, 2017). The stratification of Peruvian outflows thus depends largely on place of residence and socio-economic status.

Scholars have also pointed out the high levels of educational attainment of Peruvian migrants (Takenaka & Pren, 2010a). In 2000, Peru belonged to the top 30 group of sending countries with the highest numbers of educated migrants, and it occupied third place for South-American countries, just behind Brazil and Colombia (Docquier & Marfouk, 2002). In the USA, Peruvian migrants are better educated than other Latin Americans. In 2000, 53% of Peruvians had tertiary-level education (a similar level to that of US citizens), whereas this was only the case for respectively 14%, 37% and 46% of the Mexican, Ecuadorians and Colombians (Takenaka & Pren, 2010a, p. 179). Between 1990 and 2015, 35% of Peruvian emigrants declared having high levels of skills: 21% declared being university students, 9% declared being professionals and 5% declared being associated professionals (INEI, 2016b, p. 38).

This type of selectivity could be explained by place of residence in the home country: urban centres in Lima or coastal cities provide more and better educational infrastructures, and the middle classes are concentrated there. In comparison with their Mexican counterparts, the selectivity in Peruvian migration is also linked to migration networks: Peru is considered a country in the initial stages of international migration, where those who access migrant networks have a more privileged social position and highly-skilled Peruvians are encouraged to migrate due to a mismatch between their educational attainments and their employment opportunities at home (Takenaka & Pren, 2010a). In 2014, only 6% of university graduates had a fixed-term employment contract, while the rest worked under fixed-term or temporary contracts (INEI, 2015a, p. 56). In 2010, 61% of graduate students aspired to go abroad, and the reasons evoked were better employment and economic prospects (INEI, 2011, p. 85).

The selectivity based on skills is linked to the feminisation of Peruvian migration. In Peru, women's access to higher education has increased dramatically since the 1980s: they only represented 36% of university graduates in 1980, but this proportion went up to 45% in 2002 and to 57% in 2014 (Garavito & Carrillo, 2005; INEI, 2011). This increase also followed class lines, with private universities receiving more women (65%[16]) than public universities (35%) (INEI, 2011). Peruvian women earn only 71% of the average male salary, even when they are highly-skilled (72%) (INEI,

---

[16] Monthly fees can be up to 3,000 USD (Rodríguez, 2009)

2016a, p. 90). Given the combination of increasing education levels and poor employment conditions, it is not surprising that Peruvian women embark on migration for better employment opportunities. As seen previously, the feminisation of Peruvian migration outflows grew between 1990 and 1999, then fell slightly between 2005 and 2008, before increasing again between 2013 and 2015. In 2014, 56% of Peruvian migrants were women (INEI, 2016b, p. 26). The feminisation of Peruvian migration concerns a highly-skilled female workforce: 49% and 53% of migrants who declared themselves university students and professionals were women. In the category of professionals, the professions most mentioned by migrants are female-dominated except for engineers, who represented 14% of Peruvian migrants: 20% of them were teachers (71% women), 9% studied management (51% women), and 8% were nurses (94% women) (INEI, 2016b, pp. 38–39). Consequently, Peruvian migration is considered a prime example of high-skilled and highly feminised migration patterns (Izaguirre & Anderson, 2012; Seminario, 2018).

Since they come from relatively privileged socio-economic backgrounds, international migration might not necessarily mean social mobility for Peruvian migrants. Several studies of Peruvian migration have confirmed their precarious legal status and poor employment and working conditions abroad. Most of the receiving countries have imposed visa requirements on Peruvians since the 1990s, and offer only a limited number of work permits, mostly for unskilled occupations. Peruvian migrants are thus at risk of downgrading, either by remaining in a country without legal authorisation and/or by accepting jobs below their qualification levels. Struggling in the bottom segments of the receiving society, these migrants also create in-group hierarchies, between authorised and non-authorised or higher or lower skilled settlers, that may either reinforce or reverse status positions back home (Berg, 2015; Sabogal & Núñez, 2010).

Experiences of downgrading have a strong gender connotation in Spain and Italy. In 2008-2010, Peruvian migrants received 17% of the total of work permits given to Latin Americans (Córdova Alcaraz, 2012, pp. 51–52). In 2010, statistics from Spain showed that 82% of Peruvian legal workers were concentrated in the female-dominated service sector (Córdova Alcaraz, 2012, p. 56). Several scholars have confirmed that Peruvian migrants in both countries predominantly worked in the home-based care and cleaning sectors (Escrivá, 2003; Izaguirre & Anderson, 2012; Skornia, 2014). Most of the time, their education credentials and work experience from Peru are not recognised. Consequently, Peruvian migration to this region represents an interesting example of the risks associated with the feminisation of highly-skilled migration.

I.2.2.3.2. Peruvians in Europe

Peruvian migration to Europe (e.g. Spain and Italy) is important not only in numbers but also in quality: highly-skilled female-dominated outflows gravitate towards unskilled jobs in the domestic care sector. Although Peruvian migrants are concentrated in Spain and Italy, the economic crisis of 2008 in both countries has changed their patterns of mobility to a certain extent. In response to this crisis, many Latin Americans living in Spain, Italy or Portugal started to look for other potential European destinations, such as the United Kingdom (Mas Giralt, 2017; Pereira Esteves et al., 2017; Ramos, 2017). In combination with the 1990s trend of Peruvian women migrating to perform care jobs (Carbajal, 2007; Seminario, 2011), Switzerland also emerged as a possible destination for those Peruvians who were seeking to escape the economic downturn in Spain. In the following section, I briefly explain the current position of Peruvians in Europe and in Switzerland.

I.2.2.3.2.1. Peruvians in the EU: the effect of the 2008 Great Recession

Although 4.29 million LAC citizens resided in EU countries in 2010, they tended to be concentrated in certain countries, mostly according to post-colonial links: Spain, UK (Jamaica), Italy, Netherlands (Surinam and Antilles) and France (Haiti) (Córdova Alcaraz, 2012, pp. 35–37). South American citizens predominantly resided in Spain, Italy and Portugal. Inflows increased from 1998 until 2007, but 2009 marked the beginning of a downward trend (Córdova Alcaraz, 2012). The fluctuations are clearly related to the 1990s economic boom and the post-2008 economic downturn in Spain. The Latin-Americanisation of Spanish immigration started in 1990 when labour demand increased in the construction and service sectors, and immigration laws created opportunities for legal regularisations and amnesty as well as fast-track naturalisation for citizens of LAC former colonies. Interestingly, in 2009, 56% of these LAC outflows to the EU were women. In 2010, Peruvian migration to Europe represented 9% of the total LAC migration, after Ecuador, Colombia, Brazil and Argentina, and the Peru-Spain corridor represented 4%, while the Peru-Italy corridor represented 2% of the total migration between LAC and the EU (Córdova Alcaraz, 2012, p. 36). In addition, LAC citizens progressively acquired citizenship from EU countries between 1998 and 2009: they represented 72% of naturalisations in Spain and 21% of naturalisations in Portugal. In Spain, six out of ten of these naturalisations were bestowed on Ecuadorians, Colombians, Peruvians and Argentinians (Córdova Alcaraz, 2012, p. 42).

However, the 2008 economic crisis particularly affected sectors reliant on foreign labour, such as the construction and hospitality industries, and welfare services suffered serious cutbacks (Mas

Giralt, 2017). In 2014, the unemployment rate was 24% for nationals and 36% for foreigners. Besides joblessness, a high number of LAC migrants were encouraged to buy houses through easy mortgage credit and low interest rates, but they were unable to pay back their mortgage debts after 2008 (Mas Giralt, 2017). Although the Spanish government launched a return migration programme for unemployed foreigners in 2008, only 10% of potential beneficiaries took part in this scheme (Córdova Alcaraz, 2012, p. 44).

LAC migrants' decision to stay in Spain, return home or re-emigrate to other EU destinations depended on their citizenship status, financial situation (savings and debt), and employment opportunities back home and in other EU countries. For instance, an estimated 300,000 Spanish citizens left the country between 2009 and 2010, and the majority were immigrants who had acquired citizenship and then undertook return or onward migration (Mas Giralt, 2017, p. 5). In contrast to their prior migration experiences, LAC migrants who hold Spanish passports formally have the same access to the EU/EFTA labour market and social rights as any EU citizens. These conditions have led to re-emigration patterns of LAC migrants to better-off countries, such as the UK (Mas Giralt, 2017; Ramos, 2017).

Given the positive macro-economic indicators in Switzerland for this period, LAC migrants with Spanish passports might have moved there to escape the crisis. Peruvians naturalised as Spanish citizens provide an interesting case study of this post-migration pattern of mobility, since they represented one of the most numerous LAC groups in Spain, where they had lived for a long time and enjoyed fast-track naturalisation as citizens of a former Spanish colony. Although this mobility pattern represents a recent form of Peruvian immigration to Switzerland, other types of outflows are important to note.

I.2.2.4. Peruvians in Switzerland

Although Switzerland hosted only 0.8% of the Peruvians living abroad in 2015 (INEI, 2016b), Peru's National Office of Electoral Processes reported 6,482 registered voters in Switzerland, while the Swiss Federal Office of Statistics (SFSO) counted only 2,898 Peruvian citizens for the same year (SFSO, 2016b). The discrepancy between the numbers might be due to the acquisition of Swiss citizenship by Peruvians (who are counted as Swiss citizens), as well as the presence of Peruvians without authorisation who are invisible to the SFSO but are registered with the Peruvian consulates in Switzerland. However, the SFSO counted more than 10,000 Peruvian-born permanent residents in Switzerland in 2016, of whom 65% were women (SFSO, 2017n). Peruvian migration grew from

492 nationals in 1980 to 3066 nationals in 2010 regardless of the imposition of visas in the early 1990s (SFSO, 2014b). Since 2017, Peruvian have no longer needed a visa to enter Switzerland.

Table 2: Peruvian-born permanent population in Switzerland 2010-2016

	2010	2016
Men	2940	3478
Women	5679	6597
	8619	10075

Source: Author's own calculations, based on (SFSO, 2017n)

Despite the small number of Peruvian migrants in Switzerland, the available statistical data provide a brief description of their labour-market participation patterns, legal status and family situation. In 2014, Peruvian citizens represented 1% of the working population in Switzerland. Most of them (81%) are employed (SFSO, 2015d). In 2013, 78% of Peruvians living in Switzerland had post-compulsory education, of whom 36% had a university degree (SFSO, 2015c).

Most of these Peruvians hold a C permit (50%) and the rest hold a B permit (44%) (SFSO, 2015d). Those with a C permit received it after 5 (25%) or 10 (29%) years of residence in the country (SFSO, 2015d). In 2015, 62 Peruvian nationals obtained Swiss nationality (the total number was 15,372), of whom 44 were women, and 56% of them benefited from the fast-track naturalisation mechanism (SFSO, 2015a). As said before, fast-track naturalisation is available for foreign spouses of Swiss citizens who show "successful integration": those who used this fast-track option were predominantly (67%) women (SFSO, 2015a).

This suggests the importance of bi-national marriages between Peruvians and Swiss citizens for the naturalisation processes. In general, most of the Peruvians living in Switzerland are married (58%), and Peruvian female spouses represented the majority (70% of married Peruvian population) (SFSO, 2017n). In 2010, 991 Peruvians married a Swiss citizen (the total number of bi-national marriages that year was 151,622), and Peruvian women made up 69% of those bi-national marriages (SFSO, 2015b).

A growing number of studies have confirmed the role of Latin American migrants in the Swiss labour market, as providers of home-based care and cleaning services (Carbajal, 2007; Carreras, 2008; Seminario, 2011). These studies have also drawn attention to Latin American female and high-skilled migration, and to the Latin American presence in bi-national marriages (Riaño, 2007, 2014, Riaño & Baghdadi, 2007a, 2007b). Given that some Latin Americans have almost 30 years of

residence in Switzerland, scholars have started to study their retirement practices, and to study the second generation (Bolzman, Gakuba, & Minko, 2016; Carbajal & Ljuslin, 2010). Finally, some concerns about the arrival of Latin American-born EU passport holders have been expressed by the public authorities in charge of supervising and counselling new arrivals, but also by long-settled Latin American citizens who perceive this group as unfair competition for access to unskilled, informal jobs.

In the following sections, I explain the Swiss and Peruvian care regime to understand the gender and social class implications of these conditions of labour-market participation in Switzerland for the privileged group of Peruvian migrants.

I.2.3. Care regimes and international migration

To understand the impact of national and sub-national contexts on immigrant experiences, this section briefly describes the Swiss and Peruvian care regimes. The conceptualisation of care regimes addresses the national and sub-national settings of the transnational political economy of care, which involves movements of care labour, dynamics of care commitments, intervention of the state, market and non-profit sectors in health and social care, and the influence of discourses and policies (Kofman & Raghuram, 2015, p. 57). Drawing on a life-course approach, several scholars have pointed out that family and employment trajectories are interdependent and that family caregiving responsibilities influence the extent of labour-market participation of family members (Levy & Widmer, 2013a). In particular, the transition to parenthood shows a gendered effect on occupational trajectories where women accumulate caregiving and reduce employment but men continue full-time occupational careers (Cabrera, 2007; Cooklin et al., 2014; Krüger & Levy, 2001; Lovejoy & Stone, 2012). With the growing participation of women in the labour market, other scholars have concluded that current shifts from institutional care and in-kind provisions towards domiciliary care and private procurement creates a demand for cheap home-based care workers (Simonazzi, 2008, p. 3). In most national contexts, these jobs are predominantly filled by migrant women, who also have to cope with their own family caregiving back home (Hochschild, 2001; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2001; Salazar Parreñas, 2001). Besides transnational parenthood, migrant women and men also provide care to other family members back home and at destination.

While migrant men and women inform their decisions and practices drawing on home country references, they might experience family and occupational transitions (e.g. marriage, parenthood, ageing of parents) in receiving countries and thus have to deal with (at least) two different national

normative and institutional settings. In combination with the features of the migration regime, care regimes thus influence the gendered discourses and practices of family and employment life in migration experiences. Based on nationality and other social divisions, migrant populations experience unequal rights and access to services that may lead to "stratified reproduction": some categories of people gain greater support, while others face greater obstacles in sustaining their own livelihood and that of their families (Bonizzoni, 2011; Kofman & Raghuram, 2015). Consequently, the aim of this section is to briefly describe the national and sub-national dominant care regimes in Switzerland and Peru, in order to better understand the background against which Peruvian men and women handle transnational and local family caregiving and labour-market participation in the host country.

I.2.3.1. Care regimes and migrants

Several scholars have discussed the differences and similarities between the concepts of care and social reproduction (Baldassar & Merla, 2014b; Kofman & Raghuram, 2015). Drawing on these insights, I argue that the concept of care addresses not only stratification and economic aspects of care work but also the inequalities between receivers and givers and the emotional aspects of this work. Consequently, the concept of care regimes enables me to grasp hands-on and long-distance care-giving and receiving, the multiple and unequal care relations and the cultural, economic and political aspects of this work. The segmentation and stratification of services reveals the hierarchical ordering of care jobs along a continuum of technical and emotional tasks (e.g. nursing, cooking and cleaning), and the delegation of the least socio-economically valued tasks and jobs to racialised individuals and women from the least privileged backgrounds (Scrinzi, 2013). In this sense, the emphasis on the multiple dimensions of care provides an analytical tool to understand different types of jobs and arrangements at multiple national and sub-national levels.

To further understand care as an analytical tool for Migration Studies, scholars have already proposed typologies of national care regimes according to the arrangements between the state, the family, the market and the third sector. These typologies have acknowledged that the migrant workforce plays a major role in the provision of care within destination countries (Ambrosini, 2015; Bridget Anderson, 2015; Christensen, 2014; Simonazzi, 2008). The trend across welfare states in Europe is to reduce institutional care in favour of home-based care services, and to encourage market and family-based provision of care (Simonazzi, 2008, p. 3). Therefore, the creation of a care market, integrated with the broader social sector (e.g. health and social services), leads to the

emergence of an informal sector, where skilled workers such as nurses co-exist with unlicensed low-skilled care assistants and other workers providing personal care and domestic services (Simonazzi, 2008, pp. 9–10). In this segmented care market, the migrant workforce plays an important role at all levels of skills. They experience a diversity of employment conditions (Adhikari, 2013; Bridget Anderson, 2015; Mendy, 2010).

Other scholars have also analysed the ways in which care regimes impact on transnational families and local family formation amongst migrant populations (Beck-Gernsheim, 2007; Fresnoza-Flot, 2017; Lu, 2012; Phan et al., 2015). Legal frameworks, social policies and gender norms mould the ways of family making and the distribution of care benefices, obligations and conditions (Bonizzoni, 2011, 2015; Eggebø, 2013; Schweitzer, 2015). The institutional and normative settings influence the capacity, obligations and negotiations related to care arrangements within the couple, the family, public providers, etc. As the migration workforce satisfies the care deficit in receiving countries via the informal labour market, other types of migration inflows such as family reunification (e.g. bi-national marriages) also make up this care deficit by the means of unpaid family caregiving (Kofman & Raghuram, 2015). In home countries, the remittances of migrants to their families buffers the deficient provision of care services from the state while reinforcing inequalities between families with and without migrant members (R. Kunz, 2008; Paerregaard, 2015). Consequently, I consider the impact of care regimes on migrant populations in both dimensions: via the creation of a market for the migrant workforce and in terms of the national and local conditions for care provision.

Building on the idea that the care sector offers jobs for migrants and affects their cross-border and local livelihood, the definition of care regimes refers to: "who is responsible for care, the nature of state support for non-familial care, and the provisions for care leave as well as dominant national and local discourses on what constitutes appropriate care and gender equality expectations and outcomes associated with care arrangements" (Merla, 2014b, p. 118). Consequently, the characterisation of care regimes is here focused on policies around the time to care, such as parental leave and employment schedules, policies around the right to receive care and appropriate forms of care for dependents, and ideas about the appropriate gender division of labour (Merla, 2014b). These three dimensions enable me to grasp the institutional provision for parenthood transition and childcare, the norms regarding the gender distribution of family caregiving and the interactions with labour-market participation.

In the following section, I briefly describe certain aspects of the Swiss and Peruvian care regimes. The former shows deficient institutional settings for childcare that counteract individuals' egalitarian discourses about the distribution of care responsibilities within couples and labour-market participation after parenthood. The latter shows the extent of class and ethnic inequalities in the distribution of care benefits and responsibilities, where middle-class urban women can delegate family caregiving to racialised women from rural or poor urban areas, usually under precarious working conditions.

I.2.3.2. The Swiss care and gender regime

The characterisation of the Swiss care and gender regime helps us to understand the opportunities and limitations for men and women in terms of family and occupational trajectories that also affect – under different circumstances – their migrant counterparts. In combination with the gendered dimensions of migration regimes mentioned earlier, the care regime in this receiving country affects the family-employment interface during and after settlement. Since family reunification represents an important legal pathway for admission and settlement of non-EU citizens, the transition to partnership and parenthood also affects migrants' daily lives. Moreover, the feminisation of high-skilled migration from non-EU countries suggests that women's career advancement – rather than traditional family roles – is part of gender normativity amongst a privileged segment of migrants. In view of the investment in women's education in the home country, it is important to explore the conditions of female employment and caregiving in the receiving country and the ways in which these high-skilled non-EU women cope with them. In this sense, the Swiss care regime represents an interesting case study, due to its traditional view of family gender roles, which promotes women's caregiving rather than labour-market participation.

This description of the Swiss care regime focusses on the impact of family responsibilities on employment patterns. The deficiencies of the legislation and infrastructure relating to care provision have unequal effects on men's and women's occupational trajectories, particularly after the transition to partnership and parenthood. These conditions lead to a high demand for home-based care services, potentially provided by migrant women, and the ways in which the migrant women handle caregiving in family formation abroad.

I.2.3.2.1. The Swiss "neo-maternalist" care regime

Care regimes are linked to welfare regimes. Switzerland has commonly been classified as a conservative welfare state with strong liberal traits, but this federal country also shows important sub-national differences in family policy, social services and education (Armingeon, Bertozzi, & Bonoli, 2004). In combination with a Catholic-based conservative gender regime that has historically promoted family protection and a male breadwinner/female caregiver model, liberal principles limit any form of state intervention in the private sphere and tend to leave care arrangements to the market and the third sector (Giraud & Lucas, 2009).

Furthermore, the sub-national institutional settings play an important role in family policies. Some authors have argued that all three forms of welfare regimes (Esping-Andersen, 1990) – liberal, social-democratic and conservative – exist at the cantonal level in Switzerland. While the conservative regime involves public transfers for maintaining the (male) breadwinner status, the social-democratic regime promotes equality of gender regardless of citizenship status (Armingeon et al., 2004). Once again, the level of urbanisation has an impact on the political profile of the canton and this in turn explains the implementation of distinct welfare packages: urban cantons have a stronger presence of left-wing parties and more social-democratic welfare features, whereas rural cantons are more likely to elect candidates from right-wing parties, and these tend to reinforce conservative welfare features (Armingeon et al., 2004). Besides gender, the place of residence thus influences the rights and access to welfare services in Switzerland.

In addition, the evolution of public debates, legal provisions and policy-making in relation to the family shows the delaying and blocking effect of direct democracy. For example, the proposal to introduce statutory paid maternity leave was refused three times before being accepted in 2004 (Giraud & Lucas, 2009). The fact that women could not vote in Federal elections until 1971 and that left-wing parties are weak in the rural cantons also has an influence on the political agenda. Since the creation of a Federal Equality Office in 1988, policies have addressed issues of family caregiving and women's labour-market participation by extending the provision of public services and promoting a "conciliation ideal" for women (mothers) (Giraud & Lucas, 2009). However, several authors have pointed out that public discourses in Switzerland have tended to focus on cost-benefit considerations, without evoking gender equality and questioning the traditional family model (Baghdadi, 2010). The persistence of the male breadwinner/female caregiver model has thus been associated with historical and current features of the institutional settings in Switzerland.

I.2.3.2.1.1. Features of Swiss family policy

The Swiss care regime shows various shortcomings in relation to family policy that greatly influence the distribution of care responsibilities and paid employment along gender lines. Public expenditure on families with children is low in comparison with the EU (and was reduced between 2007 and 2011, from 200 million to 60 million CHF) and is fragmented due to cantonal inequalities in provision (Baghdadi, 2010). In relation to care provision, there are inequalities according to children's age in terms of funding, timing and capacity. In Switzerland, children from age 7 enter the compulsory, free of charge public system of education, but these services have irregular schedules (e.g. long lunch breaks) that require the presence of an adult at home. The services for children under 7 (e.g. crèches or childminders) or after-school-clubs are not compulsory. Where they do exist, they are extremely expensive. Although these services receive public subsidies for a fixed amount of time, the coverage and quality of these services are not satisfactory: parents complain about high fees, insufficient places and schedules that are not adapted to working hours (Baghdadi, 2010). Consequently, institutional care is insufficient while private services are too expensive for the average family to afford. The Swiss care regime seems to rely heavily on unpaid family caregiving and creates an informal care market for a cheap foreign workforce.

Cantonal authorities handle the implementation of policies and decide the eligibility criteria for social services such as child allowances or supplementary financial aid. Cantonal authorities are also in charge of granting licences to childcare centres and control the training of care workers. Yet demand for pre-school childcare services remains unsatisfied. There are some differences at sub-national levels: urban high-income and densely populated cantons offer better coverage than small rural ones (Baghdadi, 2010; Le Goff & Levy, 2016). The place of residence is an important determinant of access and quality of childcare services, but there are shortcomings at the national level such as the absence of paternity leave or irregular schedules at schools that influence care decisions amongst couples with children.

I.2.3.2.1.2. The impact of family policy on couples with children

The implementation and outcomes of Swiss family and care services influence couples' negotiations about paid work and caregiving. One of the most outstanding features of the Swiss care regime is the absence of paternity leave, the late implementation of maternity leave in 2005, and the effective exclusion of fathers from hands-on childcare. In policies and the media, fathers are represented as a secondary parent whose help is desirable but not vital (Valarino, 2016). Although formally fathers

are entitled to one day off (the same time given for getting married or moving house) on the birth of their children, some private and public employers might offer up to 10 days paid leave (Valarino, 2016). While women's childcare responsibilities are reinforced formally, fathers' responsibilities are formally denied and depend on their occupational environments and on informal arrangements. These shortcomings seems to hinder the fulfilment of gender equality ideals amongst couples with children (Bühlmann, Elcheroth, & Tettamanti, 2016).

In addition, the Swiss tax system favours some family forms at the expense of others: single earner households pay less tax than dual income families, and the system is particularly unfavourable to households where both adults work full-time (Baghdadi, 2010). Interestingly, family care arrangements seem to conform to these tax incentives. Although Swiss women are increasingly engaged in paid employment, their participation is characterised by high rates of part-time employment. The rate of female full-time employment dropped from 51% in 1991 to 41% in 2017 (SFSO, 2017l).[17] Men's rate of full-time employment has also fallen (from 92% in 1991 to 83% in 2017), but this labour-market participation pattern is still the norm for them.

Besides taxes, other labour-market and individual features explain gender inequalities in employment and caregiving for couples with children. Switzerland has long average working hours (Baghdadi, 2010; Le Feuvre, 2015), and the gender wage gap is above the OECD average, with women earning 17% less than men in 2014 (OECD, 2017). In addition, the level of education of women and the socio-economic status of husbands also mediate the family care and paid work arrangements. While 80% of mothers with a tertiary level of education are in employment, this is the case for only 71% of mothers with compulsory education levels (SFSO, 2016a, p. 3). In addition, mothers' labour-market participation rate is dependent on household income: while 60% of mothers are out of the labour market when the household income is 5,000 CHF / month or less, only 31% of them are in the same situation when the household monthly income is more than 10,000 CHF (Baghdadi, 2010, p. 28).

The evidence presented has shown that the Swiss care regime in general and family policy in particular promote a particular gender division of caregiving and employment. The Swiss male breadwinner/female caregiver model has evolved into a "modified male breadwinner" model, with

---

[17] In 2017, 34% of women worked in "long part-time" jobs (i.e. between 50% and 90%) and 25% of them worked less than half-time (SFSO, 2017l).

increasing rates of female employment, but massively on a part-time basis, particularly after the transition to motherhood. This modified male breadwinner model exemplifies the persistence of the gender master status in occupational and family trajectories. This concept explains the unquestionable assignment of women to the family sphere and men to the occupational sphere. In this sense, the occupational activity of women depends on not compromising their family responsibilities (Krüger & Levy, 2001). Family remains the priority for women in Switzerland and part-time employment is the solution for the female-exclusive conciliation between family and employment. Given the features of the Swiss institutional setting, several scholars have pointed out that the activation of the gender master status is greater in the transition to parenthood (Gauthier & Valarino, 2016; Giudici & Gauthier, 2009; Le Goff & Levy, 2016).

I.2.3.2.1.3. Transitions to parenthood

To understand the gender-based differences in care work and paid employment, the impact of parenthood is important: Swiss mothers with children aged under 6 show the highest rate – after the Netherlands – of part-time employment in comparison with the EU average: 83% of Swiss mothers as against 39% for EU mothers (SFSO, 2016a, p. 11). In addition, 26% of mothers with children under the age of three are not employed, whereas this is the case for just 3% of their fathers (SFSO, 2017e). A closer examination of employment shows the long-term effects of the transition to parenthood: while 40% of couples without children adopt a dual full-time earner model, this falls to 10% of couples when they have small children and only goes up to 15% of couples when children reach adolescence (SFSO, 2017h). The transition to parenthood thus leaves lasting imprints on women's occupational trajectories.

Despite the fact that most mothers reduce their occupation rate or quit the labour market when they have children, other gender arrangements are possible. A recent longitudinal study of the transition to parenthood in the French-speaking regions of Switzerland showed that mother's occupational trajectories are more diverse than those of fathers, mostly based on the continuous, full-time employment norm (Le Goff & Levy, 2016). The types of occupational trajectories of mothers depend on their prior employment and family situations as well as their socio-demographic characteristics, and those of their spouses. The features that show the highest impact are the employment situations of women before motherhood and the co-habitation arrangements of men before fatherhood. Women who experienced longer periods of full-time employment showed a lesser risk of reducing their working time after motherhood, whereas men who had previously lived

by themselves showed a higher investment in domestic and care tasks (Giudici, 2016). Right after the transition to parenthood, activation of the gender master status come to the fullest, but there are different types of arrangement amongst couples: while women shifted to part-time jobs in 34% of cases, women maintained relatively long working hours in 47% of couples; and in 19% of couples men shifted to part-time work (Gauthier & Valarino, 2016). The probability of women maintaining their commitment to the labour market after childbirth is higher when they are employed in male-dominated sectors where salaries and promotion opportunities are better, but these women also work a "second shift" by accumulating caregiving at home (Gauthier & Valarino, 2016). By contrast, the probability of mothers shifting to part-time employment is higher in female-dominated sectors. Finally, the higher education level and salary of women raises the probability for fathers of shifting to part-time jobs (Gauthier & Valarino, 2016). The main features that buffer couples from the activation of the gender master status after the transition to parenthood are predominantly related to the women's characteristics: education level, current earnings, promotion opportunities and employment sector.

The activation of the gender master status after parenthood also shows the institutionalisation of a paradox in the Swiss care regime: even those couples who adhere to gender equality ideals before the birth of their child end up adopting unequal practices after the transition to parenthood (Bühlmann et al., 2016). Couples who show coherence between equality ideals and actual practices declined from 40% to 20% after parenthood, but those who showed a change towards unequal practices and ideals went up to 35% after parenthood (Bühlmann et al., 2016). However, those couples that showed equal values but unequal practices showed a stable rate between 40 and 50% after childbirth (Bühlmann et al., 2016). The Swiss care regime shows the stability of a paradoxical situation where shortcomings in institutional settings (e.g. unfavourable tax system, lack of institutional childcare and absence of paternity leave) hinder the fulfilment of couples' equality ideals.

I.2.3.2.1.3. Foreign women in the transition to parenthood

Several scholars have pointed out the ways in which the Swiss care regime influences the employment and care practices of migrant women (Riaño, 2011, 2014; Riaño et al., 2015). Partnership and parenthood affect these women in particular ways. Family reunification involves transnational and bi-national marriages: the former involves the union of compatriots abroad, and the latter refers to the union of partners with different nationality e.g. native/foreigner or

foreigner/foreigner. Given the Swiss migration regime, family reunification also represents a legal outlet for non-EU citizens to enter and/or settle in the country. In addition, the Swiss care regime promotes traditional family models that assign women to caregiving and men to the occupational sphere. The impact of bi-national marriages is thus twofold: citizenship and gender create a hierarchy between the two spouses. The transition to parenthood also reinforces these processes of stratification.

Research on bi-national marriages has shown the disadvantaged position of foreign women. Regardless of their skills, the couple's negotiations seem to favour investment in the Swiss male spouse's career rather than in that of the foreign female spouse (Riaño, 2011; Riaño & Baghdadi, 2007a; Seminario & Le Feuvre, 2017). The activation of gender master status also leads to labour market rewards: recognised educational credentials and occupational experiences for the Swiss spouse in combination with the institutional setting which reinforces the female caregiver role. Furthermore, migrant women in bi-national marriages express higher aspirations for gender equality in marrying a European instead of a male compatriot (e.g. Latin American), but there are several institutional and normative barriers to establishing equal practices amongst couples in Switzerland (Riaño, 2014; Riaño & Baghdadi, 2007a). Instead of adhering to traditional family roles, migrant women thus have equality aspirations that seem to remain unfulfilled in the Swiss context.

In the transition to parenthood, there are unexpected differences between Swiss mothers and their migrant counterparts.[18] In 2014, 24% of migrant mothers were in full-time jobs, as against just 11% of their Swiss counterparts (SFSO, 2017o). In 2015, part-time employment was more frequent for Swiss mothers (87%) than for their migrant counterparts (65%) (SFSO, 2016a, p. 4). By contrast, Swiss and migrant fathers both showed higher employment rates and low levels of part-time jobs (SFSO, 2016a).

Gender seems to temper the Swiss/migrant divide, but Swiss and migrant mothers develop different strategies to cope with the activation of the gender master status after the transition to parenthood: Swiss women reduce their working hours whereas those migrant women who continue to work outside the home seem to remain predominantly in full-time jobs. In the light of previous

---

[18] In 1991, the employment rate of Swiss women was lower than that of migrant women (57% as against 84%). By 2015, the opposite was true (84% of Swiss women were in the labour market as against only 69% of their migrant counterparts) (SFSO, 2016a, p. 3). Migrant women also had a higher rate of unemployment in 2015 (almost 10%) (SFSO, 2016a, p. 5).

research, one hypothesis might be that migrant mothers who are employed full-time are likely to be in jobs characterised by higher levels of education, salaries and promotion opportunities. Consequently, not only the level of education but also the type of skills and employment sector might have an impact on migrant women's employment situation after the transition to parenthood.

The brief characterisation of the Swiss gender regime shows the persistence of the gender master status and its systematic activation after the transition to parenthood. In combination with the Swiss migration regime, the impact on migration men and women depends not only gender but also on citizenship status. For instance, bi-national marriage represents a legal outlet for the entry and/or settlement of non-EU citizens in Switzerland that increasingly mediates the labour-market participation of this migrant population. The couple's negotiations might favour the career development of the Swiss male spouse at the expense of the accumulation of family caregiving by the foreign female spouse. Besides this traditional family model, high-skilled migrant women might mobilise resources to maintain full-time employment, and migrant men might face barriers to employment based on citizenship that favour their female Swiss spouse. Consequently, the Swiss gender care regime influences the transition to parenthood and labour-market participation of migrant men and women particularly. However, the influence is also mediated by the social background and prior experiences of these migrant men and women in the home country.

I.2.3.3. The Peruvian gender regime

Given that Peruvian migration is highly-skilled and feminised, this brief description of the Peruvian gender regime should help to understand the hierarchies between Peruvian women and men as well as the gender normativity that also informs their occupational and family trajectories abroad. Peruvian migrant women mainly come from the urban middle classes, and those who have achieved university degrees are brought up to expect continuous employment and career opportunities. For women from this social background, career advancement is made possible by the delegation of housework and caregiving responsibilities to other women from less privileged groups. In Peru, paid domestic services began in colonial times and have expanded to several class segments in urban areas (Fuertes Medina, 2013). Given the hierarchies amongst Peruvian women, those who achieve post-compulsory education are motivated and able to continue working by delegating family responsibilities to other women. These growing ideals amongst this privileged segment of Peruvian women are difficult to maintain in the course of international migration, when they often move into jobs below their qualifications and/or conform to more traditional gender roles, particularly when

they form bi-national marriages and are confronted with the institutional settings in receiving countries such as Switzerland.

Building on from the concept of care regime, this section briefly characterises the Peruvian care regime. It is linked to a deficient welfare system that reinforces inequalities based on ethnicity and class. Stratification within it happens not only between Peruvian men and women, but also within the group of Peruvian women along ethnicity and class lines. Given the features of Peruvian migration outflows, I address the education attainment and labour-market participation of Peruvian women in urban areas as well as the possibility of caregiving delegation in the form of paid household work.

I.2.3.3.1. The Peruvian welfare regime?

To understand the role of the Peruvian care regime, I describe particular features of welfare development in the country. Many scholars have been inspired by the pioneering work of Esping-Andersen (1990) to understand welfare development in other geographical regions. However, the figure of the welfare state is not the most common in Latin America. The region shows features of non-existent welfare states, highly selective labour markets and dependence on family and local networks for well-being. Furthermore, during the last decades there has been a change from a stratified system of social security that targets formal workers and certain occupations to liberal regimes without solid targeted state programmes (Franzoni, 2008).

Some authors have proposed typologies or indices that measure the development of welfare in Latin America (Cruz-Martinez, 2014, 2017; Franzoni, 2008; Sagasti, Prada, & Bazan, 2007; Segura-Ubiergo, 2007). Instead of a typology of welfare states, different types of welfare regimes are identified in the region, based on the particular arrangements of family, labour market, community and state. Recent studies have shown that Peru lags behind other Latin American countries in the welfare development index and represents a familialist welfare regime (Cruz-Martinez, 2014; Franzoni, 2008). In contrast to Brazil, Chile and Argentina, Peru and other neighbouring countries (e.g. Ecuador, Venezuela Colombia and Bolivia) are characterised by the absence of a welfare state. Interestingly, those Latin American countries where the state plays an important role in the provision of welfare have become destination countries for Peruvian migration outflows.

To further understand the foundations of the Peruvan informal-familialist welfare regime, it is important to remember that this country has historically maintained separate and unequal

protections against different social risks. Since the end of the 19th century, the public health system has historically targeted indigenous rural women by controlling their biological reproduction potential. The focus on the mother-child dyad followed the discourses of (internal) colonialism – the cultural, economic and political domination of groups of peoples in a single national territory by a dominant elite, which promoted (racial) improvment and the reduction of poverty by targeting poor indigenous women in rural areas (Ewig, 2010). The thousands of cases of forced ligatures performed by health professionals in rural areas under Fujimori's government (1990-2000) represents a paradigmatic example of ethno-racial and gender discrimination in Peruvian social policy. In contrast, a stratified social security system emerged in the middle of the 20th century. In response to the organised political participation of male "*mestizo*" employees and factory workers in urban areas, the government introduced a corporatist welfare regime restricted to certain occupations and covering the risks of accident, old age and illness[19] (Ewig, 2010). The industrialisation and the urbanisation of the coastal region and the expansion of public employment created two social groups, white-collar and blue-collar workers, who formed an alliance against an elitist-centred government (Sagasti et al., 2007; Segura-Ubiergo, 2007). Although the political alliance did not last, unequal funding, coverage and quality between the public-sector system and the social security system continue to reinforce the rural/urban and gender division. The "lost decade" of the 1980s was marked by a very high rate of inflation and political violence showing the dramatic contraction of welfare policy at all levels of the Peruvian territory.

From the 20th century and the present day, Peru's socio-economic development has been characterised as that of a late industrialisation country that has followed a rapid and radical liberalisation trend. However, the democratisation processes had a weak impact on social welfare expansion due to the high frequency of authoritarian populist governments[20] (Franzoni, 2008; Sagasti et al., 2007; Segura-Ubiergo, 2007). The lack of a welfare state is also linked to the persistent inequality based on the geographical divisions, ethno-racial discrimination and inefficient wealth distribution. Consequently, the recent "Peruvian miracle" of economic growth, low inflation rate and poverty reduction did not change the inequality indicators: in 2010, Peru showed a 0.60 GINI coefficient that was the same in 1980 (Contreras et al., 2016). Recently, a second wave of neoliberalism has increased inequality in access and service quality through flexibilisation of the

---

[19] In Peru, there is no unemployment insurance.
[20] Since independence from Spain in 1821, the Peruvian government has been characterised by oligarchies, military coups and weak political parties (Ewig, 2010).

employment conditions of health professionals, the emergence of poverty-relief programmes with minimal services and the partial privatisation of social service provision (e.g. health and retirement) (Ewig, 2010). In combination with the place of residence and occupation status, income increasingly influences access to and the quality of social services in Peru.

Although Peruvian men and women rely on their own resources for social protection, the current welfare regime is characterised by low commodification of the labour force and high familiarisation of the safety net against risks (Franzoni, 2008). The lower rates of incorporation of the workforce in the formal labour market and the lower rates of remuneration reinforce the dependency of family livelihoods on informal employment and international labour markets (e.g. international migration and remittances). In 2015, 73% of the working population in Peru belonged to the informal sector, which is characterised by precarious employment conditions (no social protection) (INEI, 2016a, p. 100). Besides the fact that the rate of informal work is lower in urban areas than in rural ones, Peruvian women are more affected than their male counterparts: 76% against 71% in 2015 (INEI, 2016a, p. 100).

However, Peruvian women show the highest labour-market participation rates in the Latin America region: 63% in 2015 (INEI, 2016a, p. 15). The larger participation of women in the labour market reflects family strategies to compensate for low wages and poor public services (Franzoni, 2008). However, this familialisation trend does not result in a male breadwinner/ female caregiver model based on a nuclear family structure. The Latin American countries that belonged to the family-based welfare regimes showed higher rates of extended families and lower rates of inactive females than in other countries in the region (Franzoni, 2008). Peruvian women perform a "second shift": they work nine hours per week more than their male counterparts in general and employed women spend the same amount of time in paid and unpaid work: 37 hours per week for each (Freyre Valladolid & Lopez Mendoza, 2011). The Peruvian welfare regime thus heavily relies on women's paid and unpaid work.

This brief description of the Peruvian welfare regime emphasises the stratification in social protection provision, based on the rural/urban division, ethno-racial and gender lines. The development of the welfare regime has reinforced inequalities between indigenous rural women and their urban *mestizo* male counterparts. Although Peruvian women are associated with their caregiver role, there is in-group inequality based on ethno-racial markers and the rural/urban divide. The Peruvian welfare regime shows the inefficiency of the state in providing social services and

delegation to the labour market, communities and families. The last-mentioned actors are responsible for creating a safety net against social risks. Consequently, family arrangements become central to understanding provision of and access to care.

I.2.3.3.2. The Peruvian care regime

As regards the features of Peru's welfare regime, the care regime relies heavily on families and the labour market, rather than the state, to sustain daily livelihoods. Furthermore, Peruvian women's paid and unpaid work is central to care arrangements. While the distribution of domestic work shows the accumulation of caregiving by women, the capacity to delegate these tasks relies on the colonial heritage, rural/urban division and ethno-racial stratification amongst women. Consequently, certain groups of Peruvian women – from the urban middle classes – can develop professional careers thanks to their access to university education and to the delegation of family responsibilities to the paid domestic labour market.

I.2.3.3.2.1. Peruvian women's paid work

Peruvian women's work shows particular features. Because of rural/urban divide, the situation of Peruvian women is contradictory: rural women show the highest levels of illiteracy whereas urban women show higher levels of educational attainment than their rural counterparts; both of them have poorer working and employment conditions than their male counterparts (INEI, 2016a). Besides their concentration in the informal sector, Peruvian women worked in the most precarious employment sectors: In 2015, 66% of them worked in the service and sales sector, 70% of them worked for micro-enterprises and only 40% of them were wage workers (INEI, 2016a, pp. 90–95). The service and sales sector are characterised by informal employment and low remuneration. In Lima, some employment conditions are better for women than their counterparts in the rest of the country: while 76% of women were in informal employment in 2015, this figure drops to 59% for women in Lima, the capital city (INEI, 2016a, p. 416). In the same line, the occupation rate of women in the most precarious employment sectors such as independent work and unpaid family workers (e.g. no social insurance cover) was reduced by a half in Lima: 50% of these workers are women nationwide while women only represented 28% of them in Lima in 2015 (INEI, 2016a, p. 450). Besides the rural/urban divide, it seems that career advancement for women has better prospects in Lima than in other parts of the country.

The educational attainment of rural and urban women also differs considerably. Peruvian women show the third highest rate of educational attainment (after Chile and Cuba) from the Latin American region: in 2015, 63% of young adult women finished compulsory education or more (INEI, 2016a, p. 15). Furthermore, men's enrolment in post-compulsory education is lower (27%) than their female counterparts (31%) nationwide (INEI, 2016a, p. 305). Consequently, there is a feminisation of university education in Peru (Garavito & Carrillo, 2004): in 2010, there were 49% of women and 51% of men at under-graduate level, but 52% women and 48% men enrolled on post-graduate programmes (INEI, 2011, p. 29). This trend happens in urban areas predominantly where the universities are concentrated and the quality of education is better: women's enrolment rate in post-compulsory education was higher in Lima than in the rest of the country: 35% and 29% respectively in 2015 (INEI, 2016a, p. 305). However, the labour-market returns on women's education are limited. In 2015, the gender wage gap did not improve with post-compulsory education; on the contrary it widened: the national average was 71% and this rose to 72% when women had university education and 76% when they were in a professional occupation (INEI, 2016a, p. 106). So, women's employment conditions in Peru do not improve with educational attainment necessarily.

I.2.3.3.2.2. Peruvian women's unpaid domestic work

Although Peruvian women increasingly invest in occupational training and the labour market, the division of unpaid domestic work in the household follows gender lines. Unsurprisingly, Peruvian men spend more time in paid work whereas women spend more time in unpaid domestic work. In 2010, Peruvian men spent 50 hours in paid work and 15 hours in unpaid domestic work per week, whereas Peruvian women spent 36 hours in paid work and 39 hours in unpaid domestic work per week (Freyre Valladolid & Lopez Mendoza, 2011, p. 11).

While men worked fewer hours per week than women, women worked more hours overall (paid + unpaid labour). As said before, employed women spent about the same amount of time each week on paid work and unpaid domestic work (approx. 37 hours each), whereas unemployed men only increased their unpaid domestic labour by one hour per week (Freyre Valladolid & Lopez Mendoza, 2011, p. 34). Men do not increase their contribution to domestic labour, even when they are not

employed. Women's domestic work is not only time-consuming, it is also combined with high rates of labour-market participation.[21]

To understand the impact of the gender master status on employment and family trajectory, the changes in labour-market participation and unpaid domestic work have to be traced across the life-course of Peruvian women. Although there are no longitudinal studies on this question in Peru, the available data enable us to see changes between age groups. While Peruvian men's occupation rate and hours of unpaid domestic work are stable across age groups, these figures vary by age for women. Labour-market participation rates of women do not vary significantly by age, suggesting a weak effect of the transition to motherhood on their employment patterns: from 73% for the 14-24 year-old group it rises to 77% for 25-34 year-old women and falls by one percentage point for 35-44 year-old women (INEI, 2016a, p. 93).

However, Peruvian women in the age groups where motherhood is probable spend more time on unpaid family childcare: from 8 hours per week for the 12 to 19 year-old women to 14-16 hours per week for the age groups between 20 and 39, and then only 9 hours in the older age groups (Freyre Valladolid & Lopez Mendoza, 2011, p. 19). However, the number of children does not seem to increase the time spent on unpaid childcare: 10 hours for women with one child or two children and 13 hours for women with three children (Freyre Valladolid & Lopez Mendoza, 2011, p. 32). Generally, the hours spent on unpaid domestic work increase for women in these age groups: from 39 hours per week for the age group 20-29 it rises to 50 hours weekly for those aged 30-39 and remains at 45 hours per week for women aged 40-49 (Freyre Valladolid & Lopez Mendoza, 2011, p. 28). Interestingly, living with a partner doubles the amount of unpaid domestic work carried out by women: single women spend 24 hours per week on it and married / partnered women spend 48 hours weekly (Freyre Valladolid & Lopez Mendoza, 2011, p. 29). Consequently, the transition to partnership seems to have a clearer influence on Peruvian women's unpaid domestic work than the transition to motherhood.

However, with the available data, it is impossible to distinguish and compare the impact of partnership and parenthood. In view of these trends, a hypothesis about the gender master status in Peru could be: an activation role of partnership for the accumulation of unpaid domestic work

---

[21] By comparison, in 2016, Swiss women spent 28 hours per week on family and domestic work, but mothers who were employed full-time spent 39 hours per week, while their male counterparts only spent 18 hours (SFSO, 2017d).

by women, whereas labour-market participation seems rather stable. In contrast, their female counterparts in Switzerland change their labour-market participation to part-time employment and increase unpaid domestic work after the transition to motherhood rather than marriage: women living alone spend 19 hours per week in unpaid domestic work, a smaller rise happens in two-person households (women spend 23 hours) but the highest peak is seen in in two-person households with small children (women spend 58 hours) (SFSO, 2017d).

I.2.3.3.2.3. Childcare provision in Peru

Although the absence of longitudinal data makes it difficult to understand the impact of parenthood on life courses, the features of childcare in the Peru care regime might explain inequalities between men and women and between different groups of women. Peru offers statutory maternity and paternity leave paid to the totality of current salary by private and public employers: the former amounts to 13 weeks and the latter to 4 days. Although statutory maternity leave arrived in the 1990s, paternity leave was introduced only recently in 2013. In addition, women are free to organise their leave before or after childbirth and since 1994 women have been entitled to paid nursing breaks of 60 minutes for one year (Addati, Cassirer, & Gilchrist, 2014). Moreover, new legislation requires all public employers of at least 20 women to set up a breastfeeding facility (Addati et al., 2014). The Peruvian care regime also proposes in its pro-poor conditional cash transfer programme "Juntos" the use of health care for pregnant women and children under 14 as a condition to receive 70 USD every two months (Addati et al., 2014; Correa & Roopnaine, 2013). Given the target groups of both social policies – women in wage employment or those affected by poverty – other groups of women seem to be left out of these services.

In view of the welfare regime in Peru, family strategies are central to provide care to their members, in particular children, the elderly and members with disabilities. Besides cleaning and cooking, most of the hours of women's unpaid domestic work are devoted to childcare in general: 12 hours per week in 2010 (Freyre Valladolid & Lopez Mendoza, 2011, p. 15). The distribution of unpaid domestic work amongst women happens in extended families rather than nuclear ones. For example, Peruvian women with different family roles devoted varying amounts of time to unpaid domestic work per week in 2010: the mother, the mother-in-law, the sister and the sister-in-law spent between 31 and 34 hours while the wife and the daughter-in-law spent 48 to 51 hours per week (Freyre Valladolid & Lopez Mendoza, 2011, p. 31). Besides the gender-based inequality, position in the extended family (i.e. age) also influences the amount of domestic work. This might

be one plausible reason to understand the greater increase in these hours in the partnership transition than in the motherhood one: women assume more family roles and responsibilities for their in-laws. Not without conflicts, the arrangements in the extended family might, however, counteract the accumulation of domestic work by one female member. In this context, childcare might be distributed along female-based extended family networks.

Besides informal family arrangements, childcare involves institutional settings. Compulsory education starts at age 3 and finishes at age 16 (pre-school, elementary and high school) and the timetables are continuous (e.g. from 8 am to 1 pm). There are also kindergartens/nurseries available for younger children (2.5 and 3 years old), and after-school clubs mainly in urban areas. In 2010, the enrolment rate in pre-school was 71% for girls and 79% for boys and the elementary and high school enrolment rate was 91% and 84% respectively for boys and girls (INEI, 2016a, p. 75). Like other social services in Peru, the public and private systems of childcare show inequalities in reach and coverage.

Place of residence and income also influence access to institutional childcare services and the amount of unpaid domestic work done by women. There are more private and public childcare services in urban areas than rural areas, and the enrolment rate in compulsory education is higher in the former than the latter (INEI, 2016a). Furthermore, women in rural areas spent 47 hours in unpaid domestic work per week whereas women in urban areas spent 37 per week in 2010 (Freyre Valladolid & Lopez Mendoza, 2011, p. 23). Women with the lowest income, however, spent more time in unpaid domestic work than their counterparts with the highest income. The gap between low- and high-income women for unpaid hours in childcare and cleaning is smaller than the gap for cooking and elderly care: the former spent 11 hours per week for childcare and the latter spent 9 hours, whereas the lower-income women spent 17 hours weekly for elderly care and cooking and the higher-income women spent almost half of this, between 8 and 12 hours (Freyre Valladolid & Lopez Mendoza, 2011, p. 37). Although childcare represented the same number of hours for both groups of women, it seems that higher-income women might delegate cooking and elderly care to other women instead of men. These tasks also represent two forms of paid domestic work: non-specialised and specialised.

I.2.3.3.2.4. Paid domestic work in Peru

Besides the use of institutional childcare care, the Peruvian care regime involves the widespread use of paid domestic work. This type of work has evolved from the forms of servitude of colonial and

republican times to current trends of formalisation and regulation. Since the 1980s, paid domestic workers have been demanding better employment conditions. Particular legislation was introduced to formalise this type of work in 2003, and a national union of domestic workers was created in 2006 (Fuertes Medina, 2013). Despite these efforts, paid domestic workers continue to suffer from precarious employment conditions (informal contracts, long working hours, sexual abuse, etc.) and enjoy fewer rights than most other categories of workers (e.g. half the vacation time) (Fuertes Medina, 2013).

In 2010, there were 476,000 paid domestic workers in Peru, of whom 96% were unqualified, 3% were technicians and professionals (e.g. home-based healthcare providers) and 1% provided specific services (e.g. home repairs and gardening) (Fuertes Medina, 2013, p. 80). Besides being a female-dominated sector, half of this workforce is employed in Lima (54%) and most of them (68%) have migrated from other parts of the country (Fuertes Medina, 2013, pp. 81–83). In addition, 22% of paid domestic workers are of indigenous ethnic origin (Garavito, 2017).

The rapid process of urbanisation and population concentration in Lima (since 1950), in combination with the higher rates of Limenian women in waged employment have created and sustained the biggest market for paid domestic work in Peru. In addition, salaries are higher in Lima than in other cities. Recent trends show the concentration in Lima and the reduction of the young migrant workforce as paid domestic workers: instead of young women (aged 14 to 29) from the Andean and Amazonian regions, older women (aged 45 to 54) born in Lima from less privileged backgrounds, progressively performed this work (Fuertes Medina, 2013; Garavito, 2017). Consequently, there is a decline in live-in forms of paid domestic work, which are being replaced by services paid by the hour (Fuertes Medina, 2013; Garavito, 2017). Young migrant women prefer live-in jobs to save time and money in looking for accommodation in Lima, but women living in Lima do not have the same concerns. Moreover, hourly paid jobs seem to counteract exploitation that might be frequently encountered in live-in jobs (e.g. non-unionisation, long working hours, sexual or other forms of abuse).

There is no information available on the principal employers of paid domestic work; however, the available data suggest some features. The use of paid domestic work is one of the socio-economic stratification indicators amongst households in Peru (IPSOS Peru, 2016). Given the five socio-economic groups, 100% and 30% of urban upper and upper-middle-class households respectively declared that they hired domestic workers in 2016 (IPSOS Peru, 2016). In 2015, women in these

socio-economic groups in Lima showed a higher rate of wage employment: 45% of women in the upper class had wage employment in contrast to 34% of women in the least privileged socio-economic group, and these high-income women also showed a lower gender wage gap: women in the upper and lower-middle classes earned 99% of their male counterparts' wage (INEI, 2016a, pp. 414–457). Consequently, it could be argued that these women might not only need but also can afford paid domestic work.

Although under unequal conditions, dual-earner households are widespread in Lima (see Table 3). The proportion of dual earners is high in all five socio-economic groups; but the lowest groups show both partners in precarious employment conditions: low-skilled workers and independent workers. Working women in these urban households might also need and use paid domestic work regardless of the socio-economic group. However, the wage and employment conditions for domestic paid workers in the least privileged households would not match those in better-off households in Peru. The stratification of the market of paid domestic work offers unequal job positions.

Table 3. Dual-earner households according to socio-economic groups in Lima 2016

	Employment	
	Head of household	Partner of head of household
A	78% work (salaried)	55% work (salaried)
B	70% work (salaried)	49% work (salaried)
C	69% work (salaried)	47% (independent worker)
D	76% work (independent worker)	58% (independent worker)
E	81% (low-skilled employment)	52% (independent worker)

Author's own calculations based on (IPSOS Peru, 2016)

Consequently, recent studies about paid domestic work in Peru have concluded that it is widespread across all five socio-economic groups, for instance in the urban lower-middle class; and that paid domestic workers experience quite unfavorable employment conditions in terms of formality and salary (Fuertes Medina, 2013): 43% of declared domestic workers in Lima resided in four municipalities that concentrated the households with the highest income in 2010 (Fuertes Medina, 2013, p. 89). It also seems that the upper and upper-middle-class prefer trained and experienced domestic workers, while the lower socio-economic groups seek younger and unskilled domestic workers. The former more frequently use employment agencies to hire domestic workers and the latter use family networks or even illegal channels to find domestic workers (Fuertes Medina, 2013, p. 83). Although paid domestic service might be considered a privilege restricted to the most

advantaged groups in Peru, the colonial heritage and persistent inequalities among Peruvian women seem to allow an extensive use.

In combination with informal family arrangements amongst female members, the use of paid domestic work represents another way to deal with domestic tasks and family responsibility as well as employment for Peruvian women. Rather than challenging the gender division of work, delegation to the least privileged women reinforces social class and ethno-racial inequalities amongst Peruvian women. However, better-off Peruvian women in urban areas who access university education, participate in the labour market and delegate care and domestic work, might defy traditional gender norms.

I.2.3.3.3. Gender norms in Peru

Since the middle of the 20th century, gender norms in Peru have been changing. The feminisation of labour-market participation and post-compulsory education have particularly influenced urban and middle-class groups. In view of the diversity of gender norms in the rural areas of the Andes and the Amazonia, this section only addresses the trends in big urban centres and the upper and lower middle classes in Peru. In relation to a family-centred femininity, these Peruvian women increasingly perceive investment in a professional career as part of their self-fulfilment.

Until the mid-20th century, middle-class gender models emphasised controlled sexuality (family honour) and self-sacrificing motherhood (Marianism) for women and active sexuality (virility), successful careers, and parenthood (manliness) for men (N. Fuller, 1993, 2000b). Although the male breadwinner and female caregiver model was rarely put into practice in Peru, these gender ideals influenced urban families and state policy at the beginning of the Republican era (Ewig, 2010). In recent decades, women's paid and unpaid work has become more important to buffer the non-existent welfare state, the economic crisis and persistent inequalities. Besides the family sphere, women have started to be more visible in public spaces such as the labour market, civil society organisations and political parties. Following the circulation of egalitarian discourses, the use of contraceptive methods, and rampant unemployment from the 1980s and 1990s, a number of normative shifts occurred.

The changing trends included the dissociation between sexuality and maternity and the importance given to career advancement for women (N. Fuller, 1993), whereas masculinities continue to emphasise sexual privileges and breadwinner roles, more as a prerogative than a duty (N. Fuller,

2000a, 2000b, 2005). Although fatherhood is still a central feature of masculinity, urban middle-class men value a caring as well as a provider role (N. Fuller, 2000a). The expansion of compulsory and post-compulsory education infrastructure – at the beginning by the state and lately by the market – nourished the myth of progress by educational attainment. Nowadays, not only the privileged classes can access university education but also the least privileged ones; but the quality of education services and the value given to degrees differed between prestigious private universities and public universities and recent private small universities (Huber & Lamas, 2017). Consequently, career advancement plans have expanded to women in the upper and lower middle classes, to protect or transgress class divisions. In combination with social class, motherhood no longer represents the only pathway to adulthood for women and educational attainment has emerged as the vehicle for women's economic independence and social mobility amongst the urban middle classes.

The representation of maternity and educational attainment in gender identities has changed greatly. Middle-class, high-skilled and young women seem to question the exclusive assignment of femininity to the family/domestic sphere, and to change the valorisation given to motherhood. In addition, post-compulsory education is appreciated amongst women to secure employment conditions and foster economic autonomy and social mobility. Although career advancement is central to these Peruvian women's identity nowadays, they might still conform to more traditional gender norms based on motherhood and gender division of care work. Women's self-fulfilment thus revolves around two spheres: family and career.

A recent study of the perceptions of motherhood amongst young female university students from the lower middle class in Lima showed the importance of discourses that proposed the readjustment of career advancement to include success in the transition to motherhood (Cieza, 2016). These young women explained that their desired life-course would be the completion of their university studies followed by post-graduate training abroad, then the achievement of an stable employment to enjoy travelling and finally consolidating partnership into marriage and motherhood (Cieza, 2016, p. 59). While demanding an equal gender division of domestic work, they acknowledged that the transition to motherhood would imply 2-3 years out of the labour market to perform childcare before enrolment in compulsory education (Cieza, 2016, pp. 103–105). Besides the fear of economic dependency on the male spouse, motherhood still represents a more important source of self-fulfilment than the relation with the male partner for these women (Cieza, 2016, p. 102). These discourses showed the aspirations and tensions involved in contemporary Peruvian femininities.

Besides their representations, Peruvian women who aspire to career advancement and motherhood develop particular tactics: lower fertility rates and postponing childbirth. Although there has been a drop in fertility rates from 4.0 in 1990 to 2.4 in 2014 for the entire country, this rate dropped to 2.1 for women with post-compulsory education and to 1.9 for women from high-income groups (INEI, 2016a, pp. 49–52). Another tactic is to postpone childbirth until completion of university studies. In 2015, the average age at the birth of the first child was 21 years nationwide, but 25 years in Lima (INEI, 2016a, p. 207). These tactics to combine career advancement and motherhood seem to be used more frequently in the urban middle classes.

To summarise the changes in gender norms: although urban middle-class women seem to value professional success more than motherhood, they tend to delay childbirth until after graduation and to opt out of employment during the first years of motherhood (Cieza, 2016; N. Fuller, 2001). The Peruvian care regime provides a source of paid domestic services that might allow these women to delegate childcare and maintain themselves in employment after the transition to motherhood. Since Peru's urban middle class is the main source of international migration, one would expect that these trends would be visible after their arrival in the host countries. However, we would also expect to see some signs of adaptation to the local gender norms. In the case of Switzerland, the experiences and motivations for career advancement of these women would have to adapt to the migration regime for non-EU citizens, where work permits are harder to obtain than family reunification permits, and to the Swiss care regime, where transition to parenthood penalises women's occupational trajectories.

I.2.4. Concluding remarks

The brief characterisation of the Swiss and Peruvian migration, gender and care regimes has sketched the framework within which to understand the legal, occupational and family trajectories of Peruvian migrants in Switzerland. The regime approach emphasises the interactions between actors and the multidimensional nature of public issues such as migration and care. Combined analysis of the migration and care regimes promises to be pertinent for grasping citizenship, ethno-national, gender and class-based diversity and inequalities in the migration experience. In addition, the interest in migrants' life courses involves multiple stages that include not only border-crossing and legal incorporation but also training, employment, partnership and parenthood. Consequently, the migration and care regimes interactively influence migrants' life courses and show processes of stratification between the migrant and non-migrant population and within the migrant population.

The case of Peruvian migration in Switzerland represents an interesting case study. The features of high-skilled and feminised migration from Peru are an example of under-researched contemporary outflows from the South to the North (Dumitru & Marfouk, 2015; Nunes Reichel, 2016). First of all, Peruvian migration belongs to the urban middle classes in Lima where career advancement represents an important feature of social class membership and mobility, and international migration for training becomes increasingly popular amongst university students. Switzerland does not represent a common destination for training, but the Swiss government has a scholarship programme for young Peruvian scholars. However, the Swiss migration regime sets for employment transition for non-EU graduates who have to look for alternative ways to stay. Citizenship barriers might cancel out some of the class privileges from Peru and Switzerland. The Swiss migration regime seems to restrict non-EU employment inflows to high-skilled male professions (e.g. engineering) in comparison with family reunification pathways (e.g. bi-national marriage) (Seminario & Le Feuvre, 2017). Peruvian graduates from Swiss universities may not only have to cope with the non-recognition of Peruvian degrees at admission, but also with the low returns on their Swiss degrees in the national labour market.

Secondly, the high-skilled and feminised Peruvian migration in Switzerland displays the particular ways in which women's career advancement has to accommodate family caregiving transnationally. Gender normativity and practices in relation to employment and family in the urban middle classes in Lima show that women invest in post-compulsory education, predominantly belong to dual-earner households and delegate family caregiving to paid domestic workers. The Swiss migration regime, which proposes a relatively attractive family reunification pathway to settlement for non-EU citizens, influences their family transitions. The consequences of this legal pathway to settlement on the occupational and family trajectories of Peruvian migrants differ along gender lines. The Swiss care regime imposes important penalties on women's occupational trajectories after motherhood. Peruvian women who belonged to the urban middle classes and adhered to career advancement ideals have to deal with a modified male breadwinner/female caregiver model in Switzerland.

Finally, the focus on Switzerland as an uncommon destination for Peruvian migration aims to display heterogeneous experiences of cross-border mobility. Based on the history of circulation of people in Peru, Peruvian migration displays a geographically scattered destination hierarchy: North America, Europe, Asia and South America. Consequently, Peruvian migrants might connect multiple destinations in their cross-border mobility: they might start at destinations at the bottom

of the hierarchy, accumulate sufficient resources and then go up to the top destinations. European countries represent the top of the hierarchy, but the most popular destinations for historical reasons are Spain and Italy. However, the recent economic crisis in Spain and Italy has triggered another form of mobility amongst Peruvian migrants. Some of them have already obtained an EU passport that opens the borders of the EU region and currently look for opportunities in better-off European countries such as Switzerland.

In the following chapter, I present the methodology of this dissertation: the life-course and network approaches as well as my fieldwork experiences and data analysis techniques.

Part I - Chapter 3

Timing and stratification in migration: Methodological challenges

Introduction

This chapter presents the main features of my research design and methodology. Addressing the questions of citizenship dynamics, gendered occupational patterns and multipolar networks and mobility, this dissertation emphasises the importance of timing and stratification for various aspects of integration and transnationalism. It combines two methods: life-course and network analysis. On the one hand, the debates about the biographical turn and the life-course paradigm in the social sciences inspired me to develop a qualitative data collection tool, in order to better understand the events and meanings in migrants' biographies. Life-course analysis depicts the relationships between parallel trajectories (e.g. family, employment, residential, health, etc.) and the transitions in relation to institutional settings on multiple scales. On the other hand, narrative analysis reveals the perceptions of events (e.g. migration) and the subjective dimensions of the events experienced by individuals. Finally, social network analysis is able to shed light on key aspects in the understanding of relations in migration experiences such as the composition, timing and location of ties to other people. In combination with narrative analysis, network analysis enables me to identify forms of grouping and in-group divisions, and the geographical spread of migrants' relations. Network analysis also complements life-course analysis in the understanding of the emergence, activation and disappearance of relations at different times, in different locations.

Drawing on these methodological insights, I will now explain in more detail my choice of qualitative methods and their complementarity: the treatment of biographies as a chain of events, subjective narratives and accounts of structural settings as well as the consideration of the dynamics of networks at different moments of migration. The implementation of this methodology involved continuous adaptation during four years of fieldwork in the French- and German-speaking cantons in Switzerland. Recruitment and access to respondents replied to a large extent on my own background as a Peruvian female anthropologist. Inspired by the intersectional approach, I assess the ways in which the out/insider categories were negotiated, imposed or produced in terms of gender, social class and ethnicity during various encounters. In turn, these situations influenced the snowball-based recruitment that yielded 55 participants (See Table A on Annexes pages 20-23). Although the only initial selection criterion was Peruvian nationality, the heterogeneity of the group

also followed theoretical sampling criteria, for example: canton of residence, level of skills and legal status. My methods included participant observation and qualitative interviewing. For the former, the fieldwork started with collaboration with associations of Peruvians in Switzerland where I observed and participated under different guises (e.g. member, volunteer, spectator) in various events (e.g. religious, sporting, academic, cultural). For the latter, I conducted biographical interviews using a life calendar with all the participants and then social network interviews with half of them. After explaining the conditions and limitations of my observations and interviews, I conclude this section with more information about my data analysis techniques. Drawing on grounded theory, I explain the treatment of field notes, transcripts and charts. The analysis started with the first biographical interviews, which were coded thematically using NVivo software. In tandem with fieldwork, the list of codes evolved: it was adjusted to narrative analysis and I finally added the network-inspired codes. Simultaneously, the life calendars were transformed into lifelines, to enable comparison between biographies, and the network charts were transformed into social networks maps using Vennmaker software. The data analysis enabled me to identify patterns in trajectories, narratives and networks amongst the participants.

I.3.1. Life-course analysis

The emergence of life-course and biographical methods reflect epistemological debates in the social sciences and the methodological advances in understanding social changes and their implications for actors in contemporary societies. The life-course perspective represents a way to address the interactions between the dynamic historical contexts and the group and individual levels of multidirectional mobility in stratified social spaces. Biographical methods shed light on the ways in which individuals give meaning to the past, present and future of their lives by positioning themselves and others in broader socio-cultural contexts. Besides the centrality of temporality in both methods, this dissertation proposes the combined analysis of structural and cultural aspects of migrants' biographies.

I.3.1.1. Analytical perspectives

This perspective dates from the beginning of the 20th century; it was consolidated on both sides of the Atlantic from the 1980s and continues to inspire social research. Although the classic reference of time-sensitive research is William Thomas and Florian Znaniecki's *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America: Monograph of an Immigrant Group*, published in 1920, Migration Studies has incorporated the life-course approach heterogeneously. In this section, I describe the methodological advances that

inform the development of my own approach to migration: a combination of structural and cultural-oriented approaches.

Until the 1950s, social science research neglected the changes in people and contexts; new theoretical and methodological developments then began to address these questions. The use of archives, documents and interviews was followed by the implementation of longitudinal studies and retrospective data collection in the USA and Europe between the 1960s and the 1970s. In this context, the life-course approach was influenced by other disciplines such as social history and developmental psychology (e.g. life span research). The former shed light on the contextualisation of "common people's" biographies, whereas the latter advocated an analysis from birth to death of human development (notably with a view to explaining the effect of early steps on later outcomes) (Elder & Giele, 2009; Sapin, Spini, & Widmer, 2014). In contrast with these disciplines, the life-course approach proposed a broader interest in the interaction between individual behaviour and social environment, and the age-based stratification of individuals and groups. In addition, the emergent life-course approach proposed a new conceptual toolkit: birth cohorts (generations) and age-related roles. Besides its' biological dimension, age represents a criterion for grouping individuals, ordering life events and assigning social roles (Elder & Giele, 2009; Sapin et al., 2014). In this sense, the study of social change has to consider the particular point in the life course of a particular generation to understand the responses and consequences as well as the lifelong cumulative processes of advantages and disadvantages (CAD) at the individual level (Elder & Giele, 2009; O'Rand, 2009).

Besides the study of circumstances over time, life courses analysis emphasises the connections between phases (transitions), the duration of phases (life stages), and the distinctive outcomes (pathways). From the 1990s, the life-course approach was disseminated in the social sciences, and promoted research on pathways through a sequence of life stages and models for lifelong development and ageing (Elder & Giele, 2009).

While the life-course approach has been widely adopted on both sides of the Atlantic, debate has focussed on two particular dimensions of this scientific endeavour. Besides the quantitative (longitudinal studies) and qualitative (biographical interviews) divide, there were two distinct premises in relation to data analysis. USA researchers seemed to be more focused on the timing of life events than their European counterparts, who maintain a division between so-called structure- and culture-oriented approaches (Levy & Widmer, 2013a). The former emphasises the analytical

potential of life courses to describe individual practices in response to socio-historical structures, and the latter points out the analytical importance of taking into account the subjectivity of individuals in the processes of recalling life stories (Apitzsch & Inowlocki, 2000; Levy & Widmer, 2013a). In qualitative data analysis in the 1980s, the work of Daniel Bertaux analysed life stories to assess the diachronic structure of life courses. In contrast, the work of Alfred Schütz shed light on the subjective dimension and meaning-making nature of biographical accounts. Here, I address the structure-oriented approach to life-course, and in the following section, I discuss the approach focused on narrative analysis of biographical accounts.

The interest in the life-course approach is also linked to the debates about standardisation and individualisation of life in contemporary society. The structure-oriented approach of life courses contributed to this debate. The standardisation pole proposed that life courses have become homogenised under the normalising influence of social regulations, whereas the individualisation pole presented the idea of a generalised diversification based on the tendency to attribute responsibility for conducting her or his life to the individual (Levy & Widmer, 2013a). Based on the conceptualisation of life courses in terms of movement through social space, the definitions of social spaces and the ways in which individuals participate in them are at the centre of the analysis. The life-course approach considers various fields where individuals play distinct roles that evolve over time. Given this multidimensional feature, life courses are made up of a series of parallel trajectories with longer or shorter events that might show standardisation or individuation features.

Instead of a unique standard model or no clearly defined model, this structural approach proposed two gendered standard models (Krüger & Levy, 2001; Levy & Widmer, 2013b). In terms of family and employment trajectories, gender acts as a "master status". This concept explains the ways in which men and women invest differently in different social domains: while the family sphere is accessory for most men in comparison with the employment sphere, which is fundamental, the family sphere is fundamental for most women and hinders their participation in employment (Krüger & Levy, 2001). The gendering of life courses thus represents institutionalisation processes at multiple levels: –from stereotypes to social policy – that yield two distinct, highly genederd, life-course pathways (Le Goff & Levy, 2016; Levy & Widmer, 2013b). In this sense, several authors have pointed out that the life-course represents a social institution by regulating individual experiences in terms of phases, relations, support and/or reparation resources according to social stratification (Dannefer, 2012; Levy & Bühlmann, 2016; Levy & Widmer, 2013a). In combination

with the CAD approach, the socio-structural approach sheds light on the stratification processes in the life-course based on people's positioning in wider socio-historical contexts.

The life-course approach thus takes into account three levels of analysis: the individual, the collective and the structural. Currently, this analytical endeavour revolves around five principles: the consideration of lifelong processes, historical and geographical location, social embeddedness ('linked lives'), the agency of individuals, and the timing of life events (Alwin, 2012; Dannefer, 2012; Elder & Giele, 2009; Sapin et al., 2014). While this dissertation considers all five principles of life-course analysis, the principle of linked lives and the timing of live events are at the centre of the data collection and analysis techniques. Before presenting them, I discuss in the following section the more culture-oriented approach to social change, social structure and individual motives.

I.3.1.2. The biographical turn

The biographical turn in the social sciences is linked to a change of focus from the scientific canon of generalisation to interest in the individual and his/her subjectivity. At the beginning of the 20th century, there was a historical paradox: the use of biographies was widespread in literature and other cultural expressions, while the social sciences, with the notable exception of psychoanalysis and phenomenology, were less likely to use them (Rustin, 2000). In the 1960s, the so-called "cultural turn" triggered an important change in perceptions of scientific knowledge that led to a crisis of representation (Bochner & Riggs, 2014). The linguistic theory that proposed the constitutive role of language in our understanding of reality criticised the validity of the scientific method to "mirror" reality as independent from the researcher's interpretation (Bochner & Riggs, 2014). Furthermore, feminist critical theorists pointed out the androcentric bias in the operationalisation of scientific objectivity, and proposed an standpoint theory to recognise and reflect on the social situation of researchers in the production of knowledge (Harding, 1993). In this context, there was a need for an approach that considers the ways in which researchers and research participants create and negotiate meaning on the basis of their positionings in the wider socio-cultural setting. Consequently, interpretative qualitative methods emerged to provide accounts about the use of language as well as the ways in which the researcher and the participants belong to the world under investigation (Bochner & Riggs, 2014; Chase, 2005; Lykke, 2010a; Rustin, 2000)

Although there is no direct convergence, the biographical approach and the paradigm of narrative enquiry emerged in the above-mentioned context focused on the study of societies and cultures from the individual upwards rather than from the structure downwards (Rustin, 2000). Although

the use of biographical documents existed long before that time, the 1970s saw a shift from the life-course approach (structure-oriented) to a (more culture-oriented) biographical approach. However, two objections emerged against the use of biographies in the social sciences. The first concerned the truth-value of biographical accounts as testimonies of social reality given the illusionary nature of subjective views (Apitzsch & Inowlocki, 2000). The second pointed out the risk of over-interpretation of the participants' accounts by the researcher, which hinders the generalisation process (Apitzsch & Inowlocki, 2000).

I.3.1.3. Narrative analysis

As a methodological solution, Alfred Schütz proposed to transcend the opposition of objective reality and subjective accounts by analysing the narrative features of biographical accounts (Apitzsch & Inowlocki, 2000). Instead of the reconstruction of the participants' intentionality, attention is given to the ways in which these accounts are embedded in wider socio-cultural structures. Biographical accounts belong to processes and mechanisms of self-presentation as well as the communicative schemes of narration in particular contexts of interaction (Apitzsch & Inowlocki, 2000). The theoretical aspects of biographical narration shed light on the constraints and opportunities available for self-presentation (and positioning of others) in a particular socio-cultural setting.

I.3.1.4. Social change and turning points

An example is the central topic of social change. To track intentionality *a posteriori,* social change has been treated as an exceptional moment linked to some preceding events and particular individual decisions (e.g. scientific discoveries) (Bessin et al., 2009b; Bessin, Bidart, & Grossetti, 2009a). However, some researchers propose to analyse the internal dynamics of the event and the narrative features of its restitution (Grossetti, 2006; Hélardot, 2009). In this way, unpredictability can be part of the analysis of life stories. Social change does not represent a rupture in normal life courses, but it shows the role of contingency and diverse temporalities in the emergence of life events. The concept of "turning points" thus grasps the ways in which the sequence of events involves different degrees of unpredictability and the meaning-making processes of the storytellers (Grossetti, 2006; Hélardot, 2009). Some changes are more expected than others, and their consequences have been more anticipated in a particular socio-cultural context (e.g. education to employment transitions, accidents, migration or wars) (Grossetti, 2006). Those moments that were the most unexpected and/or triggered the least anticipated effects might signify the most important

changes in life stories: their "turning points". The historical period and the institutional and normative local contexts play an important role for understanding the quality of changes in life stories: in particular contexts, international migration might be part of adulthood transition or a reactive answer to an unexpected crisis (Kirk et al., 2017; Ramos, 2017). In addition, the social position of the storyteller and his/her particular preceding experiences influence the meaning given and reactions to particular events: the departure of recently graduated young single males or of middle-aged unemployed parents, for example (Kirk et al., 2017; Ramos, 2017). The change can be perceived positively or negatively and triggers reactions that range from resistance or resignation (Hélardot, 2009). Consequently, the understanding of social changes can benefit from narrative analysis that focuses on meaning-making processes in biographical accounts.

I.3.2. Biographical approach and narrative analysis

The biographical approach and narrative analysis complement one another. The former proposes a way to grasp the connections between individual life stories and wider socio-cultural frameworks of understanding. The latter has developed methodological advances to understand the features of storytelling as a retrospective meaning-making narrative. Biographies thus represent the ways in which humans use language to endow experience with meanings, and these life stories in turn shape the experiences related (Chase, 2005). In this sense, storytelling is a performance where the meaning is co-constructed between the storyteller and the audience. However, storytelling happens in a cultural context influenced by conventions. Several authors have pointed out five elements in storytelling: the people depicted as characters; the scene, place or context; the dramatic tension; the temporal ordering of events and the moral of the story (Apitzsch & Inowlocki, 2000; Bochner & Riggs, 2014; Chase, 2005). In this sense, the narrative is a distinctive form of discourse that involves a retrospective form of meaning-making and ways of understanding one's own and others' actions, of organising events into a meaningful whole, and of connecting and seeing the consequences of actions and events over time (Chase, 2005). The analysis of these elements enables researchers to grasp the socio-cultural context where biographies are constructed and negotiated in order to understand the meaning given to experiences and the participant's forms of self-positioning and positioning of others.

I.3.2.1. Identity work in narrative analysis

Consequently, narrative analysis involves a particular way of understanding social identity. Instead of pre-discursive fixed categories, socio-cultural categorisations are treated more as effects of

power-laden intersubjective processes rather than attributes assigned by static structures (Bilge, 2013; Lykke, 2010a). This is a model of identity construction that conceptualises identity as a meaning-making process within historical and socio-cultural structures. Consequently, biographical accounts represent one avenue for identity work (Kraus, 2007; S. Taylor, 2007). These narratives represent the construction of and resources for the understanding of who we are that depend on the range of ideas, associations, images and practices available in the specific location of storytelling and the broader socio-cultural context. Besides the multiplicity of meanings, this approach sheds light on the interactive construction of identity between the teller, the listener and the context (Bochner & Riggs, 2014; Chase, 2005; S. Taylor, 2007). In view of power structures, the analytical dimensions of identity work in biographical accounts is composed of the telling process, the relationships between the teller and the listener, and the form and content of the life story.

As a context-dependent performance, storytelling is about individual reconstruction and the management of multiple affiliations (Korobov, 2013; Nadeem, 2015; Sabaté Dalmau, 2015). However, the identity processes in biographical accounts involves the negotiation of affiliations with others. The concept of positioning grasps the interactional logics of local discursive processes to make relevant one's identity and that of others in storytelling: the use of categorisations to evoke membership to groups of people with certain identities (Korobov, 2013; Sabaté Dalmau, 2015). Positioning practices use the following rhetorical devices: naming a category of groups (e.g. women, men, migrants and Peruvians), invoking categorical membership (assumptions and norms about the group), and invoking attributes of groups (Korobov, 2013). These discursive mechanisms are used to build up identity positions as well as to defend against alternative versions of them (Korobov, 2013; Sabaté Dalmau, 2015). The analysis of positioning discursive strategies in biographical accounts sheds light on the categorisations and memberships that make up identities interactively.

I.3.2.2.1. Power relations: the intersectional lens

The analysis of identities as an interactive process of self-positioning and positioning others in storytelling seems, however, to overlook the broader socio-cultural context and power relations (Bilge, 2010). In combination with the idea of there being no pre-discursive self, the intersectional approach provides a suitable theorisation of power and domination to understand the socio-historical processes shaping subjectivities. This approach emphasises the complexity of identities where different categorisations are treated as mutually pervading and interpenetrating without being reducible to one of them or coherent as a whole (Anthias, 2013; Lykke, 2010b; McBride, Hebson,

& Holgate, 2014). The meaning-making processes of identity work are thus anchored in the nexus of social relations and structures that (re)produce power and privilege. However, the conceptualisation of power involves dynamics of constraining and constituting subjectivities where agency is not only a transgressive act but also the practice of become a willing subject of a particular discourse (Bilge, 2010). Therefore, agency does not represent a dichotomy of subordination / resistance but practices of meaning-making in specific contexts and articulated social formations. The intersectional lens addresses the systemic and relational interlocking power structures, the enabling and disabling effects on individuals and context-dependent social formations (Bilge, 2010, pp. 23–24). While referring to agency, I propose to make a distinction between "tactics" and "strategy" inspired by the work of Michel De Certeau (1980). The author explains that strategies are linked to powerful positions in institutional contexts whereas tactics refer to the everyday manipulations of turning limitations into opportunities (De Certeau, 1980). I prefer to use the term tactics to address the plans for action and the actions taken by Peruvian men and women. It is a better way to describe the limited room for manoeuvre to cope with rules and conditions imposed from the exterior. They do not have much control of the rules and continuously develop short-term responses.

For the analysis of biographical storytelling, the focus is on the articulation of available socio-cultural categorisations in self-positioning and positioning of others as well as the agency expressed in acts of deflection and adhering to particular (features of) categories in the immediate interactional setting and the broader structures. The principles are to prevent over-generalisation and the conflation of intra-group differences in the analysis by comparing experiences and relations between categories of difference (McBride et al., 2014).

This dissertation considers the intersectional lens not only in narrative analysis of biographical accounts but also in structural analysis of life courses. Based on gender as a master status in the Swiss context, life courses are gendered according to two distinct male and female normative family and employment trajectories. However, the institutionalisation processes of the life-course not only depend on gender-related stereotypes and social policy; other socio-cultural categorisations also come into play. The male and female life-course patterns might intersect with social class or ethno-national markers to yield distinct outcomes. Consequently, the intersectional analysis of life stories sheds light on the ways in which people depart from the gender master status to construct alternative life-course patterns and identities (Giele, 2009). Consequently, other ways of doing gender in life stories are possible in relation to other socio-cultural categorisations: for instance, the

transcendence of gender and or ethno-national stereotypes by social class (Giele, 2009), or sexual orientation. In order to undertake this analytical endeavour, I explain in the following section the combination of life-course and narrative approaches.

I.3.3. Combining life-course and narrative approaches

This section presents the application of a life-course and narrative analysis to biographical accounts. After explaining the principles for the analytical combination, I discuss the methodological particularities for the analysis of migration experiences.

For the combination of life-course and narrative approaches, I first focused on *biographical structuring*: the individual and the institutions have developed temporal orders, ways of establishing meaning and cooperation in which the individual have certain freedoms and limits (Fischer-Rosenthal, 2000; W. Fischer & Goblirsch, 2007). This is a conceptual tool to understand biographical accounts based on three dimensions:

- The "lived life" expressed as the chronological order of events and the relevance of some in relation to others (transitions and turning points).
- The "presented life" as the structure of self-positioning and positioning of others in the interactive context of the interview.
- The "experienced life" as the structure of enabling and disabling experiences in the life story.

This conceptualisation of the biographical accounts enables me to develop three modes of analysis that combine the life-course and narrative principles (Bochner & Riggs, 2014; Brannen & Nilsen, 2011; Cohler & Hostetler, 2003). The first one is the holistic-content approach, based on close textual reading for salient themes in the whole life story and coding the content progressively (Charmaz, 2014a; Saldaña, 2014). The second one is the holistic-form method, which focuses on the structure of the account by charting the high and low points as well as the distance between events in the life story (Morselli et al., 2013). The third one is the categorical form, which focuses on the structure of the narrative discourse such as the characters, the location, the climax and the moral (Apitzsch & Inowlocki, 2000; Bochner & Riggs, 2014; Giele, 2009). The first mode enables me to address the globally salient themes of life stories, while the other two address distinct goals: the second enables me to address the structure of life events, the relations between them and their sequential order, whereas the third enables me to grasp the socio-cultural features of retrospective meaning-making and the positioning dynamics. Consequently, I developed methods of data collection and analysis that enable me to grasp the three dimensions of life stories (structure, identity

and stratification) by focusing on the content and form holistically and by narrative categories (see Table 4). Before explaining my methods in detail, I briefly present the particular contribution of this combination of life-course and narrative approaches in Migration Studies.

I.3.3.4. Time-sensitive approaches in Migration Studies

In Migration Studies, the use of time-sensitive approaches has not been widespread to date. The interest in assimilation/integration outcomes has encouraged analytical focus on current situations. Diverse forms of assessment have predominantly used cross-sectional data to compare nationalities within the host country or one nationality across countries of settlement. In addition, the transnational lens, which privileges the connections between origin and destination, also focuses on the current presence of ties and networks. Longitudinal studies have been scarce. However, interest in time-sensitive phenomena has emerged progressively – with, for instance, research on occupational mobility (e.g. based on wages and employment conditions) and the self-sustaining nature of migration flows (e.g. the role of networks between prospective migrants and settled ones). While some research focuses on factors that influence post-migration situations (e.g. occupation, gender, age and ethnicity), the complex unfolding processes of entering and navigating new labour markets and the emergence of new ties and disappearance of others in migration experiences have been overlooked. Recently, researchers have used biographical accounts to understand the role of different temporalities (historical, local and personal) in migration processes (Findlay, McCollum, Coulter, & Gayle, 2015; Liversage, 2009a; Martiniello & Rea, 2014; Ryan & Mulholland, 2015). Besides job entry , this research focuses on other transitions such as the school to employment transition for international students or shifts in legal status from unauthorised to naturalised migrants, and other dimensions of life stories such as the linked lives of migrants and the long-term effects of certain episodes in their migration experiences (Axelsson, 2016; Csedő, 2008; Goldring & Landolt, 2011; Hawthorne, 2014; Kõu, Mulder, & Bailey, 2017b; Liversage, 2009b; Mosneaga & Winther, 2013; Riaño et al., 2015).

This dissertation contributes to the growing use of biographical accounts to understand the three particular themes: assessments of migration as a turning point in life courses, the interdependence between legal, family and employment trajectories, and the dynamics of networks and feelings of belonging in migration. Methodologically, it also proposes a particular combination of the life-course and narrative approaches focused on form and content – combining biographical interview

with the construction of a life calendar, and the subsequent analytical treatment of data in event-based, dramaturgical and positioning coding (see Table 4).

Table 4: Combination of life-course and narrative approaches part A

Approach	Aim	Data collection	Data analysis
Life-course	The lived life: structure	Life calendar: life domains (columns) organised chronologically (rows) by year.	Holistic-form analysis Event by event coding: Sequences: order and duration Timing: personal and context Relations: influence, transitions and turning points Consequences: short- and long-term effects
Narrative	The presented life: identity work	Biographical interview: guidelines to focus on all life dimensions of the participant as well as the meaning-making of the past, present and future.	Categorical-content analysis Dramaturgical coding: Characters Setting Plot Resolution Positioning coding: Naming a category Invoking membership Invoking attributes Refusing/resisting category
Combined	The experienced life: stratification processes	Biographical interview + life calendar	Holistic-content analysis Processes Intersectional power Unfolding effects Linked lives Agency

In the following section. I present the ways in which a time-sensitive lens adds to social network analysis in Migration Studies.

I.3.4. Social networks

This dissertation also combines a social network approach with the time-sensitive ones. While presenting the advantages of social network methods and analysis, I argue for a dynamic lens on the formation, maintenance and disappearance of relationships. Consequently, I use a broad conceptualisation of "embedding" (Ryan & Mulholland, 2015) to address the multidimensional and dynamic features of relationships in migration experiences. Before presenting the methodological features of my work, I present the major debates in social network approaches. Although the social network approach is rather rare in Migration Studies, the concepts of social capital, bridging and

bonding have been popular, notably in order to assess opportunities and limitations of integration and transnationalism. Therefore, I present the ways in which the use of embedding adds to these concepts in the understanding of the intersectional, time- and place-related features of networking that escape ethnic-centred, static and binary analysis. Finally, I argue that this conceptualisation of social networks is compatible with time-sensitive data collection and analysis.

I.3.4.1. Social network analysis

The beginning of a social network approach can be traced to the dawn of sociology. In the early 20th century, Georg Simmel's work proclaimed the primacy of social ties and the duty of the sociologist to understand the patterns of these interactions (Marin & Wellman, 2011). Dating from the 1930s, social network analysis can be defined as the intuition that relations among social actors are important. It involves the collection and analysis of data that record social relations that link actors, reliance on graphic imagery to reveal and display patterning of those links, and the development of mathematical and computational models to describe and explain those patterns (Freeman, 2011, p. 26). Pioneering work was done in psychology and anthropology, and the individual-centred approach remained central for several decades. Although several research centres were founded on both sides of the Atlantic, social network analysis did not represent a standard for research, nor was it widely accepted across the social sciences until the 1970s (Freeman, 2011). The work of Harrison C. White and his students (Mark Granovetter, Barry Wellman, etc.) earned the universal recognition of social network analysis amongst social scientists (Borgatti & Lopez-Kidwell, 2011; Freeman, 2011). Another important "revolution" in social network analysis happened in the 1990s when physicists started to develop methods to answer typical social network questions – for instance, the emergence of cohesive groups and positions in the network structure. A race started for developing the best methodological tools: the fastest algorithm to compute a large amount of data (Freeman, 2011). Although the division between the physicists and the social scientists was evident at the beginning, recently collaborative work has been undertaken, with the widespread use of computational programmes for analysis (Freeman, 2011).

In the light of the development of social network analysis, two different forms of network theory exist. The first is called the network flow model, which proposes the understanding of "networks as channels through which information (or any resource) flows from node to node along paths consisting of ties interlocked through shared endpoints" (Borgatti & Lopez-Kidwell, 2011). The path-breaking theoretical advances about the "strength of weak ties" (SWT) (Granovetter, 1973)

and about the role of social capital (Coleman, 1988) are at the basis of this model of social systems. The second form of network theory is the architecture model. Instead of transferring their resources, one node acts on behalf of or in concert with another node, for instance the network exchange theory where a node's bargaining position also depends on the alternatives of the other nodes in its network (Borgatti & Lopez-Kidwell, 2011). This model proposes to "consider ties as bonds that bind the nodes together (through solidarity or authority) creating a common fate" (Borgatti & Lopez-Kidwell, 2011). The main distinction between the two models is that the former understands network outcomes in terms of the value of the flows between nodes whereas the latter understands network outcomes in terms of the alignment between nodes produced by the flows (Borgatti & Lopez-Kidwell, 2011). The two models propose different answers to two network-based questions: the value-laden approach to understanding the benefits of network position for individuals and groups in terms of *social capital*, and the explanation for why some nodes share traits (behaviour, beliefs and attitudes) with certain others in terms of *social homogeneity* (Borgatti & Lopez-Kidwell, 2011). Consequently, success in performance and rewards can be explained by capitalisation and coordination in social networks according to each tradition. Although both network theorisations are important in the social network approach, this methodological presentation discusses in more detail the central concepts of the network flow model, such as social capital and embeddedness. The focus is on the ethnic-centred focus of social capital in Migration Studies and on an approach that considers timing as well as multiple dimensions and scales.

A complete discussion of the social capital and embeddedness debates is certainly beyond the scope of this dissertation. I nonetheless present the main topics in relation to the proposal of a particular approach, namely the "embedding" thesis (Ryan, 2017; Ryan, Erel, et al., 2015). First of all, the emergence of the embeddedness and social capital discussion in the Social Sciences is closely intertwined: the path-breaking conceptualisation of the strength of weak ties (SWT) by Granovetter (1973) and of social capital by Coleman (1988) is linked to wider debates about the embeddedness of economic behaviour (Beckert, 2007; Granovetter, 1985; Portes, 1998; Portes & Sensenbrenner, 1993). Yet the definitions of both concepts have lost precision with time. Drawing on the seminal work of Karl Polanyi (1944), Granovetter (1973, 1985) proposed that embeddedness represents the intermediate point between under- and over-socialised theoretical frameworks to address economic behaviour. Instead of rational individuals or mechanical norm followers, the concept of embeddedness emphasised the "role of concrete personal relations and structures (or networks) in generating trust and discouraging malfeasance" or vice versa (Granovetter, 1985, p. 490). The

concept of embeddedness shares with that of social capital the centrality of the analysis of concrete relations; but the former includes the possibility of negative outcomes whereas the latter emphasises the rewards. Subsequently, several authors have pointed out the "dark side" of membership in social relations, such as the costs of community solidarity, constraints on freedom and levering pressures (Portes, 1998; Portes & Sensenbrenner, 1993).

The premises and conclusions of Granovetter's SWT approach (1973) introduced principles for later elaborations: the stronger the tie between two people, the more likely their social worlds will overlap (homophily: shared traits and relations); in contrast, people who act as bridges represent those who connect distantly linked people. The outcome is threefold: strong ties are rarely bridges, and bridges provide novel information, so weak ties provide novel information with beneficial outcomes (Borgatti & Lopez-Kidwell, 2011, p. 41). Social capital-based research followed the distinction between bridging and bonding, and the higher value of the former in relation to the latter. On the one hand, Coleman (1988) showed the positive role of social relations in economic and education outcomes. His definition – "social capital inheres in the structure of relations between actors and among actors (…) and facilitates certain actions in the structure" (Coleman, 1988, p. S98) – set an important precedent for further research. However, the definition obscured the differences between the resources that flow in networks and the ability to obtain them by participating in those same networks (Anthias, 2007; Portes, 1998; Ryan, Umut, et al., 2015). On the other hand, Putnam's work (1993a, 1995) on civic participation emphasised the separation and hierarchisation between bonding and bridging: the former is identified with the homogeneity of values and close ties for "getting by" whereas the latter is identified with less solidarity, heterogeneous voluntary associations between groups for "getting ahead". Some authors have pointed out the conceptual slippage between heterogeneity of ties and rewards in social relations (Anthias, 2007; U. Erel, 2010; Ryan, 2015). The idea of using (dis)similarity to assess the value of social relations seems ambiguous considering that identification processes are dynamic and multidimensional.

On the other side of the Atlantic, another way to understand social capital focused on social class debates rather than trust and solidarity issues. The recognition of Bourdieu's social capital theorisation shed light on the importance of social location and stratification processes (P Bourdieu, 1980; Pierre Bourdieu, 1979). In this approach, there is a distinction between the resources available in the social relations and the capacity to convert them into rewards (other forms of capital) within networks (Anthias, 2007; U. Erel, 2010; Skeggs, 1997b). Consequently, the potential rewards of

social relations depend on the presence and activation of other forms of capital (economic, cultural, symbolic, etc.). The set of capitals and their accumulation depend on the actors' location in stratified social fields. Consequently, capitalisation of social relations has different meanings for those who can mobilise the resources for greater accumulation (of cultural and economic capital) and for those who can mobilise them to counteract (to some extent) structural disadvantages (Anthias, 2007). Besides access to resources via networks, the transformation of social capital depends on the value processes at work in particular social fields. In this way, the mobilisation of social capital happens unequally: not all actors access the same amount of resources through social relations, and these resources are not valued equally in all social fields.

Although the work of Coleman and Putnam seems to have been more influential in Migration Studies than that of than Bourdieu, the above-mentioned debates highlight important aspects of social network analysis. Although it has been diluted over time, the distinction between social resources and social capital is important for understanding the ways in which social networks can be treated as resources which potentially yield social capital (Anthias, 2007; Portes, 1998). This premise enables a context-dependent analysis focused on the positioning of actors and value-making of resources in the stratified social space.

I.3.4.2. Social capital in Migration Studies

In Migration Studies, the influence of Putman's bonding and bridging theory have revolved around the ethnic composition of migrants' networks to assess integration outcomes (Domínguez & Watkins, 2003; Fennema & Tillie, 1999; Jacobs & Tillie, 2004; Lancee, 2010; Nannestad, Svendsen, & Svendsen, 2008). Focused on the idea of homophily, research has concentrated on the opportunities and limitations of co-ethnic ties, and the advantages of relations with host nationals. An analytical slippage has tended to associate bonding with ethnic similarity and bridging with ethnic dissimilarity. However, several scholars have recently criticised this assumption. Processes of identification in social networks are intersectional, and ethnicity might not always be the main criterion to understand the capitalisation of social relations (Anthias, 2007; U. Erel, 2010; Umut Erel, 2015; Ryan, 2011). For instance, migrants from the same country might represent bridges (weak ties) in relation to social class, whereas host nationals sharing the same working-class neighbourhood with migrants rarely access more novel resources (Ryan, 2011). In addition, gender plays an important role for understanding the ability to capitalise (or not) on available social resources: ethnic versions of femininities and masculinities are unequally valued amongst co-ethnic

relations, but social class positioning also influences the resources and value given to them. Likewise, transnational social fields entail particular value-making to create alternative versions from the home and host countries (Anthias, 2007; U. Erel, 2010; Umut Erel, 2015; Ryan, 2011). The ethnic-centred analysis of social capital in Migration Studies shows the importance of stratification and meaning-making in understanding capitalisation in social networks.

I.3.4.3. Theoretical advances about embeddedness

Multidimensional and dynamic definitions of embeddedness offer new insights into the ways to analyse social relations in detail and then to assess their role in social mobility. Recent social capital-based research – particularly inspired by Bourdieu's tradition – has included a more complex view of the capitalisation of social relations in combination with an intersectional lens (Anthias, 2007; U. Erel, 2010; Umut Erel, 2015; Moret, 2016). However, the time-sensitive aspects of the formation, maintenance and disappearance of social relations are lacking. In contrast, recent developments in the less popular concept of "embeddedness" provide more appropriate tools for grasping the multidimensional and dynamic features of social relations. Given that the main idea of this dissertation is to combine the life-course and biographical approaches, I argue for the suitability of the embedding framework.

The notion of embeddedness revolves around the effort to assess the different components of embedded social relationships as well as the space/place and temporal dimensions. The confirmation of the embeddedness or not of some social relationships is no longer the focus. The aim is rather to understand the types, degrees and outcomes of embeddedness. As said before, embeddedness is linked to the premise that economic behaviour depends on social relationships (Granovetter, 1985; Polanyi, 1944). However, the answer to the question of who is embedded into what have been diluted in further elaborations (Hess, 2004; J. M. Hite, 2003). Polanyi adopted a macro-level perspective to provide an answer: the forms of exchange are embedded in society, In turn, Granovetter scaled this down to answer that individuals are embedded in ongoing social relations (Beckert, 2007; Hess, 2004). Nevertheless, the premise seems to be the homogeneity of social relations. Granovetter's SWT proposed a distinction between social relationships that yield different forms of embeddedness: strong ties and weak ones. Since social relationships seem to be more heterogeneous, it seems logical to conclude that forms of embeddedness may also be plural (J. Hite, 2005; J. M. Hite, 2003). Therefore, the analytical aim is to develop frameworks that assess

similarities and differences of social relations and embeddedness beyond the strong/weak dichotomy.

The efforts made to classify forms of embeddedness have confirmed the multiple dimensions of this concept. The aim is to better understand the unequal outcomes of embeddedness in creating advantages and disadvantages, by tracing the differences in social relationships. Some authors have proposed extensive frameworks of more than 50 items such as social components, attributes and elements of social relationships to understand different types of embeddedness (J. Hite, 2005; J. M. Hite, 2003). Other authors have conceived different layers of embeddedness according to the source of social relationships: family, neighbourhood, community and workplace (Korinek, Entwisle, & Jampaklay, 2005). Some have added an important spatial dimension to the notion of embeddedness. Instead of an over-emphasis on the local dimension (e.g. proximity in bonding), social relationships are classified according to different spatial scales. Consequently, there is territorial embeddedness, which considers the extent to which an actor is inserted in and across the networks of particular territories or places (e.g. local, regional, national and transnational) (Hess, 2004). Finally, embeddedness is not a static concept, due to the dynamic nature of social relationships. Access to social relations, their creation, maintenance and dissolution, yield different forms of embeddedness across time (Akkaymak, 2016; Bolíbar et al., 2015; Miranda J. Lubbers et al., 2010; Ryan & Mulholland, 2015; Waters, 2011). In this sense, embeddedness is not an achieved state but rather a concept of action. Consequently, several authors have proposed to adopt the more dynamic terminology of "embedding" (Ryan, 2017; Ryan, Erel, et al., 2015; Ryan & Mulholland, 2015).

I.3.4.3.1. The embedding lens

The redefinition of embeddedness provides an interesting framework to understand the multiple dimensions and dynamics of social relations and their roles in social mobility. The concept of embedding enables me to operationalise social network analysis in combination with life-course and biographical approaches. The embedding framework helps to understand migrants' multi-layered relationships and attachments to places and people that are spatially dispersed and change over time (Ryan, Umut, et al., 2015). There are three major dimensions to this concept: societal (the actor's belonging within wider socio-political structures), the network (the formal and informal associations with which an actor is involved) and the territorial (the ways in which an actor is located in particular places) (Ryan, Umut, et al., 2015). This three-levels approach sheds light on the social stratification

processes at work when individuals capitalise (or not) on their social relations, the unequal provision of social relations and the differential value given to them in different places and moments. The understanding of these evolving differences sheds light on the unequal outcomes from sociability in stratified social fields across borders.

Thinking of embedding as a binary concept (embedded or not embedded) assumes that all social relationships are homogeneous. The simle fact of being connected to someone does not address the nature and extent of the available resources, the meaning of relationships, and the relative social location of actors. In combination with the time-sensitive approaches, the aim is to understand the dynamics of embedding pre- and post-migration in terms of relations and attachments to people and places locally and transnationally.

Table 5: The combination of life-course and narrative approaches (part B)

Approach	Aim	Data collection	Data analysis
Network and spatial-temporal embedding	Social network composition and dynamics + life-course structure	Network matrix and life calendars: Description of ego and alter relations, and alter and alter relations in family caregiving, occupational career and citizenship	Relationship and dramaturgical coding: Timing: access, creation, maintenance and disappearance of ties. Features of alter: sources of relations (family, neighbourhood, workplaces and associations). Place, frequency and direction of relations. Effects of transitions and turning points.
Societal embedding	Relative social locations in networks + identity work	Biographical interview and sociograms: guidelines that focus on the most important alter in the family, occupational, citizenship and migration spheres.	Positioning coding and sociograms: Construction of (dis)similarities between ego and alter, and between alters. Proximity of ego-alter: value given to relations in places and moments. Role of relations: resources and capitalisation.
Combined	Outcomes from social networks: stratification processes	Network matrix + sociograms: combination of data in Vennmaker graphs	Vennmaker graphs: Characterisation of alters: source, gender, legal status, residence and nationality Spheres for capitalisation: family, employment, citizenship and migration Timing: pre- and post-migration

Drawing on the embedding lens, this dissertation develops an ego-centred social network analysis across several dimensions of the life-course, such as family, employment, migration and citizenship. This means the collection of data for one person (ego) about all her/his relations to others (alters)

(Marin & Wellman, 2011; Trotter II, 1999). After completing the biographical interview using the LIVES life-calander, I thus conducted a follow-up qualitative network analysis interview to thoroughly collect information about the respondents' family, neighbourhood, workplace and social relationships in different places and moments of the migration experience. Inspired by research on personal communities (Herz, 2015; Wellman, Wong, Tindall, & Nazer, 1997), I particularly asked about relations who had provided help with family caregiving, advice about job-hunting, migration as well as citizenship issues. To do this, I accompanied the qualitative interviews with network grids and sociograms to collect data about the subjective assessment of the relations by ego (Ryan & Mulholland, 2015; Widmer, Aeby, & Sapin, 2013). In combination with the biographical interview, I analysed the dynamics of social relations at different moments and in different places and the relative social positionings between ego and his/her alters. As a result, the analysis of ego's networks considers the changes in compositions of the network. as well as the complex processes of identification with the alters at the intersections of gender, social class, citizenship and ethnicity. I also codified the social network interviews in terms of family, employment, citizenship and political relation. I produced Vennmaker graphs to understand the role of these different types of network in migrants' pre- and post-migration experiences. I subsequently analysed the social network data in relation to the life calendars (the structure of the life course), the biographical identity work (self-positioning and positioning of others) and the stratification process experiences (the unfolding advantages and disadvantages) (see Table 5).

In the following paragraphs, I explain the ways in which the diachronic and network data collection methods complemented each other. Before that, I explain the details of access, organisation and negotiations of field work

I.3.5. Reflections on fieldwork

This section presents the main features of five years of fieldwork with Peruvian men and women in Switzerland (1.5 years for my Master dissertation and 4 years for my PhD thesis) and reflects on my own position as a Peruvian migrant and the possible effects on contact-making, data collection and analysis. This positioning addresses standpoint epistemology and involves such things as presenting my own life story, establishing connections between myself and my research topic, and evoking the relationships with the fieldwork participants. In addition, I present the organisation of fieldwork in the French- and German-speaking regions of Switzerland, the recruitment strategies

and the theoretical sampling. Finally, I explain the main characteristics of the 55 research participants[22] (See Table A on Annexes pages 20-23).

I.3.5.1. Personal position and relations with research participants

The importance of reflexivity and standpoint epistemology became evident during my five years of fieldwork with Peruvian men and women in Switzerland. As argued by Harding: "one's social situation enables and sets limits on what one can know" (Harding, 1993, pp. 54–55). Being a Peruvian migrant woman deeply marked my relationships with the participants in my study, but also my data collection options and the analytical perspectives adopted. Reflecting on negotiations and power differentials between participants and myself is thus an integral part of my analysis. Since biographical interviews are my main method of data collection, many participants asked me about my own life story at some point before, during and after the recorded dialogue. Here I summarise the account I most usually gave them of my own migratory story, emphasising the encounters with research participants and the implementation of snowball recruitment.

How did I arrive in Switzerland? I answered my own opening question several times: I came to Switzerland in 2009, thanks to a Swiss government scholarship to study for a social science Master degree. Ernesto, the first Peruvian living in Switzerland whom I met thanks to the Swiss Embassy in Lima, was a former scholarship holder (See Table A on Annexes pages 20-23). He stayed in the country after his engineering degree and married a Swiss woman. He took part in my research project and introduced me to other Peruvian engineers in Switzerland: Denis, Coco, Carlos and Claudio (See Table A on Annexes pages 20-23). The scholarship programme helped me with visa procedures, finding somewhere to live and settling into a French-speaking city. This was a privileged route of arrival, as confirmed by other participants and by my own previous experiences of travelling abroad.

Since my Master dissertation was about South-American care workers living in Switzerland, I went to the Peruvian consulate in Geneva to ask for a list of associations. I contacted two associations in the French-speaking city where I lived: the cultural association "Chan Chan"[23] and the sports association "Hijos del Sol" (see Table B in Annexes pages 24 - 25) and collected contacts from their members in order to find female care workers. At that time, I also met many Peruvian men and

---

[22] I only use pseudonyms.
[23] I use pseudonyms for the Peruvian associations studied.

women who would become participants in my PhD fieldwork: Elsa, Pilar, Pepe, Rodrigo and Alfonso. All of them provided me with valuable support for further snowball-based recruitment and, for those interested, I shared information about scholarship applications and university enrolment procedures in Switzerland

They were also surprised when I announced my intention to return to Peru immediately after my MA graduation in 2011. For me, this was a turning point. Despite the advantages linked to being a scholarship recipient, my family situation back in Peru, my prospective legal and occupational situation in Switzerland and my experience as a migrant all influenced my decision. My first stay in Switzerland was emotionally difficult: from the right-wing party-political propaganda in the city, annual encounters with migration officers and daily interactions at the university, I found people rather distrustful of foreigners, particularly those who spoke with an accent and were not as white as Western Europeans. Combined with my father's death in 2010, I realised that there is "no place like home" on at least two levels: being close to my family and being treated as a citizen.

In Peru, I am part of the small "first-class" citizen group: I was born in Lima, my mother tongue is Spanish, schooled in private institutions and labelled as "white" by many Peruvians. Like most people born in Lima, both of my parents were born elsewhere in Peru and then migrated to that capital city: my father came from the Northern Coast and my mother from the Southern Andes. Given that Peruvian socio-economic stratification follows the hierarchical order of three natural regions – Coast, Andes and Amazonia – my origins were subject to discussions and strategic positionings during my fieldwork experiences in Peru and Switzerland. In Switzerland, most Peruvian migrants come from Lima and/or have parents from the Andes; therefore, my origins helped me to create a provisional sense of a shared belonging with a wide array of Peruvians encountered during my fieldwork. In addition, my ethnic origins also intersect with socio-economic categorisations.[24] Access to private schooling in Peru, and then access to a Swiss university deeply influenced my relationships with Peruvians in Switzerland. I sensed that the willingness to help me was also based on my privileged position, since many of my respondents clearly stated that they would not help another Peruvian solely on the basis of shared nationality.

---

[24] Although during many encounters racialized concepts were also evoked in Peru and Switzerland, I do not discuss them in detail because transnational processes of racialization are beyond the scope of this dissertation.

Returning to Switzerland in 2013 to pursue study for a PhD and work as a teaching assistant was a "second chance" moment in my life. Returning to Lima for two years opened my eyes on a personal and professional level. On a personal level, being an unmarried and childless woman in her late twenties started to be uncomfortable in conservative segments of society in Lima. Occupationally, short-term contracts with no social ptotection rights were common job offers for anthropologists in Peru, regardless of their qualifications. When the opportunity came up, I did not hesitate to come back to Switzerland. I changed my perception about living abroad but I did not return to an unfamiliar place either. Meeting up again with the members of the Peruvian associations was very pleasant and helpful. They put me in touch with associations in other French and German-speaking cantons (Chachani, Los intocables and Kuelap: see Table B in Annexes pages 24 - 25), and I conducted participant observation at several events. I also contacted the three Peruvian consulates in Geneva, Bern and Zurich to announce my interest in Peruvian migration in Switzerland and request information. Although they never provided me access to their databases, they sent me invitations to several events where I carried out participant observation and met potential research participants.

Although I expanded my contacts with Peruvian men and women in other cantons, almost half of the participants live in the Léman region where I live and work. Geographical proximity increased the frequency of contacts and helped me to develop friendship with some of the research participants. In fact, during 2015-2016, I regularly organised Sunday meals at my home. With Peruvian female friends, we cooked Peruvian dishes and the others (male Peruvians, particularly) brought appetisers, drinks and desserts. Most of my female Peruvian friends, such as Elsa, Clara and Veronica, are in the care sector, whereas the male ones, such as Pepe, Marco and Domingo work in construction and restaurants.

In 2014, the Peruvian consulate in Geneva invited university-educated Peruvians working in Switzerland to set up an association for those with academic and professional interests in both countries (Científicos peruanos - CP). I became the general secretary of the association for two years and met several high-skilled Peruvians living in the French-speaking canton, some of whom also became research participants: Mercedes and Miguel. At the same time, the Peruvian Embassy in Bern was interested in creating another network with the same profile (Profesionales por el Peru-PPP) and also they contacted me. I also became a member of this association and I interviewed two of the founder members: Ivan and Andrea.

Since the beginning of my research project, I have received invitations for several activities and meetings organised by diplomatic officials. I sense that being a professional working in a Swiss university evoked their interest more than the topic of my research. For instance, some diplomatic officials continuously made the mistake of calling me "professor". In stark contrast with the Peruvian friends whom I first encountered, I became actively involved in a predominantly male, high-skilled and privileged environment. The value given to Swiss university degrees clearly divided and hierarchised the Peruvian citizens living in Switzerland. Other Peruvian women were present at these diplomatic events, but usually in the more gendered role of fundraising rather than at official meetings (see Chapter 6).

Another more silenced distinction due to shame and/or fear was citizenship. The predictable difficulty of getting in contact with unauthorised Peruvian migrants was reflected in their lack of visibility in official discourses about Peruvians abroad, which highlighted those with university degrees and rights of residence/settlement. Thanks to my prior contacts in a French-speaking city, I already knew several Peruvian women who were living without an authorisation, some of whom were actually friends of mine. They helped me by sharing their stories and contacts. I tried to provide information about regularisation opportunities but could not offer a permanent solution to their situation. It proved much more difficult to make contact with Peruvian men without a residence permit and I was never able to meet any of them living in the German-speaking part of the country. However, half of the participants in my study had experienced long or short periods of unauthorised stays and even those with Swiss university degrees explained the distress of yearly permit renewal. My own experience is an example. Having been one of the reasons for my first departure, the barriers associated with the Swiss migration regime also marked my second stay: the Swiss Embassy refused my mother's visa request in 2015, I experienced restricted mobility due to a yearly three-month waiting period without a permit,[25] paying fees for return visas to Switzerland, being legally considered a student while having a job contract in order to hinder any legal route into settlement, no formal access to unemployment benefit after the end of my contract, after having paid unemployment insurance for five years, etc.

---

[25] The permit B renewal process is not automatic and it can take several months to finally obtain the new residence permit. Without a Swiss residence permit, non-EU migrants can leave the country but cannot return unless they have a visa.

I shared with the participants experiences and feelings of injustice, discrimination and disempowerment. However, we also shared moments of great joy, hope and resistance: *de como sacarle la vuelta al sistema.* Far from being victims, the people I had the chance to encounter taught me resilience and creativity: from Peruvian entrepreneurs who boost the Swiss economy and provide jobs for Swiss citizens to those who provide much needed labour in key employment sectors, albeit unfairly paid.

I.3.5.2. Tensions in the encounters with research participants

Besides sharing positive moments with the research participants during fieldwork, there were also moments of tension. Two important moments had an impact on my data collection and analytical focus. In view of my position, access to Peruvians with Swiss university degrees was easier. Based on their stories, I started building a hypothesis about the impact of legal barriers on occupational and family trajectories, particularly the role of bi-national marriages. Although the idea and practice of marriage as a potential route towards legal settlement are widespread, I thought that having a degree from a Swiss university might moderate this strategy by strengthening the opportunities for employment as a legal pathway after graduation. I was also romantically involved with a Swiss man and I heard negative comments in my workplace about the idea of marriage instead of employment as a legal pathway to permanent residency after graduation. I realised that this position bothered me during a coffee date with Rosa. She is a research participant and had also obtained a degree from a Swiss university, married her Swiss boyfriend right after graduation, had children and never managed to find a job that was commensurate with her qualifications in Switzerland. I told her about feeling uncomfortable with the idea of marriage as a legal solution to staying on in Switzerland fter my PhD and cited her as an example. We discussed the restrictive character of the Swiss migration regime. She did not agree with my negative perception of the marriage route into legal settlement, but instead expressed another (life-course inspired) point of view: for many Peruvian men and women, marriage represents an important "sooner-or-later" life event considering the age, partnership situation and global aspirations. Although she acknowledged that the decision to marry her Swiss partner was precipitated due to legal conditions, she made a clear argument that it was misleading to only consider the life event as a forced decision imposed by the host country's migration regime. After this event, I considered the need for strategies to "keep a distance" from the fieldwork in order to understand the participants' opinions rather than imposing my own. Paradoxically, this meant that I had to clarify, note down and deal with my own perceptions and feelings during data collection and analysis.

The second important moment during my fieldwork related to the power dynamics between Elsa and myself. She is a Peruvian woman working as a domestic cleaner on an hourly basis. I first contacted her for my master's dissertation and then for my PhD project. We developed a close bond. Like me, she does not have any family members living in Switzerland. However, because she does not have a residence permit, she is unable to visit her three daughters and two grandchildren in Lima, whereas I can visit my mother back home. She invited me several times for Peruvian meals at her place, and I helped her to install Facebook, Photo Gallery and Skype on her computer. She always came to the Sunday lunch gatherings at my place. Indeed, she patiently – unsuccessfully – tried to teach me how to cook Peruvian food while preparing delicious meals for all the guests. One of those Sundays, she arrived with another friend from Bolivia and we started preparing the ingredients for our Peruvian meal. She started complaining about her working conditions and demeaning relations with her female employers. I mentioned to her the possibility of becoming a declared employee with access to union protection despite not having a residence permit. She replied that none of her employers would ever agree to declare her and pay the corresponding taxes. Then she said "*Pero yo tengo a mi patrona Romina para que me defienda*" (I have my boss Romina to defend me) and we laughed. The comment shocked me. Maybe I was naïve, but I felt uncomfortable at the idea of being compared to her employers, whom she had previously described as cruel and unjust. However, it is clear that no amount of friendship could eliminate the power differentials between us. Retrospectively, these moments encouraged deep reflection about the creation and construction of positioning between researcher and the study participants.

Because these stratification processes are not solely artificial or controlled by the researcher, reminders of power differentials surreptitiously infiltrate our most intimate relationships. Being called "*typée*" by my husband's Swiss friends was also an important reminder of the dynamics of socio-cultural categorisations based on ethnicity, nationality and appearance in the host country and the ways in which Peruvians, South Americans and foreigners are perceived and positioned in the host society. Documenting and analysing the interrelations of my own life story, relations with Peruvians and other actors during fieldwork provided insights about the evolution of my approach to the phenomenon under consideration in my study.

I.3.6. Research participant recruitment: challenges and results

After presenting my reflections on access to fieldwork based on my story and positioning as a Peruvian migrant and the impact on my relations with research participants, I now explain in detail

the organisation of my fieldwork. Drawing on the theoretical and policy discussion (Chapters 1 and 2), the data collection aim of my fieldwork was twofold: heterogeneity in terms of gender, levels of skills and legal situations amongst Peruvians, and experiences in different sub-national settings in Switzerland. Consequently, I developed recruitment strategies to reach a variety of participants in different cantons: French- and German-speaking ones. In the following lines, I explain the challenges and the solutions to the recruitment process in line with the concept of theoretical sampling.

I.3.6.1. Theoretical sampling

As mentioned before, I encountered two main recruitment challenges linked to my access to fieldwork: contact-making with unauthorised migrants and reaching out to German-speaking regions. My prior fieldwork experience with South-American women in one French-speaking city was useful to reactivate the snowball method regarding individuals and associations in the region. Thanks to the references of prior contacts, I met individuals and associations in other cities of the French-speaking region. While it was difficult to reach unauthorised migrants, I actively asked for references from those who had already agreed to participate. I was introduced to other unauthorised migrants living and working in the French-speaking region. Lack of this prior fieldwork experience in the German-speaking region posed challenges for me. I developed a similar recruitment strategy to that of my master's dissertation: contact the governmental bodies (Embassy and consulates) for information about associations, then reach out to associations and interview the members in their directory, and finally asking for references and contact details. As a result, the Peruvian consulates in both regions provided me with a list of associations and invited me to numerous events. I arrived in a context where diplomatic officers were interested in the creation of associations for high-skilled Peruvians, and I was invited to be a member. The members of associations provided me with valuable information during informal conversations or recorded biographical interviews as well as referring me to other Peruvian men and women inside and outside the association. In addition, I re-contacted a former Swiss government scholarship holder, Ernesto, living and working in the German-speaking region, and he referred me to other Peruvian engineers studying and working in Swiss HE from that region. The combination of my former fieldwork experience helped me to develop recruitment strategies to reach out to unauthorised migrants and other regions in Switzerland.

However, there are potential biases in the recruitment process: access to less-skilled female contacts living in the French-speaking regions and working in the care sector, and access to higher-skilled male contacts living in the German-speaking ones and working in transnational entities. Both groups might hide other nuances within the Peruvian population. Afterwards, I reached less-skilled male participants working in the cleaning and construction sectors as well as female and male entrepreneurs in (ethnic) business. However, higher-skilled women working in transnational entities as well as unauthorised male participants were harder to find.

During 2014 and 2017, I carried out participant observation in almost 50 cultural, sports, occupational and religious events organised by Peruvian associations in both regions (see Annex 1) as well as interviews with participants with different backgrounds (in terms of gender, levels of skills, residence and citizenship status). I contacted and assumed volunteering or coordination roles in seven Peruvian associations: four of them organised activities in French-speaking cantons, and the other three associations held activities in German-speaking ones (see Table B in Annexes pages 24 - 25) I interviewed 55 participants (27 women and 28 men), 37 residents of French-speaking regions and 18 residents of German-speaking ones; 19 of them had obtained a degree from a Swiss HE institution and five of them had a Swiss VET degree, whereas 10 had obtained a university degree and nine a technical degree in Peru (only one of them had not completed compulsory education). Although in terms of skills and residence the group of participants is heterogeneous, I was unable to contact unauthorised migrants in the German-speaking region. The seven unauthorised migrants who agreed to participate in my research lived and worked in French-speaking cities. However, a further 17 participants had experienced periods of time without any legal authorisation to reside in Switzerland. Consequently, my data collection secured valuable information about the experience of being unauthorised and about the regularisation process. My sample was also heterogeneous in terms of legal status on arrival in Switzerland, including: entry as students (10 participants), Spanish citizens (5 participants) or Swiss citizens (2 participants) from Peru. The regularisation process from no permit or a short-term permit into a settlement permit happened by means of family reunification in most of the cases; I continued to look for participants who had followed other regularisation pathways. I found one exemple of regularisation via a "hardship case" procedure. In this way, I tried to gather heterogeneous situations to test preliminary ideas during fieldwork.

Based on the tradition of grounded theory, I used a theoretical sampling technique. Charmaz defines grounded theory as a method that relies on collecting data, constructing tentative ideas about the

data right away and then examining these ideas through further empirical enquiry (2014d). Grounded theory is built up by theoretical sampling. Inspired by this concept, my data collection and recruitment of participants followed unresolved data to continue questioning and add new questions in order to develop theoretical categories (Charmaz, 2014d). My preliminary ideas during fieldwork revolved around the combined impact of citizenship and levels of skills on family and employment along gender lines. The interviews with migrant men and women who had experienced or continued to experience periods of unauthorised residence confirmed the long-term effects of non-citizenship on employment and family situations. However, interviews with male engineers, lawyers and economists with Swiss degrees and their female counterparts trained in the social sciences and humanities (SSH), showed me the limitations of skills in terms of citizenship and employment (e.g. the ways in which a short-term student permit could be transformed into a less restricted residence permit to ease employment transition). Besides the dichotomy of unauthorised/authorised migration, other forms of non-citizenship have an impact on family and employment trajectories regardless of skill levels. I thus chose to pursue citizenship dynamics to compare social mobility outcomes along gender lines. Consequently, I aimed to increase conceptual precision by orienting data gathering towards various socio-legal categorisations in terms of rights and conditions. The advantage was that information about the migration regime provided a provisional framework to contrast with fieldwork data in terms of citizenship dynamics. I thus paid attention to the role of bi-national marriages in social mobility for Peruvian men and women with different levels of skills and employment sectors. Once the patterns identified in life courses seemed to be confirmed, such as gender-based patterns of social mobility according to skills, I also looked for negative cases – mainly those who arrived with legal documents providing the same rights as Swiss citizens (e.g. entrance with a EU passport), and those who achieved regularisation by other means than family reunification (e.g. employment or hardship cases). Saturation was achieved when no new properties of socio-legal categorisations and citizenship dynamics emerged during fieldwork

I.3.6.1. Ethical considerations and data protection measures

At all the stages of this research, the integrity and well-being of the participants were taken very seriously. I thus adopted a research design that enabled me to collect, analyse and interpret data in a way that would not bring prejudice to any of my respondents or informants. Considering the forms of sampling and the small number of Peruvians in Switzerland, I was fully aware of the need to protect the anonymity of my interviewees and respondents from the outset of the project. Thus, each participant was informed about the purposes of the research project at all stages of the data

collection process (e.g. first contact by phone or e-mail, before the interview took place and after it had been completed). Respondents were also asked to approve the tape-recording of the interviews and were told that they could stop the recording at any time. Finally, the interviewees were informed about the techniques that would be used to protect their anonymity and personal data (e.g. systematic use of pseudonyms, changing the names of geographical locations, storing data in password-protected files, in limited access offices, etc.). Most of fieldwork notes were written directly in electronic form. The rare hand-written fieldwork notes (see "Participant observation") were rapidly fully transcribed and stored in password-protected files. In the rare cases where interviewees did ask for the tape-recorder to be turned off, I took notes on the information shared immediately after the interview, but I have never referred to the content of these "off-the-record" remarks in any part of the dissertation or in any of my publications. Each interviewee provided their informed consent verbally, as did the committee members of the migrants' associations studied.

Furthermore, all the associations that organised the activities were informed about my research purposes. I introduced myself to the committee members on our first encounter and explained the purposes of my study and my interest in the associations' activities. In doing this, I offered my help as a volunteer. During the activities, I did not repeat this information to every attendee systematically. Sometimes the members of the committee introduced me to other members, and on other occasions I introduced myself to small groups of participants. After years of presence in the field, many of the regular attendees already knew about my research.

In addition, I adopted special measures to protect confidentiality. Although conducting additional interviews with family members back home would probably have enriched my analysis further, I decided not to contact members of my respondents' social networks in Peru, in order to limit unwanted disclosure of information shared with me during the interviews or observations. In addition, I never exchanged information about a research participant with another participant, nor did I show any data (e.g. network charts) to any of the respondents. Also, I changed real names to pseudonyms for transcription, analytical and writing purposes. In Chapter 6 of this thesis, I adopted a double anonymity strategy for divulging any personal information about the people involved in the migrant association. This technique makes it impossible to link data presented in Chapter 6 to the life calendars and sociograms in the Annexes. Consequently, the risk of identifying respondents is minimized.

Finally, I organized feed-back sessions with most the associations where I carried out field-work. The research results I presented during these meetings never involved the discussion of particular cases, but were limited to presenting broad conclusions about the challenges of South-American migration in Switzerland.

I.3.7. Two-step data collection procedure: biographical narrative interviews and social network charts

This dissertation had another recruitment moment. During the first contact, I invited participants to take part in a biographical interview with me. The aim of the second contact was to carry out a social network interview with selected previous participants. The first recruitment phase thus yielded the database from which to draw participants for the follow-up interviews. I conducted biographical interviews with the 55 participants, and network interviews with 25 of them (See Table C in Annexes page 26). The goal was to leave (at least) a year between the first and second interviews. The selection criteria were a combination of participants' availability, the analysis of their biographical interviews, the levels of skills and the region of residence. I tried to interview as many high-skilled participants as low-skilled, and equally in French- and German-speaking regions. As far as possible, I selected the participants who had their interviews transcribed and analysed. The idea was not only to gather new network information and ask what had happened during the previous year but also to follow up interesting clues and fill in gaps from the previous biographical interviews. However, three participants agreed to answer both sets of questions in one session.

As a result, the 25 network analysis participants are divided into 15 men and 10 women, of whom 19 had university or technical degrees (13 obtained their degrees in Switzerland) and six had finished compulsory education in Peru them (See Table C in Annexes page 26). In the following paragraphs, I explain the data collection methods for participant observation and both types of interviews.

I.3.7.1. Participant observation

During 2013 to 2017, I conducted participant observation in associations for Peruvians in Swizerland. Not only was this a strategy for contact-making, but I maintained an active participation with seven associations, and witnessed and noted information about 30 events organised by different actors (see Annex 1). The events were highly diverse, and I played different roles and built up different degrees of involvement with the organisers. Fieldnotes were the main method for data collection, and I focused on specific dimensions of these voluntary activities.

The organisation of participant observation of these events included active contact-making and being informed about activities in relation to Peruvians. Therefore, I introduced myself to the members of associations' committees and diplomatic entities who might be informed about associations' activities. With their help, I was invited to a wide range of events. The organisers told me about these events by phone calls, text messages and emails. Normally, they sent me the details of the event: main purpose, date, hour and place. Also, regular participants in these events enabled me to hear about other events informally. In addition, I located and followed on-line several Facebook pages of Peruvian associations or groups and received on-line invitations to events organised by these associations. The invitations to events organised totally or partially by the diplomatic entities were distinct: they sent formal written invitation cards by post. Finally, I helped to co-organise some events where I knew about the details of the events in advance (See Chapter 6).

During these events, my degree of involvement in the organisation and development of the activity varied considerably. The first role was that of spectator when I decided to attend events without any personal invitation and followed announcements on Facebook pages. The main interest was to gather new contacts and information about unknown associations, their members and participants. Normally, I attended those places by myself or accompanied, engaged in informal conversations with the attendees and tried to locate people whom I already know. The second role of participant observation was that of the volunteer when I had a specific task to perform during the event. Here, I was either contacted by the organisers or I contacted them to volunteer (e.g. associations advertised in Facebook the call for volunteers. See Annex 2 for examples). I chose events that were popular such as the Independence Day or religious festivities. Since I usually knew the organisers or had attended the event before, the interest was to observe interactions between members for the distribution of tasks and with non-members for reactions to the event. I also engaged in informal conversations to have feedback about the event and the organisers. The third role was organiser of events. I assumed this role when I was a Board member (e.g. Científicos Peruanos) or was invited to organisation sessions before the event. Therefore, participant observation covered the whole process of an event: the emergence of an idea for an event, the decision-making process to adapt the idea, the ways to find resources and distribute tasks, the negotiations to cope with limitations and conflicts, the execution, etc. Consequently, I was fully involved for several months with members of the associations and other active supporters. The events mainly involved the

professional associations and the publicising of my research questions. Besides collecting data about the full organisational process, I received feedback about my findings.

The events organised by Peruvian associations had different features. There are four different types: religious, sporting, cultural and professional. The first type represents events held in religious spaces, organised by the Catholic Church's local representatives and Peruvian members of congregations. Although most of the attendees were Peruvian Catholic devotes, there were also other Latin Americans. Regardless of the canton, the language of the ceremonies and activities was Spanish. An example are the masses and processions in the name of the Lord of the Miracles (*Señor de los Milagros*) traditionally celebrated in October (Paerregaard, 2008). The second type of activities were sporting events. To my knowledge, soccer is the only sport that has led to the creation of associations for Peruvians in Switzerland. The events were thus soccer matches and fundraising events. An example is the amateur tournament of soccer teams in Switzerland where "Hijos del Sol" played in the semi-final in 2015. The third type of event is related to cultural activities. That is to say, the promotion of Peruvian folklore and gastronomy. An example is the Independence Day festivity at the end of July. Although Peruvian culture is mostly used as a fund-raising strategy, the discussions about Peruvian-ness and the ways to portray it in Switzerland are a distinctive feature of these events. The last type of events that I observed were meetings. That is, short, goal-oriented events with few participants, such as Board meetings. In view of the types of events, the places of observation were heterogeneous. Meetings were held in a member's home or a restaurant, the cultural activities were held in places for performances such as theatres, the sports events were held on soccer fields, and the religious ones in churches. Most of the events lasted at least three hours and were held on weekend evenings (Friday to Sunday). The variety and features of events and my active participation in them posed me problems for fieldnotes.

My fieldnotes were written after the event. I had a fieldwork diary where I scribbled key words on my way home. However, most of the field notes were written directly in Spanish using a word processor. For the descriptions of events, I focused on answering the question of who did what in a chronological manner and the interactions between members, non-members and other key actors (e.g. sponsors, diplomatic entities). In addition, I wrote down the summaries of informal conversations or comments about the association, the event or Peruvians in Switzerland. In this sense, I was interested in the ways in which distinctions between associations, their members and Peruvians in general were made. I noticed processes of identification amongst Peruvians in terms of gender, social class and legal status (see Chapter 6).

In total, I wrote 120 pages of event descriptions (See Table 9). This method of data collection enabled me to contrast some of the ideas that emerged in qualitative interviews with members and participants of associations. Internal hierarchies were visible in the organisation process as well as practices and discourses of positioning. Although writing down field notes was time-consuming, they provided a valuable source of information to contrast with the interviews.

Table 6. Results of data collection with multiple methods

Type of data	Number	Annexe
Interviews life-courses	55	
Interviews social networks	25	
Pages of observation notes	120	
Life calendar sheets	55	6
Coded interviews in NVivo	55	
Network sheets	25	
Vennmaker graphs	25	7

I.3.7.2. Interviews

In contrast to participant observation, I conducted interviews using different data collection tools: interview guidelines, life calendars, network matrix and sociograms (See Figure 1-8). The interviews were thus semi-structured. In addition, the interviews were divided into two stages: the first one was the biographical interview and the second one was the network interview. As a result, I conducted 80 interviews in total: 55 biographical interviews and 25 network interviews. In the following paragraphs, I explain the organisation of the interviews, the situations of interaction and the handling of interview guidelines and other tools.

I.3.7.2.1. Interview data collection tools

The interviews took place between 2014 and 2017 and each required making an appointment and devising appropriate data collection tools.

Most of the interviewees were referred to me by those who had already been interviewed. Although the snowball technique was the most effective, I tried other ways to contact Peruvians. Besides the Peruvian government representatives and associations in Switzerland, I contacted the Spanish sections of the Catholic Church and other religious organisations. Only one person contacted me after reading the messages I posted in these locations (see Annex 3 for the messages). Also, I sent

spontaneous messages to Peruvians working in academia by using the personal details on their Web pages. Only two people agreed to be interviewed following this means of communication. Consequently, the coordination of an appointment predominantly happened as follows: after the interview, I explained to the interviewee that I was looking for a certain profile of Peruvians in Switzerland, if the interviewee knew someone who had the profile, s/he gave me the telephone number of the potential interviewee, then I called the person to introduce myself and explain about the research. Most of the interviewees called the potential participant beforehand to ask permission to give me her/his telephone number and explained the process of the interview. When this happened, the coordination of an appointment was easier. If not, during the phone call, I explained thoroughly who I was (Peruvian graduate assistant at a Swiss university) and my research (PhD dissertation about the ways Peruvians cope with barriers and make ends meet or succeed professionally in Switzerland). I emphasised the confidentiality and anonymity of data collection and analysis, and my availability to travel to the place and date of his/her convenience. During phone calls, I felt that the fact of being a young Peruvian woman studying/working in a Swiss university and the aim of collecting experiences of resilience in migration was beneficial for interview recruitment. The main goal of the phone call was to secure agreement to participate in my research. Sometimes, participants also mentioned their time schedule, and we agreed on an appointment. I never received an outright refusal to take part in the study. However, in some cases, I was never able to set up an appointment with the person due to his/her time schedule, cancellation of appointments and difficulties in re-contacting her/him. Most of the appointments were at the weekend (Saturday or Sunday) and less frequently during lunch breaks and/or after office hours on weekdays.

I.3.7.3. Biographical interview guidelines and life calendars

Once the appointment was fixed, I prepared myself for the interview. I had already devised the interview guidelines and other data collection tools in advance. The biographical interview guidelines (See Annex 4) had the same goal as the LIVES live calendar: data collection from birth to current data across several life domains. Devised for quantitative longitudinal data collection, the LIVES life calendar (see Figures 1-2) is: "a two-way grid, with the temporal dimension on the one side, and different life domains on the other: residence, partnership, family, employment, unpaid activities, education and health. Respondents are asked to report events for each life domain, relating them to what happened across other domains or in references to time landmarks. While filling in this calendar, (users) can visualise the life trajectory, linking what happened to when, where

and for how long it happened" (Morselli et al., 2013, p. 3). The interview guidelines aim to collect information about transitions and their explanations as well as subjective dimensions of relations between events and the role of migration as a turning point or not. While the life calendar collected detailed information about dates, chronological order of events and a full list of events for each domain, the biographical guidelines enabled me to grasp the connections between events as well as the interviewee's explanations and appreciations of them. I printed both devices to use them during interviews: the guidelines were printed on simple A4 sheets and the life calendars were printed for each interview on two A3 sheets (see Figures 1-2). Both devices were progressively adapted to record information from at least both national settings (Peru and Switzerland) and to include new information. For example, employment in Switzerland can be measured by occupation rates (percentage of full-time work) but employment in Peru can better be measured by the number of simultaneous paid activities. I also added a column for voluntary work to write down forms of participation in migrant and non-migrant associations chronologically.

Figure 1. LIVES life calendar (part 1)

1. Age		2. Residence and legal statuses				3. Cohabitation										4. Couple's Relations	5. Family
		Mention: 1. Country of birth 2. All changes of residence: 3. Type of legal statuses and obtention of Swiss citizenship				For every of the following persons, mark the beginning and the end of the cohabitation.										Mention: 1. Name of your partner(s)/spouse(s) with a pseudonym and mark the duration of each relationship and duration 2. Write every change of civil status: marriage, divorce, widowhood, etc. 3. The decease of any partner/spouse	Mention:
Year	Age		Residence permit	Other nationalities	Other authorisations	Your mother	Your father	Your siblings	Your half-siblings	Alone	Your partner or spouse	Your children	Other member of your family	Friends or rommates	Autre : Student accomodation		1. For every son and daughter: the birthday, adaptation, decease. 2. For your mother and father: separation/divorce, and decease. 3. For every sibling: the birthday, adoption, decease.
2016																	
2015																	
2014																	
2013																	

173

Figure 2. LIVES life calendar (part 2)

1.		6. Activities											4. Other situations						7. Training				8. Health			
		Mention: 1. The phases of your professional activities, principal and secondary. Mark the beginning and the end of every phase. 2. The occupation rate and the changes in occupation rates 3. Whether you worked as an independent worker in principal and/or secondary activities.																	Mention: Every phase of training. Mark the beginning and the end of every phase.				Mention health issues			
Year	Age	Principal activity(ies)					Secondary activity(ies)						At home	Retirement	Unemployment	Unpaid activities: volunteering	Out of employment	Social insurances	Primary schooling	Secondary schooling	Post-compulsory educat. Institution.	University	Surgical operations	Accidents, bodily injury	Serious or chronic disease	Psychological issues
		Occupation	Independent	Less than 50 %	Part-time of 50-89 %	Full-time of 90 – 100 %	Occupation	Independent	Less than 50 %	Part-time of 50-89 %	Full-time of 90 – 100 %															
2016																										
2015																										

The interviews lasted two hours on average. Most of the interviews were conducted in the participant's home, or in cafés/restaurants. If we lived in the same city, some of the interviewees preferred an interview in my apartment or my office at the university (only three interviews). So, we often shared a meal or a drink while talking, and I asked for permission to record the conversation. An example of an interview situation is: meeting the person at the agreed time and place, we ordered something to drink or eat while I introduced myself again and talked about my research. The interviewee asked me questions before I requested permission to record the conversation. This preliminary conversation lasted between 15 and 20 minutes, and I showed them the life calendar that I would be filling in during the interview. Once they agreed to record the conversation, I started with the opening question: how did you arrive in Switzerland? Then I waited for the interviewee to finish his/her narrative while filling in the life calendar, and then asked more specific questions about residence in terms of location and legal situation, family and romantic relationships, employment as well as education and training history and health issues. Frequently, the topics of employment and family emerged spontaneously with the first question. Details about citizenship status were mentioned less spontaneously and I usually had to ask respondents specifically about them. I shared my own experiences with visas, permit acquisition and renewal, to keep the conversation flow going. Once the data about the migration experience and subsequent stages were clear, I started to ask for information about their experiences in Peru: parents' socio-economic situation, compulsory education and employment experiences. Finally, health issues were discussed (See Figures 1-2). I always finished the interview asking if the interviewee wanted to add anything else and if s/he had any questions for me. Once the digital recorder was turned off, interviewees asked me questions about my research and added more information. In particular, they talked about discrimination experiences in Switzerland, Peru and elsewhere based on gender, ethnicity and nationality.

Figure 3. Ernesto's hand-written life-calendar (1)

Figure 4. Ernesto's hand-written life-calendar (2)

The combination of qualitative biographical guidelines with life calendars had the advantages of providing two sources of diachronic and subjective data. Yet, managing in-depth interviewing with two devices – an interview guide for qualitative biographical interviews and a life calendar for quantitative longitudinal data – was a challenge. Since the LIVES life calendar is made for self-administration, I conducted two test interviews with Peruvian friends in Switzerland and both told me that it was very complicated for them to fill in the life calendar by themselves. I therefore decided to fill in the life calendar myself because it proved to be a rather complex device to handle for participants during the biographical interview. By memorising my interview guidelines, I trained myself to fill in the life calendar while participants narrated their stories. In this way, the life-calendar display helped me to better choose my follow-up questions to enhance recall, spot missing data and understand overlapping events. Although I aimed to combine methods for narration and sequence of events, it was hard to focus on narrations while writing down dates of events. Interruptions and memory issues frequently happened affecting the dialogue with the participants. However, I had the opportunity to discuss with participants their feelings and impressions of particular events as well as historical and personal (age) timing of events and their interdependence with others.

I.3.7.4. Social network matrix and sociograms

The organisation of the social network interviews was slightly different. Since I chose to re-contact half of the former interviewees, it was easier to coordinate an appointment. These interviewees already knew me and about the research. The selection was based on the the first interview and the profile of the interviewee in order to have an equal ratio for gender and linguistic regions them (See Table C in Annexes page 26). After transcribing, reading and coding (more detail in the next sections) the first interviews, I chose interviewees who provided suitable information in line with the emerging theoretical clues such as the role of socio-legal categorisations and bi-national marriages in mobility patterns. Consequently, most of the follow-up interviews were done at least after one year from the first one. For coordination, I contacted the interviewee and asked him/her for their availability for a second interview. Besides confirming the same conditions of confidentiality and anonymity, I explained that I had some complementary questions to ask them after reading the transcripts of their first interviews. None of them refused the follow-up interview and the planning was easier since I knew where to go as well as the available hours and dates.

Once the interviewee had agreed to participate again and provided me an appointment, I prepared follow-up questions and the data collection tools. I used a qualitative ego-centred network interview

guideline (See Annex 5) with network matrix for employment and family caregiving relations and sociograms for closeness assessment (See Figures 5-7). I printed the guidelines and network matrix on simple A4 sheets and the sociogram on A3 sheets. After reading the transcripts of the biographical interviews, I wrote down on post-its supplementary questions to fill information gaps in the life calendar or further explore some transitions and relations between events. I also wrote post-its to list the names of alters already mentioned in different life domains during the biographical interview.

After asking for permission to record the conversation, I started the interview with the an introductory question about how the person had been since the first interview and then asked the follow-up questions written on the post-its. In the second part of the interview, I used the network guidelines consisting of name-generator questions linked to the daily organisation of activities such as housework (cleaning, cooking and paid private or public services), family caregiving (hands-on, distant, paid private or public services), articulation of caregiving and professional activities (employment rate, schedule, negotiation with employers, colleagues and family members), job-hunting tactics and forms of political participation (membership and activities in clubs, associations, neighbourhood committees, unions, political parties, etc.).

While asking the name-generator questions, I filled in the two network matrixes inspired by the work of Widmer on family network data collection (Widmer et al., 2013) (see Figures 5 and 6). The first one is about the socio-economic data of the persons mentioned (ego-alter relations) such as type of relation with the interviewee (family, friendship, colleague, neighbour, etc.), gender, age, duration of the relation, nationality and citizenship, residence, frequency of contact face-to-face and by other means (phone, email, Skype, Facebook, etc.) The second matrix is about the relations between the persons mentioned (alter-alter relations). I asked whether the alters knew each other, the means of contact, and whether they helped each other with housework, family caregiving and occupational activities.

Figure 5. Network matrix 1: name generator and characteristics of alter

Matrix 1: composition of ego's network									
N	Pseudonym	Relationship with ego	Gender	Age	Relationship duration	Nationality and legal status	Residence	Frequency of face-to-face contact	Frequency of contact by other media (Internet)
1									
2									

Figure 6 Network matrix 2: Relations between alter and care- and employment related relationships

Matrix 2: relations between alters						
Pseudonym	Besides you, who else knows X? (contact occasionally)	Besides you, who else knows X? (know each other very well)	Who helps X with domestic shores?	Who helps X to provide hands-on care?	Who helps X to provide long-distance care?	Who helps X to combine professional activities with care and domestic work?
1						
2						

Figure 7. Sociogram

The network interview finished with the collaborative use of the sociogram to measure the closeness of ego-alter relations (see Figure 5-7). Beside the names provided in the biographical interview, I wrote down on small post-its the names of persons mentioned in the prior questions and I asked the interview about her/his perception of closeness. I deliberately did not provide a definition of closeness and asked the interviewee for her/his own definition. I explained the distribution of the degrees of closeness in the sociogram and, for each person mentioned, I asked the interviewee to place the post-it with the corresponding name accordingly on the paper. Most of the interviewees made time-sensitive distinctions between persons and relations that had been important but no longer were. I asked for further information about relationship dynamics between pre- and post-migration. I finished the interview by asking if the interviewee had anything to add or any question for me.

The interviews lasted at least two hours. As with the first interview, most were conducted in the participant's homes, or a café/restaurant. Consequently, we shared a meal or a drink while talking, and I asked for permission to record the conversation. An example of an interview situation is: calling the participant, refreshing her/his memory about who I was and my research, requesting a follow-up interview, then coordinating the time, date and place to meet again. When we met, we greeted each other and talked about things that had recently happened. The interviewees frequently asked about the progress of my research, the number of other Peruvians that I had interviewed, and the purpose of this second interview. I explained to them the nature of the follow-up and network questions. After a ten-minute informal conversation, I asked if I could start the interview and record the conversation. Once the digital recorder was turned off, we continued our conversation for a few more minutes.

Figure 8. Coco's network chart

The combination of interview guidelines, network matrixes and sociograms enabled me to collect detailed information about the participant's ego-centred network. The network matrixes were useful to gather socio-demographic data and multiple types of relations (daily and transnational) systematically, whereas the sociogram enabled me to visualise ego's relations and his/her perceptions. I could easily identify relations that needed more description while conducting the interview. The sociogram also helped participants to better recall and describe social relations. Moreover, it could easily be formalised to compare the structure and meaning of ego-centred networks. While the open-ended question about closeness of relations with alters triggered insightful reflections, it was also confusing for some participants. Tensions between diachronic and synchronic data were present when participants thought about the importance of social ties in various domains. I chose to let participants decide to only put former and/or current social ties, and I asked them for their reasons for doing this. Combined with the biographical interview, the spatial and temporal dynamism of social relations as well as the resources and meanings of these relations were discussed. However, the process of filling the network matrix was time-consuming

184

and provoked dialogue interruptions in order to write down specific information. At the end, the aim was not to record ego's complete network, but rather to understand his/her processes of embedding as a Peruvian migrant in Switzerland.

As said before, the organisation of participant observation and interviews overlaps with processes of data analysis. In the following paragraph, I provide a detailed explanation of the analytical stages.

I.3.7.4. Data coding and visualisation

The processes of analysis began with the treatment of data right after data collection, the tools for data management and the coding and the visualisation of data. The final stage is the triangulation of different sources of data to propose patterns of mobility.

In my research, the treatment of data started right after participant observation and interviews. The fact of writing down then typing up my field notes was an advantage for later coding. The writing down of notes in the life calendar, network matrixes and sociograms enabled me to analyse diachronic and network data right after data collection. For data management and further analysis, I transferred the data in the calendars and matrixes to Excel sheets and printed 55 life calendars (See Annex 6). The sociograms were automatically transferred to the Vennmaker programme for visualisation and printed 25 sociograms (See Annex 7).

The transfer of data into Excel documents was combined with the transcription of interviews. There were approximately 160 hours of interviews to be transcribed. For the time-consuming task of transcription, I delegated a third of the hours to Peruvian social science students in Switzerland and Peru who were paid by the hour. I provided the transcribers with a transcription guideline (anonymity, confidentiality and format). For the rest of the transcriptions, I used the F4 transcription software (https://www.audiotranskription.de/english/f4). All the interviews were fully transcribed. The transcripts show the date of the interview and the format distinguishes the questions and answers. Inaudible moments of the interviews were signalled. While I was transcribing, I was also transferring the life calendar and network matrixes to Excel sheets (See Annex 6 for the 55 life calendars). In this way, the transcripts clarified and complemented the notes taken during the interview to complete the information for the Excel documents. All the interviews followed this procedure, but the further steps of analysis were distinct for biographical and network data.

I.3.7.4.1. Biographical data coding and lifelines

After finishing the transcription of biographical interviews and transfer of the life calendar data, the second step was coding of data using the NVivo software and the creation of lifelines inspired by the work of Anika Liversage (2009a).

For the coding stage of analysis, I used three types of coding terminology: event by event, dramaturgical and positioning. As stated by Charmaz: "coding means naming segments of data with a short name that simultaneously summarises and accounts for each piece of data" (2014c, p. 111). The coding process was progressive: it started with focused coding that shows the initial decisions for codes that make the most analytical sense of large amounts of data; subsequently, axial coding implied the creation of other codes to characterise the properties and dimensions of prior or new ones; and finally theoretical coding represented a way to achieve clarity and precision in developing ideas about relations between codes (e.g. chain of explanation, patterns of trajectories) (Charmaz, 2014a). Theoretical coding is, however, ambiguous. Besides my personal experience, my prior theoretical knowledge about Peruvian migration profoundly influenced all the steps in my research. I rendered visible the theoretical concepts that underlay my coding process and showed relationships among them. Reflexivity is thus highly important for combating preconceptions when coding data (Charmaz, 2014a). The principle is not to force data into preconceived codes and categories. Constantly challenging our standpoints is useful – for instance, I actively looked for heterogeneous, outlier and negative cases. Consequently, the coding process in this dissertation followed the broad to fine-grained process.

Drawing on this definition and process, I progressively coded the biographical interview data into three forms. The first form was event-by-event coding. Inspired by the life-course approach, this form of coding focused on spotting events in each life domain, the duration and chronological order in terms of personal and historical time. It also focused on the relations between events from different life domains to assess the interdependence and turning point quality. In addition, I coded for the short- and long-term consequences of events explained by the interviewees. For instance, I coded for events in the residence domain such as moving in and out, travelling, visas, permits, citizenship status, etc.; in the family domain, I coded for births, deaths, partnerships, marriages, divorces, caregiving, etc.; in the occupational domain, I coded for education, training, language courses, jobs, periods spent out of employment or in unemployment, etc. This form of coding was done for each of the seven life domains. I also added particular codes for family and employment

interdependence as well as key transitions such as from education to employment, from single living to coupledom and towards parenthood as well as (ir-)regularisation processes and naturalisation. The figure 9 shows the results of event-by-event coding where the size of the square represents the quantity of interviews and fieldnotes that were coded under the label (the bigger the square, the more sources coded), and the shades of grey represents the quantity of references (e.g. sentences of transcripts) under the label (the darkest the square, the more references coded). I distinguished between events happened in Peru, Switzerland and elsewhere as well as I create codes for "opportunities and limitations encountered" for each life domain.

Figure 9. Event-by-event coding results

The other two forms of coding, called dramaturgical and positioning, are inspired by the narrative approach. For the dramaturgical coding, I used the terminology of plot analysis to assess the interviewees' perceptions of the unfolding events and the characters who participated in them (Daiute, 2014b, 2014a). I therefore coded the characters most evoked in events (Daiute, 2014a): Swiss partner, children, family in-laws, parents, siblings, etc. In addition, I coded the plots related to family caregiving, migration, employment, education and partnership. For each of these plots, I coded the setting, the initiating and complicating actions, the high point or climax, the resolution strategy and the final moral. In addition, I also coded for scripts that are the means of organising a plot-based narrative such as the ways interviewees expressed a particular collection of timing elements, made logical connections and applied master narratives (those that are expected according

to the socio-cultural context of the study) (Daiute, 2014b). For instance, the scripts coded were the "hero" story, the lucky one, the blessed one, the suffering one, etc. Figure 10 shows the results of dramaturgical coding, where the size of the square represents the quantity of interviews and fieldnotes that were coded under the label (the bigger the square, the more sources coded), and the shades of grey represent the quantity of references (e.g. sentences of transcripts) under the label (the darker the square, the more references coded). I distinguished between markers about the past and the future such as yearning about the homeland or planning the return.

Figure 10. Results of dramaturgical coding
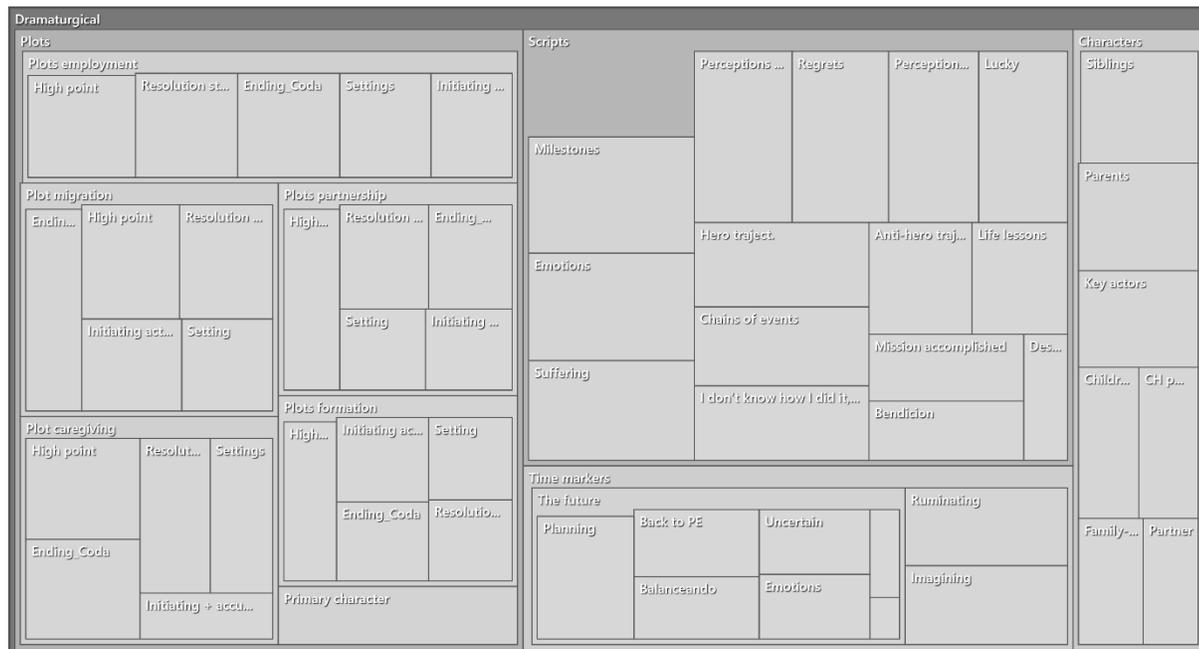
The last form of coding for biographical interview was positioning. Inspired by the analysis of Korobov (2013) on positioning identities, I coded for the negotiation of categories in terms of gender, racialisation and social class, and their intersections. The premise is that "categories index (and are indexed by) culturally defined sets of category-bound activities, rights, obligations, and predicates that are expected for members of that category" (Korobov, 2013, p. 117). The task is to locate the ways in which interviewees evoked relations to these categories. In this sense, there are four positioning practices: the naming of a category where interviewees used the category straightforwardly (e.g. the word *pituco*, which means membership of the upper social class in Peru); invoking categorical membership, which signalled membership of a category through assumptions related to it (e.g. assuming that talking about couples is talking about heterosexual couples); invoking attributes to communicate their identity (e.g. being a caregiving person to evoke femininity); and

the final one is resisting ascription to membership categories and/or proposed alternative ones (e.g. making a distinction between long-settled Peruvian migrants and newcomers) (Korobov, 2013). I also added a code named "simultaneous positioning" to address segments that evoked intersectional positioning. Consequently, this form of coding enabled me to localise and analyse the ways in which Peruvian women performed self-positioning and positioning of others during their biographical interviews. Figure 11 shows the results of positioning coding where the size of the square represents the quantity of interviews and fieldnotes that were coded under the label (the bigger the square, the more sources coded), and the shades of grey represent the quantity of references (e.g. sentences of transcripts) under the label (the darker the square, the more references coded). I also added a code ("inequalities") about the perceptions of inequalities in Peru, Switzerland and elsewhere that do not necessarily evoke the other axes of domination.

Figure 11. Outcomes of positioning coding
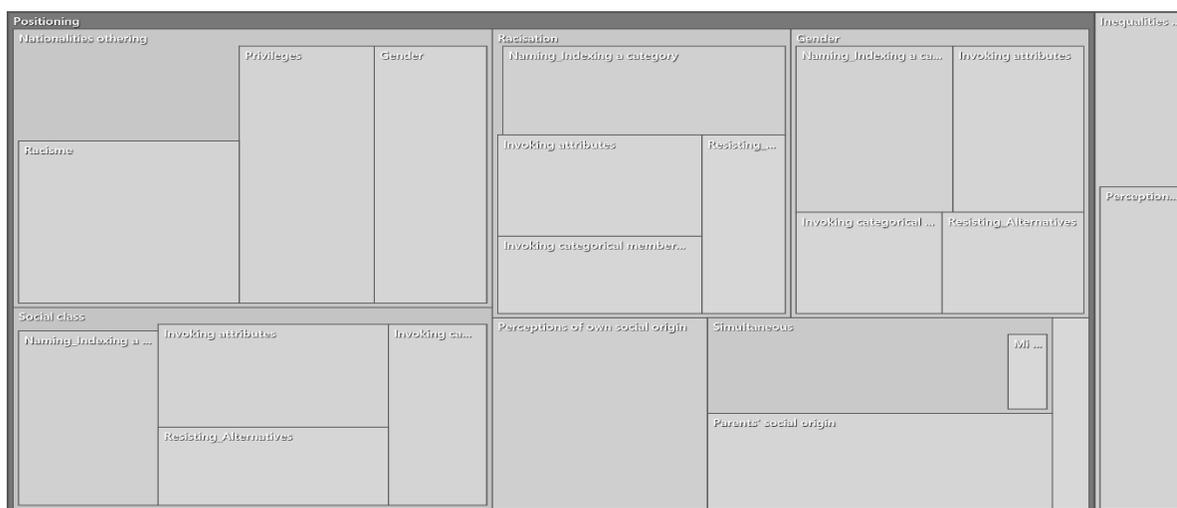
These three forms of coding helped me to manage data easily and to begin with data interpretation in terms of patterns. While coding data, I also wrote down memos. Memo writing is "a space to become actively engaged in materials, to develop ideas, to fine-tune subsequent data gathering, and to engage in critical reflexivity" (Charmaz, 2014b, p. 163). Considering the theoretical sampling and two-step data collection, the processes of coding and memo writing informed my recruitment process based on preliminary ideas and the selection of participants for the follow-up network interview. I show the full list of codes in Annex 8.

189

I.3.7.4.2. From life-calendars to lifelines: analysis and visualisation

In addition to coding the interview transcripts, the data analysis of the life calendars was transformed into lifelines. Although the life calendars provided detailed chronological data, it was difficult to grasp the changes or stability in the seven life domains and their intersections at a particular moment or the potential effects of one on another. The aim of the lifelines was to better visualise the relations between events in different life domains. In other words, each trajectory was depicted in relation to the others following the personal (age) and historical timing (years). For instance, my focus was to address the gender-based relations of occupational and family trajectories. In relation to migration, I was also concerned to visualise the intersections of legal trajectories with family and employment pathways.

For qualitative analysis of life calendars, it was hard to find a technique to analyse and display several trajectories simultaneously and allow the comparison of cases (Brannen & Nilsen, 2011; Liversage, 2009a). Inspired by the work of Liversage, I decided to use a temporal-spatial notation of lifelines. As stated by the author, this type of lifelines is valuable for depicting "an individual's movements through time and (stratified) social space" (Liversage, 2009a, p. 208). This annotation technique fosters comparison within a corpus of life stories from people who shared similar circumstances, but without subsuming individual experiences under over-generalised categorisations (Liversage, 2009a, p. 207). However, the author only focuses on occupational trajectories that include periods of training, employment and non- employment. Since I wanted to compare at least three trajectories (employment, family and legal), I added some features to this lifeline technique which allows for the simultaneous visualisation of trajectories and their intersections.

Although I followed Liversage's technique of two analytical axes (X and Y), the lifeline technique that I propose includes the comparison of at least two trajectories. As in the work of Liversage, the horizontal x-axis depicts both historical time and the number of years since immigration to Switzerland. It thus contextualises individual trajectories within historical events. The vertical y-axis represents respondents' positions and movement through social space. In my notation technique, I used both sides of the graph and different colours to display different trajectories. For instance, the left-hand side of the graph depicts educational events (blue arrow) and occupational statuses (red arrow), while the right-hand side depicts different family events and care arrangements with a green arrow (see Figure 12).

Education: Engineer
Age at entering Switzerland: 26 years old

Peru   **Switzerland**

	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
Highly level employment	2				9						
Involuntary part-time											
Low level employment									10		Children
Studies Switzerland	3			5 8							Marriage
Language courses	4		7								Partnership
Studies Peru	1										Primary caregiver
"OUT"			6								Shared caregiving
Unemployment									11		Delegated care
	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	

1: Bachelor engineering
2: Employment as engineer
3: Master in engineering + scholarship
4: Meet Swiss girlfriend
5: Master diploma
6: Job hunting
7: German courses
8: Marriage
9: Employment as engineer
10: 1st child
11: Delegates caregiving to wife

Figure 12. Lifelines of Ernesto

In this dissertation, the use of lifelines to depict a participant's trajectories is also accompanied by a description of the key events. To explain the construction of the annotated lifelines, I can cite the example of Ernesto, a Peruvian engineer with a Bachelor's degree from a Peruvian university (1+2) who came to Switzerland in 2008 (3) thanks to a Swiss federal government scholarship. Ernesto enrolled in a Master degree program at a Federal Engineering School, met a Swiss girlfriend (4) and graduated within the expected time (5). After completing his studies, Ernesto still had a few months left on his annual student permit, but he didn't manage to find a job (6). He decided to use the remaining time on his student permit to take a German language course, in the hope of improving his employment chances (7). As a form of insurance against the risk of prolonged unemployment, the young couple decided to get married (8) to avoid Ernesto having to leave Switzerland when his student permit ran out. Once he had received his settlement authorisation (B permit) on the basis of family reunification criteria, Ernesto was offered a job as an engineer in a multinational company located in the German-speaking part of Switzerland (9). At the time of the interview, he was still working for the same company. The couple had just had a first child (10) and Ernesto had delegated most of the caregiving to his Swiss wife, who planned to go back to work part-time at the end of her maternity leave (11). Figure 12 charts his educational, employment and family-formation trajectories over time (See Chapters 7-8).

Using these forms of data management, analysis and visualisation enabled me to analyse the data using the life-course and narrative principles. In combination with network analysis, the goal is to shed light on patterns in Peruvians' migration experiences in Switzerland.

I.3.7.4.3. Network matrixes and sociograms

The network data from interviews, matrixes and sociograms was also analysed in different stages. The first stage involved the transfer of network matrixes manually filled in during the interviews to Excel files. To do this, the interview transcripts enabled me to check the information from the matrix and to add details where required. I also transferred the information about sociograms into Excel files. This transfer went hand in hand with coding the interview transcripts. As with the biographical interviews, the network interviews were also fully transcribed. Using Vennmaker software, the last stage was linked to analysis and visualisation of network data by presenting sociograms that summed up the embedding dynamics and dimensions of networks.

I.3.7.4.3.1. Network matrixes and interviews

The network matrixes and interviews were highly complementary, so the transfer of data from the matrixes depended on the transcription of the latter.

As with the biographical interviews, full transcription was done by myself and social science students. I used the same format for biographical and network interviews: the distinction between questions and answers and the signalling of inaudible segments. In combination with the transcriptions, the hand-written matrixes were transferred to Excel files. The aim was to better understand the ego-centred networks: the information about each alter, the frequency and purposes of relations with ego and among alters. The transfer of the first matrix about alter personal data aimed to assess network heterogeneity in terms of social features and geographic location. The transfer to the second matrix about alter-alter relations enabled me to understand the mobilisation of resources within the network for purposes such as family caregiving and occupational activities. The transcription of the biographical interviews enabled me to verify and complement the hand-written data collected during the network interviews. For instance, I was able to check the number of alters mentioned by the interviewee, the variety of resources and directionality of relations (who gave and who received). The information in the matrixes enabled me to conduct a preliminary analysis of the geographical distribution of ties, the most frequent sources (family, employment, neighbourhood, etc.) as well as the purposes and frequency of long-distance and face-to-face relationships. They also provided a quick overview of network composition in terms of gender, age, nationality and legal status.

Besides using transcriptions to transfer network matrixes data, these data were coded using NVivo software. The coding aimed to locate and categorise relational data. Inspired by the prior coding forms, I added codes for relational data for each life domain: residence, employment, family and political participation. For instance, I added employee-employer relations, ethnic business relations, relations with colleagues and classmates in the occupational domain as well as couple's care work organisation, relations with siblings, parents' support and support to parents for the family sphere. Given the importance of specific transnational relations, I specifically coded for money circulation and the frequency of communication and visits amongst family members. Figure 13 shows the results of positioning coding where the size of the square represents the quantity of interviews and fieldnotes that were coded under the label (the bigger the square, the more sources coded), and the shades of grey represents the quantity of references (e.g. sentences of transcripts) under the label (the darker the square, the more references coded). I distinguished the location of family and professional contacts in Peru, Switzerland and elsewhere.

Figure 13. Results of relational and embedding coding
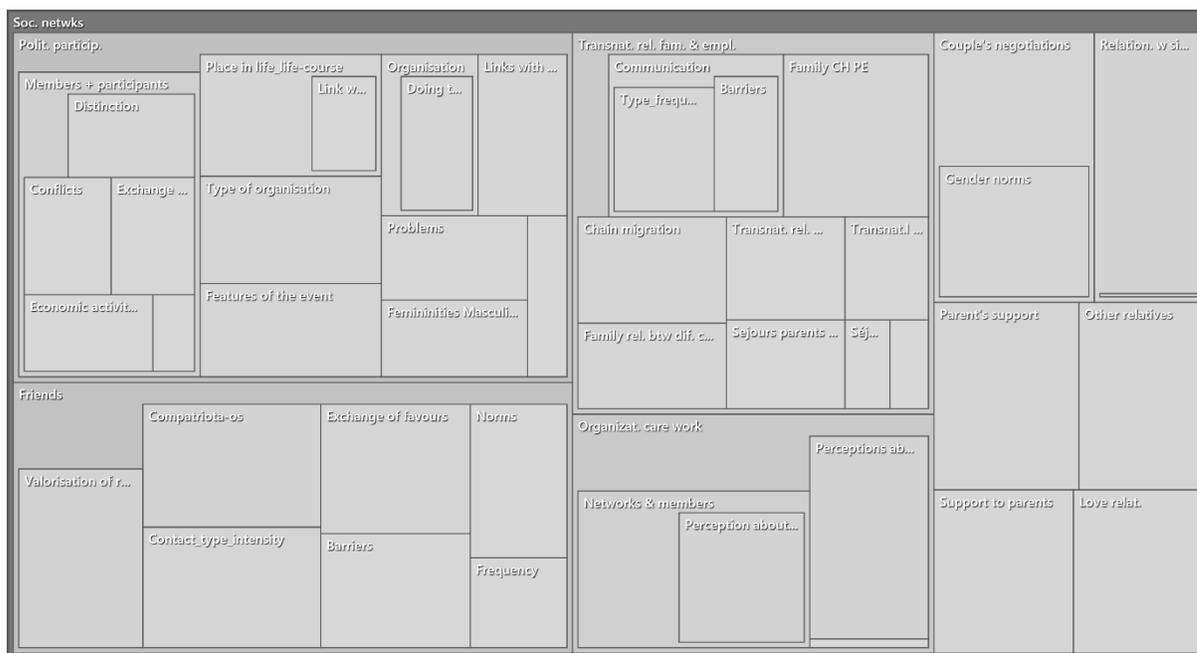
The relational coding helped me to combine the network data with the biographical interview coding. The relational coding also explored the timing of network formation, maintenance and disappearance of ties in biographical and network data. I deliberately coded segments that evoked the differences between pre- and post-migration networks. In the light of the transitions and turning points spotted in the biographical interviews, I looked for the effects on networks. Besides

193

migration, other events with potential effects on networks were coded, such as partnership, parenthood, divorce, out of employment, etc. Consequently, the relational coding had a dynamic dimension to understand not only the dimensions but also the processes of embedding.

Another form of coding called embedding strengthened the positioning coding in biographical interviews. The embedding coding involved codes for self-positioning and positioning of others. For instance, I created groups of codes to assess friendship with compatriots and migrants from other countries in terms of frequency, purpose and appreciation as well as the perceptions of own origins and forms of othering in terms of gender and racialization. These codes evoked boundary-making between categories of groups and individuals. The embedding coding also localised excerpts that evoked the role of relations in social mobility. For example, the ego-alter relations showed the flows of appreciated resources and the forms and moments in which ego achieved the capitalisation of resources and ties. To continue understanding the value of relations, the embedding coding addressed the sociograms that displayed closeness between ego and alter relations. The focus is on coding the explanations given for the value attached (or not) to the relations with alter. While the relation coding provided me with the spatial and temporal dimensions of ties, the embedding coding enabled me to grasp the subjective dimensions of value given to relations and the ways of capitalising on resources and ties.

I.3.7.4.4. Embedding patterns sociograms

Like the lifelines technique for the biographical data, the analysis of network data was conducted so as to enhance the comparison between individual cases and the visualisation of patterns. I used the Vennmaker software to create sociograms (see Annex 7 for the 25 sociograms) that I called embedding patterns, since they display the multiple dimensions of relations and the pre- and post-migration dynamics.

Using the biographical and network coding, I created embedding sociograms where ego is at the centre. The sociogram is divided into four dimensions that represent the life domains (transitions) where family, occupational, legal and migration nodes participated. Alter are grouped in nodes that are represented by a circle: the form represents individual or institutional actors, the colour represents the source of the tie (family, professional, friendship and love), and the size represents the number of actors who composed the node. Following the standard terminology, the labels of the nodes depend on the residency and nationality of the alter (Bolíbar et al., 2015; M. J. Lubbers et al., 2007; Miranda J. Lubbers et al., 2010; Molina et al., 2015); for example, in the labels "H"

194

designates nodes born and living in the host country, "O" nodes in the country of origin, "D" labelled the nodes born in Peru but living at destination and "T" designates nodes that are other foreign-born residents in Switzerland and Peruvian migrants in another destination country. These nodes are linked to ego by lines that represent the frequency and quality of ties. In addition, the nodes are distributed in the sociogram closer to or further from the centre in relation to the degree of closeness perceived by ego (see Figures 14).

Inspired by the work of time-sensitive network analysts (Bolíbar et al., 2015; Miranda J. Lubbers et al., 2010), I distinguished between pre- and post-migration ties. To do this, I use the terminology of Bolíbar et al. to mark the time of meeting the alter: they added the number 1 to the label of those alters met before the arrival and the number 2 to the label of those alter met after arrival (2015). In this way, these embedding sociograms aim to portray the dynamics of networks where the most important nodes (size and closeness) at Time 1 (pre-migration) are different from those at Time 2. In the rest of the dissertation, the use of sociograms is accompanied by the description of the participant's network at both moments and in the four life domains. Stability and changes such as transitions and turning points in network dynamics are also specified in the description and the sociogram. As an example I can cite Coco's embedding patterns:
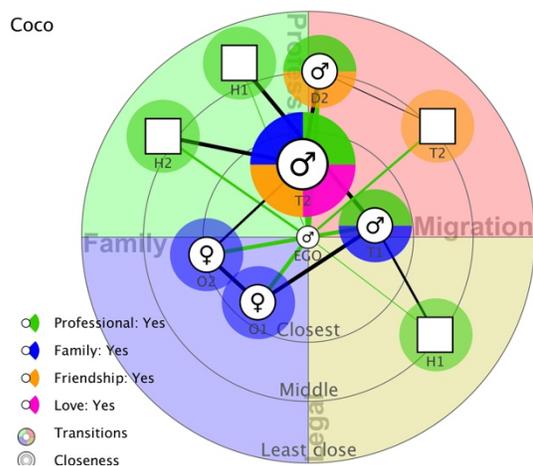
Figure 14 Coco's embedding patterns

After graduation from a Peruvian university, Coco struggled to find a job commensurate with his skills in Peru. He lived with his sister and mother (O1) in Lima. He worked for a while in fixed-term positions as a researcher in Lima, and then he decided to study abroad. Due to his less privileged background, he needed to win a scholarship. He quit his job to build up his CV. His brother, who was already living in Spain (T1), paid for him to take some English-language courses

195

in Lima. He started to work for a European researcher in Peru and worked on-line with a Peruvian researcher in the USA (T1). Both helped him, by providing information and recommendation letters in the scholarship application and admission processes (H1). In 2008, at age 27 years, he arrived in France. Two years later, he obtained an engineering degree. In order to continue his career in Europe, he asked the Peruvian researcher working in the USA for advice (T2). This man advised him to contact another Peruvian colleague working in a Swiss university (D2) who was looking for a PhD student. After attending an interview, Coco was offered the PhD position. He arrived in a big German-speaking city and met other Peruvian colleagues (D2) at the university. Being a football fan, he started playing in soccer clubs where he met other Peruvians and Latin Americans (T2). He acknowledged the class and citizenship inequalities between the friends from university and those from the soccer clubs. With the latter, he also used to go out to nightclubs. In this way, he met his Swiss girlfriend of European origin (T2). Once he had finished his PhD, his Peruvian mentor in USA (T2) asked him to work for a transnational enterprise in Switzerland, but he had problems with the renewal of his permit. He received a fixed-term work permit and job position in the transnational enterprise. He worked as a researcher with other foreigners (T2), but his contract expired within 11 months. His mentor wanted him to go join him in USA, but Coco decided to stay in Switzerland and marry his girlfriend (H2) after the work permit and job contract came to an end. He is currently exploring different career options with his Peruvian colleagues in Switzerland (D2) and abroad (T2). He now sends a larger share of remittances than his brother back to his mother in Peru. He plans to bring his mother to Switzerland (O2) at some point, so that she can take care of his future children (See Chapter 10 for more details).

Drawing on the relational, embedding coding and visualisation, the network data analysis enabled me to unpack ethnic-centred social network analysis. Since ethnicity is not fixed but rather constructed situationally (Umut Erel, 2015; Ryan, Umut, et al., 2015), the analysis of self-positioning and positioning of others shows the ways in which the interviewees constructed and evoked boundaries between individuals and groups beyond ethnicity. Migrants' networks are thus not always based on shared ethnicity. In line with the positioning coding, the coding for perceptions of own social origin and forms of othering also considered gender and social class to assess privileges and domination in relationships. These categorisations have an influence on the embedding dynamics. Besides the subjective dimensions of (dis)similarity, the embedding coding and visualisation of network data contributes to the debate about bonds and bridges in migrants' networks (Patulny, 2015; Ryan, 2011, 2015). The fact of considering nationality and residence in

relation to other dimensions of relationships enabled me to better understand the flows of resources within networks and the ways in which capitalisation is achieved. Ethnic similarity or dissimilarity is not the rule to measure the value given to resources and relations. Bonding and bridging relations are thus not mutually exclusive concepts but located along a continuum of social relationships (Ryan, Umut, et al., 2015). I finally considered that the subjective dimensions and the dynamics of embedding are more suitable measures to address the importance of relations in specific moments and places.

Before explaining the comparison of lifelines and embedding sociograms to detect patterns, I present the advantages and limitations of qualitative analysis software: NVivo and Venmaker.

I.3.7.4.5. Qualitative data analysis software

The extent to which software is suitable for research depends on the role it is given in the process. Although learning to use it was time-consuming, this research used software for stages in the analytical process. While I used NVivo at the beginning of the data analysis, Vennmaker become useful at the end. I treated NVivo as a data management and coding device and Vennmaker as a visualisation tool.

Using NVivo presented advantages such as the creation of databases and the techniques to locate precise information. NVivo enabled me to store, organise and code different types of data: field notes and interview transcripts. It helped me to link each participant to all his/her interview transcripts. This coding software allowed me to explore initial clues and orient sampling, to constantly compare cases in initial and focused coding, to build categories and explain their properties, and to visualise theorising process. Like any software, NVivo cannot be used as a sole analytical strategy, but must rather be integrated into a wider process. When coding becomes too important, it is easy to lose a sense of direction. Coding is linked to research questions and progressively adapted to fieldwork experiences. For instance, coding tends to de-contextualise transcripts from participants' characteristics and interview situations (Wengraf, 2000). Mechanical comparison of texts and division into segments solely based on topics can render analysis superficial.

Vennmaker provides a friendly interface to store network data and create tailored-made sociograms. This network software helped me in the visualisation of relations with a wide range of possibilities to portray the various dimensions of networks. However, using all the possibilities available creates

197

sociograms that are difficult to read and understand. The absence of time-sensitive visual tools is a limitation. The use of labels to distinguish moments in relations might not be the most suitable visual aid. Nevertheless, the construction of sociograms helped to display various levels of network data simultaneously.

Both qualitative analysis applications enabled me to compare individual cases, deduce patterns and build ideal-types.

I.3.8. The interpretation of biographical and network data

In the following paragraphs, I explain the ways in which the comparison of individual cases and types of data (field notes, interviews and graphs) sheds light on patterns in migration experiences. In view of the main questionings of this dissertation, the patterns evoked diversification and stratification processes for social mobility and network dynamics. I mainly focus on the patterns of legal, occupational and family trajectories as well as the patterns of unfolding cross-border networks and mobility. Given the intersectional lens, both processes were analysed in combination with categorisation processes of gender, social class and ethno-national markers. To do this, the triangulation of data enabled me to elucidate distinctions and regularities and continually test preliminary ideas for interpretation. Inspired by typological thinking, the results are presented in terms of ideal-types of life courses and networks.

I.3.8.1. Definition and dimensions

The interpretation process is different from the analytical one. The treatment of data during analysis involved (re)organising, summarising and (re)presenting data, whereas the interpretation process aims at meaning-making after breaking down the data (Trent & Cho, 2014). In this dissertation, the data analysis yielded preliminary results about each participant: lists of codes, life calendars, network matrixes and sociograms. The combination of these results made an individual case that was further analysed and visualised in the form of lifelines and embedding sociograms. For the interpretation, the comparison focused on the relations between codes as well as the comparison of lifelines and sociograms.

I.3.8.2. Interpretation in qualitative analysis

In qualitative analysis, interpretations are persuasive, reasonable and informative arguments that are judged by the coherence, correspondence and inclusiveness of the data at hand (Trent & Cho, 198

2014). Coherence refers to the extent to which the argument makes sense as a whole, whereas correspondence refers to the extent in which the arguments fit the data. Inclusiveness refers to whether all data (e.g. outlier or negative cases) were taken into consideration. Although interpretations are always open to revision, the assessment of interpretations is based on these three dimensions.

The main goal of interpretations is to provide new understandings of the social phenomena that are studied. These new understanding are traced back to the empirical evidence presented. The quality of social research depends on the credibility of the sources and the procedures (Trent & Cho, 2014). Data collection and analysis are part of the procedures and the creation of sources for interpretation.

In addition, the theoretical framework informed the interpretation process. Theories represent interpretative frames through which the researcher views social reality. Theoretically informed interpretative frames are based on particular ways of carrying out the data analysis.

Consequently, the interpretation process is related to data collection and analysis as well as the theoretical background of the research. The restitution of the ways in which both components influenced interpretations adds to the clarity of the arguments. In this dissertation, I address the three dimensions of interpretation, and the ways in which it connects to data collection and analysis as well as theoretical frameworks.

I.3.8.3. Assessing the quality of data interpretation

In this dissertation, the coherence, correspondence and inclusiveness of interpretations have been addressed in three ways. The inclusiveness of interpretation is based on the theoretical sampling. Theoretical sampling not only actively tests emerging categories during fieldwork with further data collection but also orientates data collection to re-visit previously examined cases and look for negative cases (Charmaz, 2014d). The second step involves the triangulation of data, which enabled me to constantly compare all the data at hand: fieldnotes, interviews, lifelines and sociograms. The third technique is the adoption of what Dominique Schnapper calls "typological thinking", and which enhances the coherence of interpretation (Schnapper, 1999). This is way of understanding the links of individual experiences to the broader socio-cultural context. Since theoretical sampling was explained in the previous sections, I now develop in detail the two last interpretative strategies.

I.3.8.4. Triangulation

The data collection involves different sources of data: observation and interviews. I prepared the heterogeneous data for interpretation by coding interviews and fieldnotes and by summarising the main features in lifelines and sociograms. The goal was twofold: to analyse different sources of data and constantly compare individual cases. The triangulation of data is based on these previous steps and advances the interpretation process.

On the one hand, the comparison of fieldnotes and interview transcripts was made possible by coding the material jointly. The groups of codes that emerged thus address processes evoked in both sources of data. On the other hand, the constant comparison of individual cases was made possible by the two-stage data analysis process: the coding of biographical and network interview transcripts and the transfer of hand-written notes into life calendars, network matrixes and sociograms in Excel files. Based on these documents, I built individual cases with biographical and network information when possible. The systematic comparison of individual cases enabled me to orient further data collection and also to advance preliminary ideas about tendencies in biographies and networks. After having more pertinent individual cases (e.g. heterogeneous and negative ones), these preliminary thoughts were validated or rejected I favour of other tentative ideas.

The second step in the analysis was fundamental in the preparation for interpretation. The construction of images that summarised the main analytical dimensions of each individual case allowed me to strengthen the comparison. The summary included results from coding fieldnotes and interview transcripts as well as the life calendars and network sociograms. Consequently, all the sources of data were included in the visual summary of the analytical dimensions of the biographies and networks. The choice of which analytical dimensions to portray was simultaneously influenced by the theoretical framework and by the emerging hypothesis around the main research questions, such as, for example: the role of bi-national marriages in lifelines and the role of co-national ties in the homeland, destination and elsewhere.

To seek emerging patterns, I thus used the lifelines of family, occupational and legal trajectories as well as the embedding sociograms.

The creation of lifelines and embedding sociograms for each case aims to answer the three main questions in this dissertation. This analytical technique is also inspired by the theoretical framework developed for analysing migrants' biographies and networks. For the former, the simultaneous

depition of legal, occupational and family trajectories in the lifelines aims to answer the question about the interface between gendered family and occupational trajectories and the effects of citizenship on migrants' occupational mobility. The embedding sociograms aim to answer the question about the dynamics of cross-border connections and mobility in migrants' experiences. The theoretical underpinnings of analysis of migrants' biographies and networks influenced the form and content of the lifelines and sociograms. I combined the life-course and narrative approaches for the lifelines that are explained by using excerpts from the biographical narratives. Inspired by the the embedding lens, the sociograms display the multiple layers of social relations and the time-sensitive process of networking.

A transversal intersectional approach informed the comparison of individual cases. In this sense, the individual lifelines and sociograms were confronted with larger processes of categorisation in local and transnational contexts. The comparison was not limited to gender or ethno-national cleavages but included social class and citizenship-based inequalities. The emergent patterns in the lifelines and sociograms are analysed as elements of global stratification processes.

I.3.8.5. Typologies

Typological thinking is an instrument that helps the researcher to render social reality more intelligible (Schnapper, 1999). The results are ideal-types and typologies. The former are defined as intellectual tools that summarise the research findings at a given moment. The latter refers to the analysis of different ideal-types to yield an interpretation of social reality based on the links between the research topic and the key dimensions of a particular socio-historical setting (Schnapper, 1999). One way to perform typological thinking is to make sense of individual experiences in relation to broader socio-cultural contexts. In this sense, the interpretation of patterns within individual lifelines and embedding sociograms is related to the broader context of Peruvian migration in Switzerland.

The construction of ideal-types refers to the accentuation of key features of the phenomenon. The goal is to summarise the findings to better describe the features of the research topic. The summary yields conceptual tools to compare each individual case with the accentuated profiles. Ideal-types are abstractions that allow meaning-making and provide room for historicity (Schnapper, 1999). The concrete experiences of research participants are thus not equivalent to the conceptual tools and abstract relations constructed by the researcher.

The typologies are thus the description of the relations between individual cases and the phenomenon that is studied. The design of typologies is made up of abstract relations that enable a better understanding of observed behaviour and discourses and thus provide new intelligibility of social interactions (Schnapper, 1999, p. 114). The constant confrontation of individual cases with macrosocial and historical analysis provides a better understanding of social reality. In this sense, not only structural context is considered but also the agency of actors and the sense given to their actions. Consequently, the design of typologies advances our theoretical thinking by providing conceptual tools (ideal-types) and by reflecting on their relationship to the accounts provided by the participants.

In this dissertation, the construction of ideal-types is based on patterns that emerged in the analysis of lifelines and sociograms. Two topics appeared to be particularly suited to the typology approach: social mobility and embedding patterns. Drawing on the preliminary analysis of lifelines, it was immediately obvious that social mobility should be considered as something broader that occupational status, with elements from family, legal and employment transitions included. The resulting ideal-types are upward mobility, downgrading and continuity (for more detail see Chapters 7 and 8). I thus compare each individual lifeline with the mobility ideal-types. Each ideal-type is discussed and exemplified narratively and visually using lifelines.

Likewise, the embedding ideal-types emerged from patterns found in preliminary data analysis. Again, it appeared important to take the pre- and post-migration moments into consideratn, along with the social and spatial features of networking. Given the power dynamics at play in access to resources and ties, I identified three embedding patterns: stable homogeneous and heterogeneous networks and changing from heterogeneous to homogeneous networks (for more detail see Chapter 10). Each ideal-type embedding pattern is also described narratively and visually.

The experiences of the all the Peruvian men and women who participated in this research are compared with ideal-types based on preliminary analysis of social mobility and embedding patterns. The typology aims to shed light on previously undetected forms of precariousness and vulnerability in the migration experiences of Peruvians in Switzerland. The lifeline-based ideal-types evoke the stratification processes that unfold through the interaction of multiple trajectories as well as the ways in which migrants cope. The ideal-type embedding patterns illustrate the heterogeneity and dynamics of migrants' networks as well as the conditions under which they are able to capitalise (or not) on these resources and ties.

202

I.3.8.5. Some thoughts about race and ethnicity in Peruvian migration

Tthis dissertation adopts an intersectional lens, where the main social divisions analysed are non/citizenship status, gender and class. The decision not to place the racial dimension of Peruvian migration at the heart of this dissertation undoubtedly deserves an explanation. The Peruvian migrants that I encountered made references to the racial hierarchies– so-called pigmentocracy (Trelles, 2014) - in Peru. Edward Trelles defined "pigmentocracy" as a social hierarchy based on perceptions and jugements of people based on their phenotypes such as the shades of skin coulour. In Peru, the darkest shades of skin colour are related to negative attributes and the lowest scores in socio-economic variables (e.g. education, employment, etc.).

Although Peruvian migrants evoked pigmentocracy, they did not all refer to the same categories. Migration leads to changing perceptions about racial hierarchies. In general, migrants are known to combine racial hierarchies from their home and destination countries in order to position themselves and others (Bonfanti, 2017; Zamora, 2016). Peruvians in Switzerland are no exception. I witnessed different ways in which naturalisation (e.g. having a Swiss/EU passport) led to individuals being moved towards the upper segments of the racial hierarchy. Likewise, some respondents mentioned how they had "put [a compatriot] in their place", by referring to their geographical origin (a proxy for race in the Peruvian context). Interestingly, Peruvian women in bi-national marriages are more likely to be "brought down a peg or two" in this way than their male counterparts.

Despite the interesting insights into racial hierarchies gleaned from my fieldwork, I decided to focus on the stratification processes that were most central to my research interests. For each of the three questions that underpin this dissertation, I firmly believe that racial hierarchies contribute less to the diversity of the migration experiences studied, notably because the Peruvians in Switzerland are more ethically homogenous than the Peruvian population in general. However, I don't exclude persuing this line of analysis in the future.

In the next chapters, I present the social mobility and embedding typologies in combination with other results on the subjective positioning of migrants. These results complement the typologies mentioned here.

Part II

The effects of citizenship status on migration experiences

II.1. Theoretical debates on migration and citizenship

This part of the thesis revolves around the effects of citizenship on migration experiences. The long-standing and still burgeoning debate about unauthorised migration has yielded path-breaking conclusions about the precarious working and living conditions of foreign populations in a range of national contexts (Chiswick, 1984; Cvajner & Sciortino, 2010; Donato & Massey, 2016; Düvell, 2011; Massey, 2004; Massey, Durand, & Pren, 2015; Portes, 1978; Reyneri, 1998; Sayad, 1979; Schweitzer, 2014). This dissertation proposes to contribute to the state of the art by implementing a time-sensitive and multilevel approach. The notion of citizenship used here refers to state-defined legal categories and migrants' tactics to capitalise on and circumvent them (Bloemraad, 2017; Chauvin & Garcés-Mascareñas, 2014; Harpaz & Mateos, 2018; Landolt & Goldring, 2015). Seeing citizenship as a dynamic and multilevel processes allows me to compare different socio-legal categories of migrants and to trace evolutions that occur during migration experiences. Although migrants are predominantly considered noncitizens at entry, they experience transitions in access to authorisations abroad(e.g. residence, employment, family, etc.) (Düvell, 2011; Gleeson, 2014; McKay, Markova, & Paraskevopoulou, 2011). The legal trajectories of migrants may involve shifts along a continuum of noncitizen and citizen forms of residing in a foreign country (Goldring & Landolt, 2013a). Instead of separating unauthorised and naturalised migrants for analytical purposes from the outset, I compare their legal trajectories of Peruvian migrants to Switzerland from their time of entry to their current situation, by focusing on transitions towards long-term residence authorisations.

The dynamic citizenship approach also refers to the categorisation of the foreign population at multiple levels: migration regimes, non-state actors and by the migrants themselves. Migration regimes impose formal and informal conditions for entry and settlement to authorised and unauthorised migrants alike (B. Anderson, 2010; Moffette, 2014). Beside entry to destination, national policies influence access to rights - such as access to regularisation, fixed- or long-term residence and naturalisation- over the whole duration of stay. They shape the transitions between noncitizenship and citizenship and often create fast and slow tracks to more extensive authorisations (Axelsson, 2016; Mezzadra & Neilson, 2013). However, the state-defined legal
205

categories are not univocally defined or permanently bestowed on migrants (Schrover & Moloney, 2013). Rather than being neutral, the conditions for legal residence also depend on discourses about un/deservingness, which cut across the intersections of gender, social class and ethnicity (Chauvin et al., 2013a; Schrover & Moloney, 2013; Villegas, 2015). Therefore, the dynamic and multilevel approach sheds light on the intersectional stratification processes in the socio-legal categorisation of the foreign population and the impact of this on migrants' access to rights.

Beside the definitions of rights and obligations by the receiving states, multiple actors participate in their daily enactment. The multilevel dynamic citizenship approach considers the state-defined legal categories in relation to the use migrants make of them in order to gain residential authorisations. Other non-state actors (e.g. media, associations, employers, smugglers, etc.) play a role in the collection of legal documents, certifications and support in applications for residential rights and other social services (Blinder & Jeannet, 2014; Vasta, 2011). In their encounters with them, migrants develop tactics to improve their access to rights abroad (Bloemraad, 2017; Chauvin & Garcés-Mascareñas, 2014; Chauvin et al., 2013b; Harpaz & Mateos, 2018). Contrary to the image of passive recipients or violators of the law, migrants draw on information, resources and contacts to build up their negotiation tactics in everyday encounters with state and non-state actors (Schwenken, 2013). In this sense, unauthorised migrants might informally become "less illegal," whereas other authorised migrants might lose entitlements after these encounters. The negotiations about conditions are thus part of the transitions in legal trajectories that may be characterised by the progressive upgrading or downgrading of rights abroad.

In addition, these ongoing categorisations of migrants are negotiated and enacted within co-national networks. In line with gender and social class, the legal-inspired categories of un/desired foreigners are used for self-positioning and positioning of others amongst compatriots and fellow migrants abroad. Cross-border mobility adds other social markers for in-group differentiation and stratification. New settings for identity work emerge where transnational frames of reference produce and reproduce categories from "here and there" (Umut Erel, 2015; Fresnoza-Flot & Shinozaki, 2017). One new setting where these processes are particularly visible is migrant associations, where narratives about membership and leadership mobilise social markers inspired by cross-border stratification processes. The socio-legal categories of immigrants that circulate amongst state authorities and non-state actors are re-interpreted and transformed to create and justify in-group hierarchies. By evoking socio-legal categories, migrants create profiles of un/desired members: the desired members and leaders are naturalised high-skilled male migrants and undesired

ones are women, seen as unauthorised migrants or less skilled reunified spouses. Although the former do not perform jobs commensurate with their skills, social positioning is mediated by citizenship statuses.

The study of the relationship between citizenship status and labour market outcomes is central to Migration Studies. Research has examined the effects of legal status on occupational trajectories: whether entry without authorisation to work leads to permanent precarious jobs or whether potential access to long-term residence authorisation improves labour market access regardless of employment history. The short- and long-term effects of citizenship acquisition are at the centre of these questions, which have led to more or less optimistic and pessimistic conclusions (Corluy, Marx, & Verbist, 2011; Goldring & Landolt, 2011). Employment has also been considered a primordial condition for legal entry and residence in a foreign country. Migrants must provide proof of employability based on employers' needs, job contracts or job offers, educational credentials, employment records, etc. (Chauvin et al., 2013b, 2013a). This happens not only for work-related entry but also for other legal pathways such as family reunification (Ruffer, 2011; Schweitzer, 2015). In this sense, citizenship status and labour market outcomes are known to influence each other. However, the intersections between citizenship and work evolve during the migration experience: regularisation processes, access to long-term residence and naturalisation.

Given that citizenship and employment are dynamic and multilevel processes, this chapter analyses the ways in which legal status trajectories intersect with occupational ones (Goldring & Landolt, 2011). To do so, I focus on transitions made up of shifts between noncitizenship to citizenship that coincide with events in the employment sphere. For instance, access (or not) to residence authorisation influences the job-hunting process, just as the shifts between socio-legal categories depend on the employability assessments of migrants by state authorities and non-state actors. In this sense, this part of the dissertation contributes to debates about citizenship by emphasising the time-sensitive processes of transitions in legal status trajectories, the intersectional nature of conditions for legal residence in host countries, and the ways in which migrants develop tactics to negotiate authorisations and recognition with authorities and compatriots.

In the following sections, I develop the theoretical framework to understand legal status trajectories made up of shifts between non-citizenship to citizenship status, the negotiation of conditionality by multiple actors, and the legal-inspired narratives of migrants.

207

II.1.1. Citizenship and non-citizenship: a systematic analytical framework

> "Substantively, both citizenship and non-citizenship are relational, dynamic, uneven and unequal in practice, experience and outcomes. There is variation within the categories of citizen and of noncitizen, and the boundaries between them are dynamic and porous. The socio-legal production of citizenship and noncitizenship through law, regulations, and social practices makes the exercise and experience of citizenship and noncitizenship by individuals and groups uneven. These intersect with social location, temporality, spatiality and scale, and regulatory frameworks and enforcement. Experiences of non-citizenship and citizenship are thus both patterned and contingent. Both hold the possibility for changes in security and precarity that have long-term implications for individuals and broader social inequality" (Landolt & Goldring, 2015, p. 854)

The passage quoted evokes the dynamic and multilevel nature of the social, institutional and ideological production of citizen and noncitizen forms of residing in a foreign country. More importantly, it advocates a systematic approach that covers all potential citizenship statuses. State-defined legal categories influence access to permissions in multiple domains: the labour market, politics, social services, etc. However, citizenship does not necessarily correspond to equal treatment, nor is non-citizenship automatically devoid of all entitlements (Reiter, 2012). Instead of a dichotomy, citizenship and noncitizenship are part of a processes that includes multiple actors in formal and informal negotiations that yield unequal outcomes along a continuum of security and insecurity of residential authorisations abroad. Citizenship statuses are thus not only about membership, status and rights (or the lack of them) but also about the relational dynamics of fulfilling conditions and making claims (Bloemraad, 2017; Chauvin & Garcés-Mascareñas, 2014; Landolt & Goldring, 2015). At intersections with gender, social class and ethnicity, the outcomes of these processes are liable to change and have time-sensitive effects on migration experiences. This framework enables me to understand the interactions between state-led formal definitions of citizens and noncitizens in combination with the daily and informal negotiations that take place between state authorities, non-state actors and migrants. It also leaves room for questions about the ways in which migrants without citizenship status mobilise resources to access services, to capitalise on legal-inspired categories to acces legal residence and gain recognition abroad.

Socio-legal categories place migrants on a continuum of citizenship and non-citizenship. The conditionality of presence (e.g. authorised length of stay), access to the labour market and social services, and the potential pathways towards full citizenship (or the lack thereof) produce a hierarchy in terms of security and precarity. The most precarious are noncitizens without permanent residence authorisations abroad. They might be authorised or unauthorised migrants (e.g. "*sans*

208

papiers" and fixed-term permit holders) (Goldring & Landolt, 2013a). Those with permanent residence authorisations are closer to citizens in terms of unconditional presence and formal access to services (e.g. long-term residence permission holders) (Bloemraad, 2017). Forms of citizenship may also vary, as between naturalised migrants who obtain citizenship in the country of residence and those who obtain a second nationality before moving on to a different destination (see Chapter 12 about onward migration within the EU) (Harpaz, 2018; Harpaz & Mateos, 2018). All these forms are subject to change and are products of plural pathways to security or insecurity of residence abroad[26] (e.g. risk of deportation).

This second part aims to analyse the broad range of noncitizen forms experienced by Peruvian migrants in Switzerland and the upgrading or downgrading pathways they may follow abroad. In doing this, I focus on the time-sensitive effects of socio-legal categories on migrants' life-courses, on the basis of their narratives about fulfilling conditions and making demands to state authorities and other actors. I also analyse socio-legal categories as markers of distinction amongst co-nationals.

II.1.2. Literature about non/citizenship

The study of socio-legal categories and migration started with studies of so-called "undocumented" foreign populations in North America. While academic interest in this topic grew on both sides of the Atlantic, the most common approaches had some limitations, including a top-down and formal notion of citizenship and the under-theorisation of non-citizenship. The production of a citizenship/noncitizenship dichotomy did not leave room for questionings about the role of non-state actors and migrants in access to services abroad as well as the time-sensitive boundary-making and crossing of both categories. Dynamic and multilevel approaches thus emerged to advance research on citizenship status in Migration Studies.

The North American studies on undocumented migrant populations were pioneers in developing the question of noncitizenship (Chiswick, 1984; Massey, 1987; Portes, 1978). This path-breaking research sheds light on the precarious living conditions of this group of foreigners and the connections to broader geopolitical dynamics and economic needs of the receiving states. The production of undocumented migrants thus responds to the needs for a cheap and flexible workforce to supply the most precarious employment sectors. The forms of border enforcement

---

[26] To avoid repetition, I use the concept of regularization to designate processes of upgrading and that of irregularization to designate processes of downgrading in access to residential entitlements abroad.

at entry and tightening of immigration controls for settlement do not necessarily discourage inflows but rather fashion the precarious employment conditions of migrants (Calavita, 2006; Donato, Carrico, Sisk, & Piya, 2016; Donato & Massey, 2016; Durand et al., 2016; Massey et al., 2015, 2016). The idea of the institutionalisation of migrant irregularisation has also been tested in the European context (Ambrosini, 2015; B. Anderson, 2010; Cvajner & Sciortino, 2010; Czaika & de Haas, 2016; Escrivà, 2004; Moffette, 2014; Reyneri, 1998; Schweitzer, 2014). The main findings of these studies revolve around the idea of transnational efforts to control migration based on socio-historical conceptualisations of un/deserving migrants. This trend promotes the selective removal and differential inclusion of noncitizens amongst the migrant population.

Some limitations of these studies have nonetheless been pointed out (Bloemraad, 2017; Goldring & Landolt, 2013a; Landolt & Goldring, 2015). Distinguishing between citizens and noncitizens leaves little room for questioning contingency and variation within these binary categories. The borders between the two categories remain fixed and unquestioned, whereas citizenship and noncitizenship take multiple forms, with changing boundaries, just as migrants' experiences shift between those forms. These ongoing categorisations are related to broader stratification processes based on gender, ethnicity and social class (Schrover & Moloney, 2013; Villegas, 2015). Another limitation is the focus on state-defined status. This top-down perspective might lead to structural determinism. While the receiving states are at the centre of the analysis, migrants are portrayed as passive actors. Of course, there are striking power differentials between the agents of the state and the migrants. However, the focus on formal aspects of citizenship and noncitizenship casts a shadow on the relational and performative dimensions as well as the forms of migrants' agency. Beside the legal, instrumental and regulatory effects, citizenship and noncitizenship are dynamic, multilevel processes.

Another strand of research thus focus on noncitizens' agency, subjectivity and acts of citizenship (Alberti et al., 2013; Bridget Anderson, 2010; Bloemraad, 2017; Chauvin et al., 2013a; Huschke, 2014; Schwenken, 2013). The focus on migrants' agency sheds light on different forms of making demands on multiple scales from daily encounters with authorities to inter/national mobilisations for global causes. The extent to which the applicant is recognised as a deserving member of the receiving state influences the validity of the claim. Migrants can thus act like deserving members to improve their petitioning tactics (Bloemraad, 2017; Gleeson, 2014). Regardless of state-defined categories, migrants mobilise resources, contacts and information to formally or informally access and exercise rights. Therefore, there is a social learning process that enables migrants to navigate

socio-legal systems and develop tactics to access legal residence and improve access to services. In the light of multiple scales, migrants use information about international rights (e.g. the Human Rights Chart, EU legislation, etc.) and/or they mobilise their worker identities to engage in renewed union struggles (Alberti et al., 2013; Bridget Anderson, 2010; Schwenken, 2013) to resist unfavourable situations. Given the unequal discretionary power of actors, the capacity of migrants to negotiate access to rights depends on other stratification processes. The ways in which they struggle for legal residence are marked by gender, ethnicity and social class. In this sense, the intersectional stratification processes structure the mobilisation of migrants to gain recognition and rights and to counteract downgrading abroad.

The agency of noncitizens sheds light on informal, substantive ways to gain the right to stay legally abroad. Therefore, the boundaries between noncitizenship and citizenship are not fixed, impermeable or sharp. In this sense, studies have also focused on the relational dimension of boundary-making. The boundary-drawing frameworks bring attention to the porosity of the socio-legal categories and negotiation processes that define them (Cebulko, 2014). Consequently, the studies pay attention to the role of gatekeepers and facilitators for border-crossing from noncitizenship to citizenship. For instance, studies of legal status trajectories shed light on boundary-crossing and the role of key actors for regularisation and naturalisation processes (Düvell, 2011; Gleeson, 2014; McKay et al., 2011; Paraskevopoulou, 2011; Schuster, 2005). Beside the normative concept of birthplace, ideas of who the citizens are, what they do and what values they promote inform the recognition of migrants' demands (Schweitzer, 2014; van Walsum, 2013). They represent socio-historical frameworks of deservingness for the foreign population that influence access to legal residence and other rights (Chauvin & Garcés-Mascareñas, 2014; Chauvin et al., 2013b; Huschke, 2014). This happens in changing receiving contexts and local jurisdictional dynamics that influence the discretionary power of multiple actors and the migrants' capacity to negotiate (Czaika & de Haas, 2016; Della Torre, 2017; FitzGerald et al., 2017). The boundary-drawing frameworks shed light on the changing boundaries of socio-legal categories, the role of state and non-state actors in legal status trajectories, and the capacity of migrants to negotiate residence authorisations.

These studies on citizenship and noncitizenship emphasise relational, performative and temporal dimensions. However, they seem to focus either on citizenship or on noncitizenship, but rarely on the interconnections between them. The request processes of unauthorised migrants resonate with wider processes of nationhood and civic ideals. The boundary-making approach should thus

211

consider the interactions between forms of citizenship and noncitizenship. The dynamics are, however, not necessarily categorical. They refer to evolving degrees in a continuum from noncitizenship forms to citizenship forms. When it comes to time-sensitive research on legal status trajectories, the focus is unidirectional, from noncitizenship to citizenship. However, the legal status trajectories of migrants are multidirectional. Migrants do not only follow the pathways of regularisation. By contrast, they might suffer from multiple lapses into precarious residence conditions and linger between plural forms of noncitizenship. There are also timing effects in terms of accumulated interactions over time with state and non-state actors in relation to residence authorisations as well as the long-term effects of early experiences of noncitizenship on later stages of migration.

Drawing on these theoretical advances, I propose an analytical framework that grasps the discretionary power of state authorities to unequally recognise the deservingness of residential permissions and access to services amongst the foreign population as well as the capacity (or the lack thereof) of migrants to negotiate with multiple actors over the fulfilment of formal and informal conditions for legal residence and the capitalisation on socio-legal categorisations for local prestige. In doing this, the focus is the multidirectional shifts in the noncitizenship and citizenship continuum in migrants' legal status trajectories.

II.2. Non-citizenship and the work of conditionality

> "An understanding of noncitizenship as an assemblage intentionally moves away from a focus on precarity or a narrow concern with specific categories of noncitizenship and instead highlights relations across categories of noncitizenship and between these and citizenship, and how they are dynamically constituted and assembled (…) Key elements in the noncitizenship assemblage include laws, policies, and procedures that are generated and implemented at various scales, by citizen and noncitizen actors, in multiple settings. Inter-scalar tensions are revealed when laws, policies, and procedures are explicitly contradictory or are unevenly applied. Discursive frames of deservingness are another important element. These frames may vary across scale and institutional settings, and across groups and identities, and change over time. Social location also generates distinct experiences of noncitizen assemblages. Migrant agency and gatekeeper discretion are also important, and temporality and scale represent additional cross-cutting elements. This approach means paying attention to policies, but also to how they are implemented and negotiated, by noncitizens and citizens, in various localities and institutional settings and at various scales." (Landolt & Goldring, 2015, pp. 856–857)

The theory of non/citizenship considers the dynamic and multilevel nature of both processes systematically. In other words, the boundaries between the two categories are not taken for granted

but rather analysed in the light of the regulatory, relational and performative dimensions and the interaction of multiple actors with unequal discretionary power and negotiation capacities. The concepts of conditionality and frames of deservingness enable me to understand the interacting elements of discourses and practices of actors at multiple scales for boundary-drawing and crossing of socio-legal categories in a continuum from security to precarity of residential rights. The boundary-crossing between noncitizenship to citizenship also refers to time-sensitive processes. The concept of legal status trajectories allows me to analyse the multi-directionality of boundary-crossing in terms of regularisation and irregularisation as well as the time-sensitive effects on migrants' life-courses in terms of transitions and timing. While I analyse the interactions among multiple actors with migrants to formally and informally define the degree of security of residential permissions and the scope of access to services, I also question the cumulative effects of these encounters to understand transitions between different citizenship statuses and slow- and fast-track pathways to different points on the security and precarity continuum.

II.2.1. The work of conditionality

This framework sheds light on the heterogeneity of noncitizen forms and gradual connection with citizenship, and the production, negotiation, and contestation of their boundaries by a range of actors and institutions (Goldring & Landolt, 2013b). The conditionality of residential authorisations within a national territory and/or of access to services are at the centre of regulation, relations and performance of noncitizenship and citizenship. Beside the policies and procedures, conditionality thus involves the concrete interactions among actors. The conditions that must be met involve work at macro and micro levels of interactions for establishing, negotiating and evaluating demands (Bloemraad, 2017; Landolt & Goldring, 2015). This work of conditionality is characterised by unequal relations based on the discretionary power of institutional actors and the extent of migrants' agency. The negotiations about conditions thus influences the boundary-drawing and crossing of socio-legal categories within the continuum of security and precarity abroad.

Instead of a top-down and normative approach, the concept of work of conditionality emphasises the process of making claims by migrants as well as the relational and time-dependent dynamics of their recognition (Bloemraad, 2017). The conditions that must be met have discursive and material dimensions. On the one hand, there are frames to assess who deserves (or not) to remain present and to gain access to services in the receiving state. The frames are contingent on specific cultural and historical settings, and tensions exist between types of frames enacted at macro and micro levels

of interactions and mobilised by different actors (Chauvin & Garcés-Mascareñas, 2014; Chauvin et al., 2013a, 2013b). On the other hand, the agency of migrants influences, adapts to and challenges the discourses about "deserving migrants". Given the formal conditions, migrants draw on the accumulation of experience, information and contacts to negotiate access to residence and services abroad (Harpaz & Mateos, 2018; Schuster, 2005; Schwenken, 2013). Based on this social learning, migrants develop different tactics from "becoming less illegal" to capitalising on citizen forms for enacting mobility rights (Chauvin & Garcés-Mascareñas, 2014; Harpaz & Mateos, 2018). Instead of being invisible, unauthorised migrants might choose when they perform camouflage and to whom they disclose their socio-legal status (Chauvin & Garcés-Mascareñas, 2014). The interaction between the discourses about migration and migrants' agency thus influences the boundary-drawing and crossing of socio-legal categories in the negotiations about conditions.

The concept of conditionality sheds light on the relational and performative dimension of policy implementation for access to residence and services in migration experiences. In this context, migrants progressively develop tactics to improve their situations or counteract risks of downgrading. Instead of legal status systems, the result is a patchwork of socio-legal categories and in/formal allocation of rights with unequal degrees of in/security. In this sense, several authors have talked about complex processes of civic stratification[27] that influence not only the security of residential authorisations abroad but also of access to social services that influence employment and family situations (Bonizzoni, 2011; Chauvin et al., 2013a; Dyer et al., 2011; Kontos, 2013; Paciulan & Preibisch, 2013; Ruffer, 2011; Schweitzer, 2015). Despite the variation, the formal conditions for citizenship shows patterns in relation to broader stratification processes and the time-sensitive dynamics that influence other life domains.

II.2.2. Legal trajectories

The negotiations about conditions displays boundary-crossing between noncitizen and citizen statuses. The changes in access to residential authorisations and other services are thus not one-directional. The encounters with gatekeepers or facilitators can change the course of request processes. Drawing on accumulated experiences, migrants can enhance the tactics to gain the right to remain legally. Furthermore, boundary-crossing is not necessarily categorical. In view of the

---

[27] Civic stratification is a structure of inequalities based on assigning different sets of rights to people with respect to their status (long-term resident, national or EU-citizenship, family migrant, guest worker, etc. (Bonizzoni, 2011, p. 313).

continuum of multiple non/citizen forms, the changes might not only involve shifts between legal statuses but also degrees of in/security abroad. The outcomes of negotiations about conditions for residential rights show unpredictable, non-linear, not always voluntary movements between various points in the continuum. The concept of legal trajectories allows me to grasp the multiple directions of pathways, the interactions with other life domains and the timing of processes. Here, "legal" refers to the regulatory, relational and performance dimensions of processes of boundary-drawing and crossing amongst socio-legal categories.

II.2.3. Citizenship-work matrix: trajectories and frameworks of deservingness

The concept of legal trajectories contributes to discussions about the work-citizenship matrix. There are two dimensions: the time-sensitive interactions of legal and occupational trajectories and the role of employability in deservingness discourses and practices. For the first dimension, important studies have questioned the impact of noncitizenship forms on migrants' employment history and the outcomes of the acquisition of citizenship in the occupational sphere (Connor & Massey, 2010; Corluy et al., 2011; Gleeson, 2014; Goldring & Landolt, 2011; Liang & Zhou, 2016; McKay et al., 2011; Schuster, 2005; Vickstrom & Gonzalez-Ferrer, 2016). The results are, however, ambiguous: some outcomes point out the long-term effects of noncitizenship spells on entrapment in precarious jobs, whereas other results shed light on the naturalisation premium on occupational trajectories. However, there is the difficulty of assessing the independent effect of non/citizenship because access to regularisation and naturalisation is linked to the selectivity of the state authorities and the self-selection of migrants (Gathmann, 2015). For instance, other criteria such as nationality and qualifications might mediate the motivations for and outcomes of naturalisation (Corluy et al., 2011; Peters et al., 2016). In this sense, the trajectory-oriented approach allows us to grasp the interaction of various elements at points in time that yield a sequence of events with transitions and turning points. In view of changes in degrees of in/security of presence and access abroad, the focus on the transitions of legal trajectories enables me to grasp the interactions with occupational trajectories before, during and after the socio-legal shifts.

The other dimension of the work-citizenship matrix analyses the role of employability in the negotiations of conditions. At multiple levels, the discourses mobilise different criteria to assess the demands of migrants for residential authorisations. Although there are tensions between different discourses, the recognition of petitions is based on two components of vulnerability and performance (Chauvin & Garcés-Mascareñas, 2014; Huschke, 2014; Kontos, 2013; Schweitzer,

2015). In relation to the performance pole, the recognition of deserving migrants refers to civic and economic dimensions. The economic dimension refers to the employability history and potential of migrants (Ambrosini, 2015; Chauvin et al., 2013a, 2013b; Mavroudi & Warren, 2013; Triandafyllidou & Isaakyan, 2016a). Institutional actors mobilise these criteria to privilege some foreigners over others based on the levels and/or type of skills (e.g. the points-based system, special authorisations for students, scientists, CEOs or agricultural and care workers) (Ackers, 2004; Boeri et al., 2012; Cerna & Czaika, 2016; Hercog, 2017; Mosneaga, 2015; Paciulan & Preibisch, 2013). Consequently, the employability criteria select and control inflows of foreigners at extremes of the skills spectrum as the negotiations about formal conditions does after arrival. Migrants also enact the employability criteria in their processes of making petitions to institutional actors. They mobilise or invest in educational credentials and employment records to access regularisation and naturalisation processes (Chauvin et al., 2013a). The discourses about "deserving migrants" influence and are influenced by migrants' participation in the negotiations of conditions for residential permissions. Migrants can capitalise on practices and discourses in relation to un/deserving foreigners to gain legal residence and services abroad.

Furthermore, most studies of non/citizenship and employment predominantly focus on low-skilled migrants. However, high-skilled migrants also negotiate with multiple actors the conditions for legal residence and access to services. The discourses about migrants allocate unequal values to levels and types of skills. Without overlooking skills-based inequalities, high-skilled migrants experience a plurality of legal trajectories and degrees of in/security abroad. The legal trajectories of high-skilled migrants also interact with occupational paths in multiple ways. Drawing on educational credentials, skills and occupational experience, the facilities at entry do not necessarily involve secure residence for high-skilled migration (e.g. fixed-term residence permits). Insecurity of presence influences the employment conditions and prospects of high-skilled migrants such as relations with employers, job-hunting processes, etc. (B. Anderson, 2010; Axelsson, 2016; Kirk et al., 2017; Shinozaki, 2017). In this sense, the analysis of legal trajectories allows us to compare the differences and similarities between groups of migrants that have been treated separately based on skills in Migration Studies. The comparison sheds light on patterns of legal trajectories towards the right to stay legally or entrapment in noncitizen forms as well as fragmented pathways of multiple lapses into precariousness.

III.2.4. Non/citizenship and intersecting forms of stratification

There are two dimensions of the negotiations of conditions for upgrading to citizenship: pragmatic and symbolic. Beside feelings of attachment, citizenship forms are instrumental. Migrants thus develop acquisition tactics based on deservingness criteria to gain better residential and mobility rights (Chauvin et al., 2013b; Harpaz, 2018). Beside territorial identities, citizen forms are also perceived as commodities, status symbol or ethnic markers (Harpaz, 2018; Harpaz & Mateos, 2018). On the one hand, migrants might adhere to discourses about un/desired foreigners to achieve better positions in the non/citizenship continuum during their legal trajectories. On the other hand, non/citizen forms are perceived as social markers to (re)create hierarchies amongst the foreign population. Beside the effects of unequal allocation of rights, un/deserving migrant discourses are also used by migrants as social markers for in-group hierarchies. Consequently, migrants might capitalise on legal-inspired criteria to reinforce or neutralise other stratification processes.

Broader stratifications processes such as gender and social class influence the negotiations for conditions between multiple actors and the criteria in selecting "deserving migrants". The social position of migrants influences the extent of agency to mobilise proofs and achieve recognition in petitioning processes for residence authorisations. At intersections with gender, social class influences access to travel visas and family reunification (Åkesson, 2013; Fernandez & Jensen, 2013; van Walsum, 2013). In addition, legal-inspired stratification processes inform the broader processes of gender and social class, and (re)create forms of differentiation and hierarchies in the transnational space. Beside state and non-state institutional actors, migrants also negotiate the deservingness of their presence in relation to compatriots and other foreigners (McIlwaine, 2015). In this sense, the negotiations of conditions to stay legally sheds light on transnational frames of reference to address self-positioning and positioning of others in cross-border movements in the social stratified space (Umut Erel, 2015; Villegas, 2015). In line with gender and social class positionings between "here and there", naturalised migrants might capitalise on dual nationality to gain prestige locally and transnationally in comparison with other co-nationals with noncitizen forms. For example, perceptions of non/citizenship forms influence discourses and practices about un/desired members of associations of co-nationals at the host country.

Drawing on a dynamic and multilevel approach to non/citizenship, the focus on the negotiations of conditions allows me to understand the time-sensitive and stratification processes in relation to in/security of access to rights abroad. The concept of legal trajectories enables me to trace the shifts

217

between forms of non/citizens to understand the multiple directions of movements, the moments of transition and the interactions with other life domains. The frames of deservingness shed light on the practical and discursive effects of socio-legal criteria at intersections with gender and social class stratification processes. Migrants enact those criteria for the right to stay legally and use them to gain prestige at different levels of interaction. In order to address these questionings, this part is divided into three chapters:

In Chapter 4, the analysis of legal trajectories focuses on the relations with occupational trajectories based on the transitions from training to employment of Peruvian graduates from Swiss HE. The negotiations of conditions in the Swiss context yields plural pathways to long-term residence authorisations that have, in turn, an impact on employment outcomes. Results highlight restrictions on achieving independent residence permissions (e.g. through labour migration) compared with dependent residence authorisations (e.g. through bi-national marriage) after graduation and the role of insecure legal statuses on the occupational trajectories of these high-skilled migrants along gender lines. The recognition of Swiss degrees is mediated by requests to gain the right to remain legally.

Chapter 5 sets out the questionings about access to regularisation processes and the long-term effects on occupational trajectories along gender lines. The employability criteria in the fames of deservingness for the right to stay legally show gendered models of citizenship that seem to favour unauthorised women at the expense of their male counterparts. Peruvian women working in highly feminised employment sectors seem to have better chances of regularisation than their male counterparts. They also seem to better capitalise on their residence authorisations to move up the socio-occupational ladder. The findings point to gendered discourses and practices about "deserving migrants" in the Swiss migration regime: penalties for Peruvian men working in precarious jobs who do not fulfil the male breadwinner role in comparison to rewards for Peruvian women involved in transnational family care and paid care services.

In Chapter 6, I analyse the mobilisation of discourses about the conditionality of migrants in co-national networks. The ideas of un/deserving migrants are enacted and modified to allocate prestige and status in migrants' associations. These co-national networks represent a site of (self)positioning in relation to other migrants. The discourses about toxic femininities evoke intersections between citizenship, social class and gender: Peruvian women gain less recognition as members and leaders of migrant associations based on the socio-legal categories linked to unauthorised migration and family reunification. The socio-legal categories emphasise the dependent and/or underserving

nature of their residence but also of the recognition of their work for migrant associations. At intersections with gender, this shows the ways in which the transnational frames of reference are used to rank members and leaders of migrant associations. However, participation in migrant associations might also represent a stepping-stone in occupational mobility abroad.

Part II - Chapter 4

Temporal boundaries in legal and employment trajectories: Peruvian graduates from Swiss HE institutions

Introduction

This chapter analyses the relationship of legal trajectories to occupational pathways. Based on a trajectory-oriented approach, I examine the work-citizenship matrix based on the dynamics of the work of conditionality in relation to a particular group of highly-skilled migrants: Peruvian graduates from Swiss higher education (HE) institutions. Although precarity of residential authorisations abroad is predominantly associated with low-skilled migrants, this study of highly-skilled migrants shows that the transitions between legal stasus is not necessarily straightforward for them either. The concept of temporal boundaries is used to shed light on the influence of time management aspects of migration regimes (e.g. the granting of fixed-term permits) on occupational transitions (e.g. job-hunting after graduation). Access to secure residence and employment abroad interact along gender lines, particularly during transitions. The outcomes show the ways in which shifts along the citizenship continuum might foster uncertainty of residence and dependent socio-legal positions. In turn, relations and outcomes in the occupational sphere are affected. While Peruvian male graduates cope with the uncertainty of access to work permits to plan their occupational future, their female counterparts have to deal with the perceptions of women in family reunification pathways (e.g. bi-national marriages) to access the Swiss labour market. In this sense, the recognition of the Swiss educational credentials of the migrant population is mediated by the non/citizenship dynamics that influence the job-hunting process after graduation.

This chapter aims to contribute to understanding the time-sensitive features of the work-citizenship matrix. The focus on transitions in legal and occupational trajectories sheds light on the ways in which they intersect during moments of change. In the case of international students, the post-graduation moment coincides with shifts between legal and occupational situations. Non-EU international students receive a fixed-term residence permit and until 2011 they had to leave the country immediately after graduation (Guissé & Bolzman, 2015). A six-month extension is currently granted for job-hunting purposes in Switzerland (State Secretariat for Migration, 2011). The temporal limitations of this extension influence the transition to employment in the Swiss labour market. Moreover, the difficulty in obtaining a work permit and the limited access to services

fashions unequal recognition of skills and relations with employers. In terms of their pathways to stay legally, Peruvian graduates develop tactics to circumvent these limitations (e.g. bi-national marriages). However, the negotiations of conditions to stay legally in Switzerland shows the effects of discourses and practices about family reunification that might hinder the labour market participation of Peruvian female graduates in comparison to their male counterparts.

This chapter is structured into five main sections. After briefly presenting the conceptual framework to assess the influence of legal trajectories on employment histories for Peruvian graduates (1), I will contextualise international student migration in Switzerland (2), before presenting the group of participants under analysis (3). In the following sections, I discuss the results of the legal pathways in the training to employment transition and the the impact on occupational trajectories of Peruvian graduates (4) and provide preliminary conclusions (5).

II.4.1. The work-citizenship matrix for high-skilled migrants

Attention to the work-citizenship matrix is pertinent in contemporary migration, which shows the growing precariousness of both social spheres. There are the increasing numbers of foreigners with insecure legal statuses and the proliferation of "temporary " legal statuses for low- and high-skilled migrants in receiving countries (Goldring & Landolt, 2013b). In addition, precariousness also refers to the economic processes of globalisation that involve competitiveness through cost reduction, as well as the reduction of rights, protections and benefits for workers across sectors and occupations and the general retreat of the welfare state in receiving countries (Hewison, 2016; McKay et al., 2011; Rubery, 2015). Given the similar tendencies to precarity in citizenship and in employment, questions about their mutual influence have arisen (B. Anderson, 2010; Chauvin et al., 2013a; Goldring & Landolt, 2011). A number of scholars have pointed out the intersections in the stratification of global labour markets and of the rights for residence and access to social services abroad. The dual migrant labour market theory emphasises its demand-driven nature and multiplication of hierarchies within sectors, enterprises and workplaces (Durand et al., 2016; McKay et al., 2011; Reyneri, 1998; Vasey, 2016). In this sense, the most precarious jobs would be filled by foreign workers with insecure residential authorisations. Beside the well-documented wage penalty for unauthorised workers (Connor & Massey, 2010), research has demonstrated the precariousness of other employment dimensions such as relations with employers, schedules and welfare (Ahmad, 2008; Ambrosini, 2015). Although the reinforcement of precarity in both spheres is visible, there are questions about the dynamics of their mutual influence.

The analysis of the diachronic dimensions of the work-citizenship matrix clarifies the nature of their mutual influence. The shifts between non/citizenship statuses might impact differently on employment conditions, and occupational transitions might influence access to residential permissions abroad. For the first process, the outcomes of longitudinal studies have been ambiguous: some authors have stated that regularisation and naturalisation processes improve migrants' employment conditions in the host country (Corluy et al., 2011; Vidal-Coso & Miret-Gamundi, 2014), while other scholars have concluded that early noncitizen spells have a "sticky" effect on future employment conditions, regardless of the outcome of naturalisation procedures (Goldring & Landolt, 2011; McKay et al., 2011). The main observation is that the acquisition of citizenship is not automatically followed by upward occupational mobility and that entrapment in precarious jobs is possible. Moreover, migrants who had successfully passes through regularisation processes at one point in time might experience experience residential precariousness at another time. Migrant workers spend a lot of time navigating through various forms of insecure legal statuses, making them particularly vulnerable to employer exploitation and abuse.

The impact of occupational transitions on non/citizenship dynamics is under-researched by comparison. The analysis of employability criteria in the struggles to fulfil conditions to remain legally displays the effects on migrants' experiences (see Chapters 5). In addition, the transitions in occupational trajectories such as training, non-employment, etc. also influence the shifts in the non/citizenship continuum. Training happens at different moments of the migration experience, for example, adult learning, apprenticeship, etc. (Söhn, 2016). Recently, scholars have been interested in what happens to international students after graduation (Hawthorne, 2014; Hawthorne & To, 2014; Wilken & Dahlberg, 2017). Since student migration is often considered as a distinctive socio-legal status in migration regimes, the end of studies also represents a transition to other forms residential rights, or lack thereof. In this sense, legal and occupational transitions coincide after graduation. It is interesting to analyse the conditions of the right to legally remain in the country of study in relation to occupational transitions and assess their short- and long-term effects.

Furthermore, the interest in international student migration sheds light on the dynamics of the work-citizenship matrix for high-skilled migrants. Although low-skilled jobs are predominantly linked to precarious legal status, many scholars have already pointed out the ways in which different forms of noncitizenship fashion employment conditions for highly-skilled migrants (B. Anderson, 2010; Axelsson, 2016; Goldring & Landolt, 2011; Kirk et al., 2017; Shinozaki, 2017). Of course, international student migration has been considered positively in terms of educational credentials,

employability and integration potential (Hercog, 2017). For instance, the problems of validation of foreign credentials disappear since international students hold degrees issued in the host country. However, the recognition of skills is not straightforward. The claims of international students for remaining legally influences the recognition of their degrees. Consequently, the moment after graduation is an interesting moment to study in order to seize the time-sensitive features of work-citizenship matrix dynamics.

For the analysis of the work-citizenship matrix dynamics for Peruvian graduates, I mobilise the concept of temporal boundaries to assess the time-sensitive dynamic. In addition, the analysis of discourses about "deserving migrants" sheds light on the forms of (non)recognition of educational credentials issued at destination. Although the recognition of foreign educational credentials predominantly hinders labour market participation, the employment outcomes after graduation show the intervention of non/citizenship in the value given to graduates' skills.

II.4.1.2. Temporal boundaries

Highly skilled migration is subject to institutional regulations and legislation in the receiving countries. Much literature about immigration controls has focused on the absence of legal status amongst foreign workers. Illegality is a major explanation for labour exploitation. However, the absence of legal status is only one way in which the migration regimes produces certain types of precarity of residence and limited access to services (B. Anderson, 2010). Legal migrants are also unprotected in their relation to employers and access to the labour market. As Anderson (2010) states, immigration controls reinforce "temporariness" in the migratory processes by preventing migrants from anticipating the future (p. 306). In other words, the negotiations of conditions to gain the right to remain legally have time-related features such as the delay in having an answer from the authorities, the investment of time to collect proofs for demands and the outcomes of fixed-term residence permissions. In this sense, the negotiations of conditions recreate temporal boundaries that reinforce precarity in living and working conditions abroad.

Temporal boundaries refer to "the relevance of time, temporality and temporalising in the workings of border regimes, migration schemes and the technologies of differential inclusion" (Mezzadra & Neilson, 2013, p. 132). The compression, elongation and partitioning of time exerts control and selectivity on migration inflows (Mezzadra & Neilson, 2013). Beyond the moment of border-crossing, the time management is part of the negotiations of conditions where migrants make their requests for residential rights at different levels of interactions. In this sense, the temporal

boundaries reproduce slow- or fast-track pathways of entry and settlement abroad. Since unequal temporalities co-exist, the interactions with multiple actors and the circulation of discourses play a role in the timing allocation for rights to residence and services abroad.

Slow-track pathways of entry and settlement refer to shifts between noncitizen forms characterised by fixed-term authorisations. The slow tracks also foster uncertainty about the future for noncitizens in terms of repeated renewals of authorisations, the continuous collecting of "appropriate" proofs and the time spent on waiting for an answer from the authorities. Beside lingering between noncitizen forms, there are slow tracks in naturalisation processes where the length of probation time is long, and the administrative procedures complicated. These elements create precarity in residential authorisations that hinder migrants' own time management. High-skilled migrants also experience moments of "living in a limbo" – long periods of waiting and the incapacity to plan ahead (Axelsson, 2016). The fixed-term residence permits, the repeated renewal of authorisations, the dependent nature of demands for residential authorisations and the prolonged wait for naturalisation influence their capacity to plan their future careers and lives. Another way in which precarity is reinforced is the dependent nature of demands for residential permissions that involves the unequal assessment of two applicants and prolongs the administrative process. The dependent pathways reduce the agency of the secondary applicant in relation to the primary one. An example is the family reunification by the means of bi-national marriages, where the foreign spouse's legal status is contingent on the host citizen spouse. As we shall see in more detail, later, highly-skilled migrants also mobilise this legal pathway to gain the right to legally remain in the country of study after graduation.

By contrast, fast-track pathways enable rapid shifts from noncitizenship to citizenship status. In this case, access to long-term residence authorisations simplifies the administrative procedures by diminishing the frequency of renewal and the time invested in repeat applications. The speed of naturalisation processes is improved by removing the probation period and other stages of the administrative process. Another way to produce fast-track pathways is the independent form of application for residential rights. Given that there is only one main applicant, the collection of "appropriate" proof and the administrative process might be made easier. Although the fast-track pathways are usually associated with mobile elites, not all international students enjoy the same administrative simplifications. Moreover, the residential rights of this group of migrants are assessed in relation to broader stratification processes.

The analysis of temporal boundaries allows us to understand the details of transitions in legal trajectories and their relationship to occupational trajectories. Taking the slow and fast tracks for secureing residential rights influences the ways in which migrants are able to assess their employment prospects in Switzerland and plan their future career paths. The allocation of migrants into one or the other of these tracks depends on interactions with multiple actors and their discourses about "deserving migrants". In the labour market transition of foreign graduates from Swiss HE institutions, their prospective employability influences the non/citizenship pathways they are able to follow and thus their employment outcomes.

II.4.1.3. Frames of deservingness: employability and skills

The analysis of the work-citizenship dynamics of international students after graduation centres on the portability of skills. Recently, researchers have pointed out that there is a "race for talent" between receiving states that leads to privileged pathways of residential authorisations and other service rights for highly-skilled foreigners (Boeri et al., 2012; Cerna & Czaika, 2016; Harvey, 2008). However, the definition of highly-skilled migration is ambiguous (Al Ariss & Crowley-Henry, 2013; Hercog, 2017; Raghuram, 2008). One aspect revolves around the recognition of skills in the negotiations of conditions to achieve (or not) the privileged pathways of mobility and residence abroad (see Part III). Interactions with state and non-state actors determines who are the foreigners and what type of skills belong to the privileged socio-legal categories. This relational dimension of the recognition of skills shows that educational credentials issued at destination do not automatically guarantee access to jobs commensurate with qualifications, even when these have been obtained in the host country.

The portability of skills has been frequently addressed in Migration Studies. Many studies have pin-pointed the issue of deskilling due to the non-recognition of foreign educational credentials and occupational experience (Iredale, 2005; Liversage, 2009b; Man, 2004). Given these problems, re-training in the host country appears to be the most promising solution for improving the labour market participation and career prospects of migrants (Liversage, 2009b; Riaño & Baghdadi, 2007b). In fact, the non-recognition of foreign credentials and occupational experiences and leads predominantly to one solution: "play by the rules and accumulate cultural capital recognised in the host country" (Shan, 2013, p. 917). Therefore, the acquisition of local educational credentials represents the best way for migrants to obtain valuable cultural capital. However, the results of studies on the labour market outcomes of foreigners with local qualifications are ambiguous.

Several studies on international students have identified difficulties in entering the labour market regardless of educational credentials (Csedő, 2008; Guissé & Bolzman, 2015; Mosneaga & Winther, 2013; Tan & Hugo, 2016; Young, Sercombe, Sachdev, Naeb, & Schartner, 2013). The explanation begins with the non-portability of skills. Much of the literature is concerned with the transferability of already-obtained skills to the host country's labour market (Raghuram, 2008, p. 85). However, the recognition of skills is a time-sensitive and relational process that is not resolved in one event (e.g. earning a degree in the host country) but rather shows the intervention of multiple elements to explain employment outcomes. The idea is not only to understand "which forms of skills are accredited but also to explore how such valuations are being arrived at, by whom, and in whose interests" (Raghuram, 2008, p. 85). Consequently, the analysis moves from the focus on selectivity at entry to the host countries to the processes of acquisition and valuing of skills afterwards.

In addition, other non-occupational elements intervene in the recognition of educational credentials, for instance the non/citizenship dynamics, not only at entry but also during and after the acquisition of educational credentials. The moments of recognition also play a role in relation to transitions in other life domains and the capacity of time management. As mentioned previously, international students who seek labour market recognition of educational credentials issued in the host country also have to cope with transitions in legal trajectories. Moreover, on making of requests for secure residence, international graduates are allocated into fast and slow tracks that influence their ability to plan their futire careers. Beside the time-features of the processes, the recognition of educational credentials depends on broader stratification processes that define the employability of foreigners for privileged pathways to legal residence and access to the labour market.

II.4.1.3. Employability

Non/citizenship shifts intervene in the recognition of educational credentials of foreign graduates who decide to look for a job in the country of settlement. The recognition is not straightforward. During these legal and occupational transitions, discourses about "deserving migrants" illustrate how the recognition of skills is a socio-political process.

According to Shan, "skills are a discursive and relational construct that is implicated in the social, cultural and economic organisation of work and workers" (Shan, 2013, p. 198). The recognition of skills depends on the gender and nationality of the workers, the settings where they work, and the power relationships in the occupation (Kofman & Raghuram, 2015, p. 105). It does not only depend on formal criteria (i.e. educational attainment), but also on informal dimensions, such as nationality

and gender stereotypesin recruitment agencies and amongst potential employers (Mendy, 2010; Scrinzi, 2013; van Riemsdijk, 2013). Consequently, the concept of skills is the product of relational settings marked by social class, gender and nationality hierarchies (Scrinzi, 2013). While much of the literature has focused on the feminisation and racialisation of migrant workers in low-skilled and poorly paid service-sector jobs, less attention has been given to the gendering and racialisation of skills amongst international students. The analysis of discourses about the right of foreign graduates to stay legally in Switzerland contributes to this debate.

The employability criteria of foreign graduates in Switzerland are informed by the global labour market. There is a hierarchy of occupations in the circulation of foreign workers. Science, technology and management occupations represent the most transferable skills, whereas health, teaching and social service occupations represent the least transferable ones. The arguments revolve around the generic nature of the former (e.g. scientific knowledge) and the embodied nature for the latter (e.g. soft skills) (Kofman & Raghuram, 2015, pp. 102–103). Since women are under-represented in the occupations perceived as easily transferable and over-represented in those perceived as the least transferable, the global hierarchy of occupations has gendered effects of foreign graduates career opportunities, in the host country and more generally (Kofman & Raghuram, 2015, p. 135). Despite their high level of skills, migrant womenl (Dumitru & Marfouk, 2015; Isaakyan & Triandafyllidou, 2016) and those in female-dominated occupations (Dixon, 2016; Raghuram, 2004a) face barriers to obtaining recognition of their educational credentials across borders. For instance, highly-skilled migrant women in the health and education sectors have to deal with more time-consuming and complicated procedures to gain validation of their credentials (e.g. additional tests, re-training , etc.) than those in male-dominated occupations (Kofman & Raghuram, 2015; Shih, 2006). Gender-based discourses and practices about the transferability of skills influence the assessment of employability and access to labour market abroad.

Beside the gendering processes, the global hierarchy of occupations shows racialisation processes. The ethno-national markers play a role in the recognition of skills formally and informally. The informal dimensions refer to the stereotypes about the competences of racialised groups of migrant mobilised by employers and recruiters that reinforce the majority presence of certain nationalities in specific employment sectors (Scrinzi, 2013). Discourses and practices about the employability of national groups influence the social location on the global labour market in relation to socio-legal hierarchies of rights abroad. The formal dimensions address the policy-making and implementation that allocate unequal rights based on nationality (e.g. EU/non-EU divide). Based on ethno-national

markers, the socio-legal hierarchies produce unequal employment conditions within the foreign population regardless of skills (Al Ariss et al., 2013; Grigoleit-Richter, 2017; Mendy, 2010; Shinozaki, 2017; van Riemsdijk, 2013). According to their nationality, there is a combination of temporal and spatial limitations to employment beyond unauthorised situations: fixed-term permits, no rights to change employers, no access to unions and social insurances, etc. Consequently, the non/citizenship dynamics are produced by and reinforced the processes of racialisation in the global labour market.

The criteria of employability of migrants circulate in the global labour market alongside gender and ethno-national markers. In this sense, the negotiations for residential authorisations combine with the perceptions and practices of migrants in the labour market. To understand the mutual influence, this chapter uses a trajectory-oriented approach for analysing legal and occupational transitions. The conditionality of post-graduate residence influences the employment conditions of immigrants at different moments in their occupational trajectory. Understanding how and when work-citizenship interactions occur for highly skilled migrants sheds light on the complex gendering and racialisation of the portability of skills (Raghuram, 2008, p. 81). The focus on the labour market transition of international students sheds light on the ways in which non/citizenship dynamics mediate the recognition of educational credentials issued in the host country.

To summarise: first, high-skilled migrants are subject to temporal boundaries that foster precarity of residential authorisations and access to other welfare services abroad. Secondly, the portability of skills is not straightforward for foreign graduates: the acquisition of educational credentials does not necessarily lead to jobs commensurate with skills. Thirdly, the recognition of skills is a socio-political process marked by gender and ethno-national stratification in the global labour market and the non/citizenship dynamics. Drawing on this framework, I propose to study the employment transitions of Peruvian graduates from Swiss HE institutions. Although I also consider the issue of migrants having to validate their foreign educational credentials (in Part III), here my main interest here lies in the recognition of educational degrees issued in Switzerland for employment outcomes in the Swiss labour market. The Swiss migration regime distinguishes between independent and fixed-term authorisations (student or worker) as well as dependent permissions (family reunification) for entry and residence. Based on nationality, the eligibility conditions produce high or low speedpathways to long-term residence authorisations. In turn, this has an impact on employment outcomes in the short and long run. The discourses evoke a gender hierarchy of occupations to grant independent residence permissions based on employability criteria whereas

gender stereotypes about foreign spouses in family reunification might hinder labour market participation of some foreign graduates.

After briefly presenting international student mobility patterns from non-EU countries to Switzerland, I present a short review of the definitions of international student migration. Then I analyse the impact of non/citizenship dynamics on the labour market participation of male and female migrants who have received a Swiss degree. In this sense, the struggles about the right to stay legally involves instruments that not only shape their employment conditions, but also the recognition of their skills.[28] The outcomes show the gender effects of the discourses about "deserving migrants" in encounters with state authorities.

II.4.2. International Students and the Swiss Migration Regime

Establishing the importance and evolution of international student migration to Switzerland is no easy task[29], since the category "foreign students"[30] includes people with very different backgrounds and life histories (Teichler, 2015). In Switzerland, there has been quite a lot of research on the educational accomplishments of second-generation immigrants from European countries (Fibbi, Kaya, & Piguet, 2003; Griga, 2014), i.e. non-mobile foreign students who have already lived and studied in their host/home country, but not a lot of studies of non-EU foreigners who specifically move to Switzerland in order to study. The latter follow a long and often complex route into the country, via selective admission procedures to a HE institution.

Applications to particular Swiss HE institutions are generally made from the home countries (Guissé & Bolzman, 2015) and need to be accompanied by certified translations of their previous diplomas and grade certificates into one of the official Swiss languages. Each HE institution is entitled to make its own decision concerning the entry regulations to particular courses and is free

---

[28] The following section of this chapter is based on a LIVES Working paper co-authored with Prof Nicky Le Feuvre: "Snakes and Ladders: The Combined Effect of Education and Marriage on the Employment Trajectories of Peruvian Migrants in Switzerland", *LIVES Working Paper* 2017/63, doi: 10.12682/lives.2296-1658.2017.63

[29] For more statistical information, see Chapter 2.

[30] As Riaño and Baghadi have stressed: "The term foreigner (living in Switzerland either temporarily or long-term but not having Swiss citizenship), rather than immigrant (foreign-born) is used in Swiss legislation and statistics. This reflects a legal conception of citizenship based on the principle of descent rather than on place of birth" (2007: p. 164). Due to this conception, as direct descendants of at least one Swiss parent, grandparent or more distant parent, some Peruvian migrants have Swiss citizenship before moving to the country.

to recognise (or not) qualifications obtained abroad.[31] Once they have obtained a place at a HE institution, non-EU citizens also apply for a student visa. This involves providing the Swiss Embassy in their home country with a number of formal documents, including: a letter of acceptance into the study programme, proof of economic solvency (a balance of approx. 24,000 CHF in a bank account) and/or a letter of sponsorship from a Swiss citizen. This process is both costly and time-consuming.[32] The Federal government also runs its own highly selective student mobility programmes, which provide a limited number of studentships to applicants from non-EU countries. It provides a monthly stipend of 2,000 CHF for a period of three years to a small number of "promising" PhD candidates from Asia, Africa or Latin America. Foreign students who pass through this selective route into the Swiss HE system are usually helped with their visa application process and are sometimes provided with subsidised student accommodation for the duration of their stay.

Up until 2011, non-EU foreign graduates were required to leave the country immediately after graduation. Since that date, partly in response to the recurrent labour shortages identified in particular sectors of the Swiss labour market, a six-month "job search extension" to student permits has been introduced (State Secretariat for Migration, 2011). In fact, the Swiss population shows one of the highest rates of upper-secondary level graduates of vocational education and training (VET) in Europe (Murdoch, Guégnard, Griga, Koomen, & Imdorf, 2016), which also means a scarcity of highly skilled domestic worker; potentially solved by hiring foreign specialists. However, in order to recruit a non-EU foreign graduate, employers are required to attest that the person in question is better qualified than any available Swiss or EU citizen (The Federal Council, 2005), under a so-called "essential employment" clause. As mentioned previously, several authors have noted that this type of procedure tends to create a "gendered global hierarchy of occupations", which considers male-dominated sectors such as finance and technology to be of "greater national interest for global competitiveness" than female-dominated sectors such as health, social work and teaching (Kofman, 2013; Kofman & Raghuram, 2006; Mezzadra & Neilson, 2013). In this context, non-EU foreign

---

[31] In many cases, foreign students are admitted on the condition that they pass a number of additional courses in advance of formal registration to the degree programme they want to follow. Once these "prerequisite" credits have been obtained, they follow the courses under the same conditions as Swiss and EU students.

[32] Some of my interviewees mentioned having to overcome passive or active resistance to their visa application procedures on the part of Embassy administrative staff.

graduates with Swiss qualifications need to find an employer who is willing to "sponsor" their work permit application, by attesting a shortage of equally qualified Swiss or EU candidates in the field.

In 2015-2016, the SFSO showed that 24.9% of Swiss HE students were foreigners, in the sense that they had obtained their secondary school-leaving diploma outside of Switzerland, as compared with just 13.1% of students in 1990-1991 (SFSO, 2017p). The proportion of foreign students increases according to level of study: In 2010-2011, foreigners represent 22% of students at Bachelor level as compared with 52.1% of PhD students (B. Kunz, 2011, p. 7). It also varies by type of institution, with the share of foreign students being lower in universities of applied sciences (12.5%) and teacher training institutions (5%) than in universities (SFSO, 2017p). There is also a gendered pattern: women represent only 29.1% of engineering students, whereas they are 67.5% in social sciences and humanities (SSH) in 2015/2016. The proportion of foreigners is higher in the male-dominated disciplines (42.7% in engineering) than the female-dominated ones (24.8% in SSH) (SFSO, 2017p). Unsurprisingly, most foreign students at Bachelor and Master levels (74%) come from neighbouring countries and other EU member states, while 4% come from Central and South America (P. Fischer & Gerhard Ortega, 2015, p. 11). Although CSA students in Switzerland represent a minority, their experiences challenge widely accepted ideas about international student mobility. The so-called "race for talent" between receiving countries is not enough to guarantee a straightforward transition to host labour markets for newly graduated foreigners.

Given that foreign students are concentrated at Master and PhD levels, academia is an employment sector. For instance, there were high percentages of foreigners as post-docs (63%), PhD students (43%) and assistant professors (51%) in 2011 (Le Feuvre, 2015). Since 2000, the rapid expansion and internationalisation of Swiss HE institutions has happened at two levels: students and research and teaching staff. However, there is a scarcity of permanent and stable positions in Swiss HE institutions, which means a multiplication of precarious jobs and of scientists who opt out of academia (Dubois-Shaik & Fusulier, 2016). Although gender-equality policies since 2000 increased women's share of PhD and post-doc funded positions from 20% to 40% between 1998 and 2007, women still only make up 17% of full professorships (Le Feuvre, 2015, p. 167). Both rates were below the EU average (Le Feuvre, 2015). Women's academic careers follow a "leaky pipeline" pattern where women progressively disappear at higher positions in academia (Le Feuvre, 2015).

Given that foreign graduates opt out of academia, it is important to note that foreigners have a different labour market participation pattern to their domestic counterparts. As mentioned in

Chapter 2, the labour market participation of foreigners in Switzerland shows a "sandwich" form: they are at the higher and the lower positions in the occupational hierarchy (Aratnam, 2012). In 2016, 36% of migrants held a tertiary-level diploma, whereas 32% of the non-migrant population had achieved the same level of qualification (SFSO, 2017f). However, the rate of employees with a tertiary-level degree working in a job that does not require such qualifications was higher among migrants (18.8%) than non-migrants (11.5%) (FSO, 2017c). In this sense, the recognition of skills allow us to understand situations of underemployment amongst high-skilled migration.

Peruvian professionals who plan to study in Switzerland consider the opportunities and limitations of these procedures. As seen in Chapter 2, Peruvian migration is selective in terms of qualifications, social class and gender. The group of international students belongs to the most privileged segment of this society. The Peruvian HE system shows inequalities in access and quality (Huber & Lamas, 2017). Private universities, which cost 300 USD per month and are mostly located in Lima, provide the highest quality of education compared with public and private universities in the rest of the country.[33] Moreover, the Peruvian and Swiss HE systems show a similar pattern of gender segregation. Women in engineering represented 6% in 1975 and 17% in 2008 (Garavito & Carrillo, 2004; INEI, 2007; Rodríguez, 2009). In this sense, Peruvian female students are predominantly in the SSH fields of study. Given the feminisation of high-skilled Peruvian migration to Switzerland, it is interesting to compare the experience of Peruvian men and women to understand the gender dimensions of the portability of skills. The focus on Peruvian graduates, a minority but highly selective group of migrants, is well suited to the study of transnational education to employment transitions and to understand the ways in which privileges from the home country are mobilised or neutralised in Switzerland.

II.4.3. Methodological precisions

The data are based on a sub-group of 19 Peruvians (9 women and 10 men) who had studied at a Swiss HE institution and were living in Switzerland at the time of the interview[6] (See in Table D in pages 27 - 18). Peruvian nationality was the main selection criterion, and those with dual nationality were also included. I carried out biographical interviews in Spanish using the LIVES life calendar to collect systematic information about the important events in the participants' occupational and

---

[33] The National University of Engineering is an exception in terms of quality amongst public universities. However, the university is located in Lima and admission is highly competitive.

family trajectories, as well as their own understanding of their transitions to the labour market. Contact with interviewees was established through personal networks and migrant associations using a "snowball" technique in order to reach a study population that was as diverse as possible in terms of gender, age, education, employment, and family situations.

II.4.4. Coping with Uncertainty: Peruvian Graduates' Occupational Pathways in Switzerland

My interest lies in investigating how the struggles to gain the right to stay legally creates the uncertainty that mediates the recognition of Swiss degrees for Peruvian graduates. In so doing, I analyse the circumstances in which temporal boundaries influence occupational trajectories after graduation. The findings of this study challenge the idea that re-training to obtain (more) educational credentials in the host country leads to successful labour market participation for highly skilled migrants. The idea of reskilling – understood as (repeating) training to obtain educational credentials – evokes better chances in the recognition of skills for the migrant population (Creese et al., 2008; Triandafyllidou & Isaakyan, 2016a). However, the trajectory-oriented approach shows the ambiguous effects of obtaining educational credentials on occupational trajectories. Despite migrants investing multiple resources in reskilling, the analysis of occupational trajectories of Peruvian graduates shows limitations based on the struggles for residential rights for non-EU foreigners. I have identified that temporal boundaries that foster precarity of presence and incapacity to plan careers according to the independent or dependent pathways to entry and settlement.

II.4.4.1. Independent and dependent pathways to legal settlement in Switzerland

As mentioned previously, the migration regimes produce temporal boundaries such as slow and fast pathways for residential permissions. In the Swiss regime, the speed of the pathways depends on the authorised length of stay, the in/dependent nature of the permit, the ways to renew the permissions and to obtain long-term settlement authorisations[34] (see Chapter 1 for details about the Swiss permit system for foreigners). An independent path to entry and/or settlement represents the legal situation in which the foreigner is the main applicant, such as student and work permits.

---

[34] Both ways involve the possibility of obtaining a settlement C permit after ten years (work) or five years (family reunification), on proof of "successful integration." Only family reunification allows a "facilitated naturalization" procedure that provides a faster and cheaper route to obtaining a Swiss passport.

Residence is contingent on the foreigner's capacity to accomplish the permit's purpose (e.g. provide proofs of university enrolment and/or job contracts). A dependent path to settlement, such as family reunification, represents a legal situation in which the foreigner is not the main applicant. Residence in the host country is contingent on the situation of the family member who is the main applicant (e.g. the legal and economic situation of the Swiss spouse) (Riaño & Baghdadi, 2007b). The extent of migrants' agency in the negotiations to fulfil conditions is larger for the independent pathway than the dependent one. High-skilled Peruvian men and women deal with both ways at different moments of legal and occupational trajectories, which hinders job-hunting and fosters uncertainty about residence in Switzerland. Two cases exemplify the extent to which temporal boundaries contribute to the precarity of Peruvian graduates in terms of presence and employment. I thus compare the experiences of Peruvian graduates with work permits with those holding family reunification permits after graduation.

II.4.4.2. Coping with Uncertainty after Graduation

After graduation, Peruvian men and women who try the independent way to obtain an authorisation to reside legally struggle with the strict conditions for transitions from a student to a work permit. According to the nationality of the applicant, the Swiss permit system may hinder the recognition of qualifications obtained by foreigners from Swiss HE institutions. Granting a work permit for Peruvian citizens depends on several conditions: priority is given to Swiss and EU citizens; the migrant must be the bearer of "specialised" skills; and limited quotas must be respected each year.[35] In addition, authorisation to reside is fixed-term (e.g. permit L) and the possibility of renewing depends on providing the appropriate proofs each year (e.g. permit B). Access to long-term residence authorisations is possible after ten years of presence (e.g. permit C).

After non-EU citizens have graduated from a Swiss HE institution, the interactions between state, non-state authorities and migrants predominantly yields fixed-term permits. The foreign graduate and his/her employer provide proofs of "essential employment" that mobilise the employability criteria. The recognition of educational credentials is part of the conditions to fulfil to remain and exercise the profession. Even when the claims of employability are accepted, the grant of fixed-

---

[35] Quotas for 2016: 4,000 for permit L and 2,500 for permit B (Confédération Suisse, 2016).

term permits enacts temporal boundaries. The temporal boundaries foster uncertainty of residential authorisations. This situation influences relations with employers and the capacity to plan careers.

II.4.4.2.1. Peruvian male graduates dealing with uncertainty

The criteria of employability are central to the claim of foreign graduates to remain and exercise their professions. The fact of having a Swiss educational credential is not sufficient to gain the right to stay legally and access to the labour market. The type of profession seems to play a role in the selection of foreigners to work in the Swiss labour market. The gender effect of the global hierarchy of occupations informs the appreciation of employability amongst Peruvian graduates. Educational credentials in male-dominated occupations are recognised as "more employable" than those in female-dominated occupations. In this sense, Peruvian graduates in engineering and sciences can access work permits in contrast to their female counterparts in female-dominated professions (see next part). Although access to work permits represents an independent way to entry and settlement, the grant of fixed-term work permits imposes temporal boundaries on their occupational trajectories. The precarity of residential permissions influences employment conditions. Access to fixed-term work permits gives employers great power and diminishes the rights of foreign workers (e.g. capacity to change employer). After graduation, Peruvian men with engineering and science qualifications have to deal with the uncertainty of residential permissions to plan their careers. Both processes – the gender effects of the global hierarchy of occupations and the temporal boundaries in work permits – influence the employment outcomes of Peruvian graduates. While Peruvian graduates in male-dominated occupations benefit from a favourable employability assessment, the outcomes about residential rights impose temporal boundaries by means of fixed-term permits for non-EU graduates. Gender privileges might be neutralised by ethno-national markers. I explain both processes.

The first process is the gender effects of the global hierarchy of occupations on the employability criteria to grant work permits. As mentioned previously, there is a global hierarchy of occupations where migration related to science, technology and management is privileged over migration related to care, education and social services. Given that the former represent male-dominated employment sectors and the latter represent female-dominated sectors, there is a gendered effect on migrants' access to work permits (Kofman & Raghuram, 2015). The Swiss migration regime follows this global pattern: engineering and sciences (a male-dominated sector) are valued more highly than SSH

occupations (a female-dominated sector). Indeed, Swiss immigration controls consider engineers to be holders of "outstanding" skills that might justify receiving a work permit.

Other gendered effects are related to the features of formal conditions for work permits in Switzerland. The employers are given a primordial role in the negotiations with state authorities for granting work permits (e.g. responsible for filing the request on behalf of the high-skilled foreigner). Therefore, the employers are the ones who perform the first stage of employability assessment and, then, intervene in the negotiations with state authorities. However, employers have unequal negotiation power to deal with authorities. In this sense, the employers of engineers, scientists and managers have more resources for hiring migrants (for example, human resources specialists and/or lawyers to deal with applications) than those interested in hiring teachers, social or care workers. For instance, employers of engineers in Switzerland are renowned research institutes and multinational organisations whereas employers of care workers are small institutions.

Although Peruvian male graduates benefit from the positive employability assessment, the formal conditions to remain and to exercise the occupation hinder career planning. Obtaining a fixed-term work permit might produce temporal boundaries that create uncertainty in occupational trajectories: insecurity about occupational aspirations, unequal relations with employers and restrictions to the portability of skills. Coco's and Carlos' occupational trajectories are examples (see Box 2 and Box 3).

Box 1. Excerpt from Coco's interviews in 2015 and 2016 (researcher, PhD in geophysics, aged 36)

Coco is a Peruvian physicist who came to Switzerland in 2010. After finishing a master's degree in geophysics in France, he arrived with an EU scholarship to do a PhD at a renowned engineering university. He automatically got a student permit thanks to the EU scholarship. He completed his PhD degree in 2014 and received a job offer right away. Coco developed a software program for his PhD dissertation and one of his supervisors in the USA asked him to develop it more. He received the job offer by telephone and accepted it. The employer wanted him to start as soon as possible. For his employer, obtaining a work permit for the USA seemed more difficult than for Switzerland, and he asked Coco to stay and work in Switzerland. He said that he already had a residence permit and they agreed to renew it. Coco would be able to work in Switzerland because his new position was funded by an enterprise that has headquarters there. However, there was a misunderstanding about the residence permit: Coco had the fixed-term residence permit B for students that cannot be renewed. His employer hired a lawyer for the work permit application. The lawyer told him that his chances were good because Coco was a high-skilled engineer and the author of the software program. After several months, he got a non-renewable fixed-term permit to work (L) because he had signed a one-year job contract. He was supposed to go to the USA afterwards. Right now, he is wondering about his career and where to settle down. He says: "the Swiss system doesn't want you to stay here… you came to study… and you are a foreigner from Peru… Before, I felt protected by the university, but now I have this L permit which is extremely annoying… if they fired you, you have to go…. But I have a lot of Latino friends that got married and also got the B permit". When I interviewed him again one year later, he had already got married with his Swiss girlfriend. He decided not to go to the USA. He got post-doc offer in

237

Italy that would enable him to still visit his girlfriend in Switzerland. However, the salary was lower than the one in Switzerland. For him, this would be a regression. In the meantime, the fixed-term work permit would soon expire. So, he decided to propose to his girlfriend. Recently married, he is still looking for better employment conditions in Switzerland.

The summary of Coco's training to employment transition shows the benefits of being a science/engineering graduate. Right after graduation, the assessment of employability was positive in the negotiations of conditions that involves the employer, lawyer and state authorities. The type of employer – a multinational enterprise – helped to obtain the authorisation to remain and work (hiring a lawyer). It is interesting to note that the Swiss permit system is not clear for all the actors: there are confusions about the nature of permits for students and workers. However, the fixed-term nature of the work permits created moments of uncertainty about the occupational career. In addition, uncertainty of legal status intersects with uncertainty in employment conditions (e.g. fixed-term job contracts). The conditions of employment in academia convinced him to opt out (e.g. relocation, fixed-term contracts and lower salaries). The educational credentials issued in Switzerland enabled him to remain after graduation only with fixed-term permits. He then developed a tactic to circumvent the uncertainty of presence abroad and access long-term residence authorisation by the means of bi-national marriage. The story of Carlos shares some similarities.

Box 2. Excerpt from Carlos' interviews in 2016 and 2017 (job-hunting, PhD in Environmental sciences, aged 33)

After graduating from university as an environmental engineer in Peru, Carlos arrived in Switzerland in 2007. At the age of 25, he was accepted for a master's program in a renowned engineering university, which also provided him with a small grant. He obtained a student visa sponsored by the Swiss husband of his girlfriends' sister. After breaking up with his girlfriend, he had to renew his student permit with proof of his financial autonomy. His father and aunt put a large sum of money into a bank account in Peru to show immigration officers. He renewed his permit like this until he finished the master's program two years later. Beside doing student jobs to pay his living expenses, he had a paid internship in a research institute. In this laboratory, he met a professor who helped him to find a paid PhD position. Although he signed a job contract and received a salary, he renewed his permit B as a student. Although the job contract was for three years, he got a supplementary year, during which time he met his current Swiss girlfriend. In the meantime, he was joined by his younger brother who started a master's program in Switzerland. After four years, Carlos graduated and started looking for jobs. He wanted to gain some non-academic work experience before going back to Peru. In 2016, when his permit B expired, he got a six-month L permit for job-hunting. He sent various CVs to international development agencies based in Switzerland, but none of them called him for an interview. He registered at the unemployment agency and received unemployment insurance and career counselling, which he didn't find very helpful: "they [Job Centre staff] are not used to dealing with PhD graduates." Once his permit L expired, he went back to Peru, accompanied by his Swiss girlfriend. After a few months, he returned to Switzerland with a three-months tourist visa to look for a job and finish writing some academic articles with his supervisor. He lives with his girlfriend and stated that his Peruvian friends are telling him to get married in order to be able to stay in Switzerland.

In contrast with Coco, Carlos did not receive a job offer after graduation. He was still job-hunting when the authorised extension expired. Although the work for conditionality yielded a fixed-term

permit after graduation, he could not renew it without an interested employer. Other non-state actors seem not to be helpful (e.g. Job Centre Staff). In this sense, the struggles to fulfil the conditions to stay legally in Switzerland yielded consecutive shifts between fixed-term permits (e.g. from student permit to job-hunting one). However, the case of Carlos shows the progressive downgrading to more insecure noncitizen forms: from residence permit to tourist visa. Consequently, the migration regime imposes temporal boundaries that hinder job-hunting after graduation. Holding a tourist visa, Carlos' access to the work-permit pathway and his capacity to plan his career are limited at his current destination. The legal and employment situation suggests that the recognition of educational credentials issued in the host country does not happens automatically in the host country's labour market. The recognition is mediated by non/citizenship dynamics.

Coco's and Carlos' occupational trajectories demonstrate how the independent way of obtaining a work permit mediates the outcomes of qualifying as an engineer from a Swiss HE institution. The struggles to fulfil the formal conditions to remain and exercise the occupation produces uncertainty in the training to employment transition. Although the assessment of employability is positive for engineering, science and management graduates, the presence of an interested employer and its resources influence the capacity to negotiate a work permit. The temporal boundaries in the form of fixed-term permits influence the returns of educational credentials on occupational trajectories. The struggles to fulfil formal conditions to legal settlement for non-EU graduates seems to show three dimensions of the institutionalisation of uncertainty in the work-citizenship matrix.

First, the institutionalisation of incertitude refers to the temporal boundaries after graduation, for example the fixed-term permits for work and job-hunting. The insecurity of presence fosters feelings of "living in limbo" where the pathways to settlement and employment abroad seem uncertain (Axelsson, 2016). It is the non/citizenship dynamics that mediate the rewards of educational credentials for Peruvian graduates in the Swiss labour market. The shifts between noncitizen forms influence the recognition of the educational credentials of Peruvian graduates. Beside the difficulties of planning the career, the portability of skills is ambiguous. Paradoxically, the place where the educational credentials are issued seems not to be the place to gain the best returns on the labour market.

Secondly, despite obtaining legal authorisation to work, the fixed-term work permit diminishes the employee's negotiation power in relation to the employer (B. Anderson, 2010). Since the residence

depends on employment, foreign employees cannot change employer without filing a new authorisation request. In turn, this form of precarity of presence abroad leads to precarity in employment conditions[36] (e.g. fixed-term job contracts). The occupational trajectories show prolonged transitions towards secure employment. Drawing on fixed-term work permits, there seems to be a collection of fixed-term job contracts that show slow pathways to secure jobs commensurate with skills. It seems that the length of the job-hunting extension is not enough to secure employment and residence in Switzerland.

Thirdly, Peruvian male graduates achieve better recognition of their Swiss degrees than their female counterparts (see next sub-section). This seems to be related to the global hierarchy of occupations and the employers' negotiation powers with state authorities. On the one hand, gendered effects are important due to the low share of women in the most highly valued occupations by the employability criteria. On the other hand, the transnational enterprises that are interested in foreign graduates in engineering have more capacity to negotiate the formal conditions to employ a non-EU graduate (e.g. information and resources) than those employers interested in female-dominated occupations.

Peruvian graduates mobilise resources to gain residential authorisations. Beside the activation of professional networks for job-hunting, Coco and Carlos evoke one tactic to circumvent fixed-term permits: bi-national marriage. In the following section, I discuss the features of the family reunification pathway to settlement and the outcomes for occupational trajectories.

II.4.4.3. A dependent pathway to legal settlement: Family reunification

This section discusses the gender effects of the family reunification pathway used by some Peruvian female graduates to settle legally in Switzerland. Due to the gender-based occupation hierarchy, the employability criteria in the conditions for work permits provides fewer chances for graduates in female-dominated occupations to follow the employment pathway tp legal settlement. Family reunification represents an alternative pathway to settlement and access to the labour market abroad. In contrast to the work permit, family reunification represents a dependent pathway.

---

[36] In contrast with their EU counterparts, non-EU/EFTA PhD students employed as graduate assistants (for research and teaching tasks) do not hold a work permit although they pay social insurances and taxes like any other worker. Having a hybrid training/work permit does not count as years of legal residence and full-time employment when later applying for settlement entitlements.

Beside the dependency in the administrative procedure, Peruvian female graduates have to deal with gendered family roles evoked by state actors in the negotiation for rights to residence and employment. In this sense, the occupational aspirations of these women are perceived as contradicting family caregiving expectations. The discourses about the foreign female spouse seem to reinforce their socio-economic dependency on the Swiss male spouse (Riaño, 2011; Riaño & Baghdadi, 2007b). In addition, for the Swiss authorities, gender stereotypes intersect with the racialisation of skills to assess employability. Despite their Swiss degrees, Peruvian female graduates who applied for family reunification struggle to access the Swiss labour market after graduation. They face gendered norms for family caregiving and racialised stereotypes about their skills.

In contrast, Peruvian male graduates who embark on family reunification after graduation show a positive assessment of employability that facilitates access to long-term residence authorisation and labour market participation. While Peruvian men who earned residence authorisation via family reunification face legal-administrative dependency on a Swiss spouse, they are confronted with the gendered family norms differently. In Switzerland, Peruvian male graduates are confronted with a family model that fosters male employability: men are expected to be full-time breadwinners, whilst women are seen as full-time caregivers/part-time employees (Baghdadi, 2010; Giraud & Lucas, 2009). The labour market participation of Peruvian male graduates is favoured. Instead of temporal boundaries, the discourse about "deserving migrants" influences the duration of the regularisation process: the fulfilment of the breadwinner role lead to fast-track naturalisation.

II.4.4.3.1. A "work or family" frame of deservingness for Peruvian female graduates

For Peruvian female graduates, the conditions for family reunification seems to hinder their labour market participation. The discourses about who deserves residential and labour market rights mobilise gendered family models and racialisation of skills. The recognition of Swiss educational credentials is mediated by the assessment of employability in relation to caregiving responsibilities as female spouses and perceived competences as South American women. Despite their reskilling practices, as spouses of Swiss citizens, Peruvian women encounter gender norms that evoke "work-life balance" problems and stereotypes about their skills. After graduation, Peruvian female graduates who embark on the family reunification pathway to settlement show short- and long-term negative effects on labour market participation. Family reunification influences the recognition of their Swiss educational credentials in three ways.

First, the interactions of multiple actors in the negotiation to earn work authorisations show problems of information about the procedures for non-EU foreigners. Beside the state authorities, employers play an important role in handling complicated procedures. As mentioned previously, information about the Swiss permit system for non-EU foreigners is not clear for all actors. In contrast with Coco's case, the employers are not willing/cannot afford to hire a specialist (e.g. lawyer) to handle the procedure in the case of Peruvian female graduates. Consequently, the struggles to fulfil conditions shows impasses due to misinformation that show slow tracks to secure residence and labour market access after graduation. Misinformation about the "essential employment clause" for work authorisations to non-EU professionals hinders the assessment of employability for Peruvian female graduates. The transitions from training to employment thus show temporal boundaries due to misinformation. Although the temporal boundaries are also common to Peruvian male graduates, the perceptions of the state authorities about access to secure residence are different for their male counterparts. I present an excerpt from the story of Concha, a Peruvian woman married to a Swiss citizen of Peruvian origin and the mother of one young daughter. She narrates the transition from training to employment in Switzerland: a recently graduated PhD student in medical sciences who had been offered a post-doc position in a Swiss HE institution:

> "The first six months I had to stay at home without working because I had to wait for my B permit. The Canton [immigration officers] didn't want to give me my permit because they wanted my (post-doctoral) job contract first. But they [the university] wouldn't sign my contract because I didn't have the permit. In the end, I got the permit via my husband: the family reunification B permit… with authorisation to work… even though the box didn't exist (on the application form) (...) because here women are a bit… the country is a bit chauvinist and 'machista'… So according to the boxes to fill in for the family reunification permit (application form) (...) women with a job doesn't exist. There is marriage or a job. They [immigration officers] asked me: if you are married, why do you have to work?" (Concha, job-hunting, medical sciences, aged 42)

Concha's transition from training to employment shows the misinformation about the conditions and its consequences for the right to stay legally and access to the labour market. Interestingly, misinformation about the FNA happens at multiple levels of interactions. It is not only employers who are misinformed but also the state authorities. As a consequence of federalism, the sub-national authorities (e.g. at the canton level) handle procedures and information heterogeneously. In the case of Concha, misinformation leads to a family reunification procedure. Interestingly, this tactic did not emerge solely from the applicant, but rather was suggested by the state authorities. In this sense, negotiations around legal residential rights seems to reinforce the idea that the family reunification

route represents an easier "solution" for highly-skilled Peruvian women than the employment route. There are two consequences of this solution. First, the "essential employment clause" is often neglected as a solution for Peruvian female graduates, regardless of educational credentials and available job offers. Secondly, the alternative – family reunification – route to legal settlement reinforces the dependent socio-economic situations of these women. The recognition of educational credentials to earn the right to work is constructed as dependent to other informal and formal conditions.

Concha's narrative also sheds light on the construction of the socio-economic dependency of the female spouse, through the work-or-family discourse. The assessment of employability is not positive for a work authorisation request; however, the pathway of family reunification is constructed differently for male and female Peruvian graduates. The negotiations mobilise a gendered family model where the employability of female spouses is not considered appropriate and/or necessary. Moreover, the Swiss authorities seem to consider the professional careers of female spouses in opposition to family caregiving duties. Foreigners who embark on family reunification renew the authorisation to legal stettlement by providing proof of fulfilling the permit purposes. In the Swiss care regime, the appropriate proof for female foreign spouses is family caregiving. The conditions for family reunification reinforce the idea that women are either wives/mothers or workers. In Concha's case, the comments of the civil servants did not have a direct impact on her transition to employment. Although the "essential employment clause" was not fulfilled, she eventuelly obtain the authorisations to work as a post-doc at the university. However, the construction of dependency can also have long-term effects on the occupational trajectories of Peruvian female graduates. The story of Rocio – a Peruvian woman married to a Swiss citizen, mother of two young boys, and Humanities graduate from a Swiss University – shows the long-term effects of gendered family norms in assessing employability for the Swiss labour market.

> "Now that my youngest child is eight years old, I have been looking for jobs. I paid several visits to the local Job Centre. I asked them to help me find a part-time job. I was very sad when she asked me: 'You want to work or take care of your children?' They don't understand that I want to work while also being a mother. I am very discouraged. Then a friend told me about a job position as an *auxiliaire de santé* in the Centre where she works. I am interested but I have to obtain the Red Cross certificate. Since I heard that the Job Centre could pay for those courses, I went to ask. The counsellor told me no. First, I have to prove that I can't find a job that is commensurate with my qualifications; then I have to prove that I can't find a cleaning job, and only

Thirdly, the example of Clara's transition to employment shows the long-term effects of gendered family roles and racialisation of skills on occupational trajectories. In contrast to Concha, a graduate in sciences, Clara had a Swiss degree in Arts and did not find a job immediately after graduation. She decided with her Swiss engineer boyfriend to get married after finding out about her pregnancy. Afterwards, she predominantly invested in family caregiving (e.g. raising her two children). Like many other women in Switzerland, she planned to return to the labour market after the children grew older. However, the encounter with state authorities to assess her employability reinforced the gendered family model in relation to the racialisation of skills, since employment counselling also depends on the perception of the place of South American women in the Swiss labour market (Seminario, 2011). The recognition of Swiss educational credentials is thus mediated by gender and ethno-national markers to assess the employability of Peruvian female graduates. Clara's case shows the long-term effects of the work of conditionality to access the Swiss labour market on occupational trajectories: the refusal of social services to let her return to employment after family caregiving by imposing gender and racialised conditions. Beside the gendered effects of family reunification, this type of route to settlement mediates the recognition of Swiss credentials based on racialised perceptions of Latino women's skills and place in the Swiss labour market. Regardless of the Swiss educational credentials, Clara still needed to prove that her hunt for cleaning jobs has been unsuccessful to access unemployment benefits. Beside the formal ethno-national hierarchy of EU/non-EU foreigners, there are informal forms of racialisation of skills that hinder the recognition of Swiss educational credentials in the labour market with long-term effects.

Another example of the long-term effects of the struggles to fulfil conditions on the occupational Peruvian female graduates is the story of Luz – a Peruvian women married to a Swiss citizen without children and holder of a Public Administration degree from a Swiss HE institution. She narrates the barriers to employment transition and achieving jobs commensurate with her skills.

"I know that my husband's last name helped me during job-hunting. No employer would have invited someone with a Spanish last name to an interview. I realised that [in the waiting room] because they [the recruiters] called my name for the interview with a smile. When they saw a 'morena' woman walking in, they changed their attitude (…) One day a colleague told me: 'You are intelligent, but you will never be Swiss.' I answered: 'I am sure about the fact that I was born in Peru and that my brain works: one side the Peruvian culture and the other side I respect other cultures' [After graduating from the Public Administration certificate], there was a dissonance (for obtaining a promotion). I knew I did a good job… However, my husband

worked as a CEO in a company and had a high salary…. I don't have children… So, they (my employers) considered that I shouldn't work…. I changed employers" (Luz, trained in public administration, aged 59)

The story of Luz shows the effects of discourses about migrants inspired by gendered family models and ethno-national perceptions of skills on job-hunting and promotion. Of course, the family reunification pathway has the advantage of enabling job-hunting without temporal boundaries (e.g. fixed-term permits). Beside access to long-term residence, Peruvian graduates can mobilise the "Swiss surname" resource to improve their job-hunting chances. However, the benefits of the family reunification pathway are neutralised by the racialisation of skills in interactions with multiple actors: recruiters and colleagues. There are long-term effects on occupational trajectories. For example, the chances for promotion after earning educational credentials seem limited. For Peruvian female graduates, the discourses about foreign spouses include not only professional competences and credentials but also the conformity to gendered family roles. Since Luz had a well-paid husband and did not have children, she did not qualify for promotion, regardless of her Swiss educational credentials. The recognition of Swiss educational credentials is thus mediated by the dependent pathway of family reunification that in turn leads to the reinforcement of the socio-economic dependency of the female foreign spouse. The mobilisation of gendered family models and the racialisation of skills by multiple actors informs the discourses and practices to grant migrants the access to the Swiss labour market. This suggests the presence of long-term effects of struggles to fulfil conditions for the right to stay and work on the occupational trajectories of Peruvian female graduates.

II.4.4.3.2. A Breadwinner Reward for Peruvian Male Graduates

The struggles to fulfil the conditions for the right to stay legally and employment by means of family reunification produces different outcomes for Peruvian male graduates. While the discourses are informed by gendered family models, the gender role assigned to Peruvian male graduates encourages rather than limits labour market participation. The breadwinner role involves the full-time employment of the foreign male spouse. In this sense, the recognition of Swiss educational credentials is not limited by family responsibilities. Moreover, the male breadwinner image is also based on social class and certain occupations grant more prestige and status than others. Interestingly, the conditions to access naturalisation seem to reward the male breadwinner role along social class lines – full-time employment in prestigious occupations. Drawing on the gender-based global hierarchy of occupations, Peruvian male graduates in engineering occupations thus

access fast-track naturalisation more easily than Peruvian migrant men in manual occupations (see Chapter 5). Although family reunification represents a dependent pathway to long-term settlement, the transition from training to employment shows rewards rather than limitations in the work-citizenship matrix.

The negotiations of conditions for stay legally in Switzerland for Peruvian male graduates who embark on family reunification show the accumulation of two positive features with long-term effects: the positive assessment of employability in relation to gendered family roles and the citizenship rewards for prestigious careers. Both dimensions encourage the recognition of Swiss educational credentials to perform jobs commensurate with skills. An example is the upwardly mobile occupational trajectory and fast-track access to citizenship of Samuel, who married a Swiss woman and has two children. He gained a PhD in engineering from a renowned Swiss HE institution. Beside not having any problem obtaining a family reunification permit, he was granted Swiss citizenship after three years of residence, through a facilitated naturalisation process. In his own words: "I made all the applications through the HE institution and I got the passport. When I saw that I had to pay 800 Swiss francs, I felt welcomed to the club" (Samuel, engineer, aged 52). Indeed, Samuel's occupation, type of Swiss degree, and employment prospects can be considered as facilitating the breadwinner role that men are expected to play in order to fulfil the family reunification requirements. Immigration controls seem to offer a speedy transition from the dependent (family reunification) path to an independent legal status (naturalisation) for highly qualified foreign men who conform to the dominant Swiss gender regime. Thus, the family reunification path towards legal settlement is marked not only by gender and nationality but also by occupational hierarchies.

The case of Samuel shows the positive mutual influence of the citizenship-work matrix. Access to long-term residence entitlement makes it possible to undertake job-hunting without temporal boundaries after graduation. In addition, recognition of Swiss educational credentials is not limited by the gendered family model. By contrast, the discourses show a positive outcome of the employability of Peruvian male foreign spouses. Furthermore, the access to naturalisation allocates a fast track for foreign spouses of Swiss citizens. However, access depends on social class (see Chapter 5). For foreign male spouses, the deservingness assessment is based on the male breadwinner model. Beside full-time employment, the exercise of prestigious male occupations translates into rewards for fast-track naturalisation. The shift towards naturalisation also represents an upwardly mobile legal trajectory. Citizenship offers legal-administrative independence and

unrestricted residence. Upward occupational and legal trajectories influence each other positively along gender and social class.

Another example is Claudio – a Peruvian engineer who married a Swiss woman and worked in Swiss HE. He obtained a post-doc position at a Swiss HE. Although he obtained a fixed-term permit at the beginning, he was successfully naturalised after two years of residence. He had already married and lived abroad with his wife for five years. However, he got the citizenship without speaking any national language. In his own words, "they [immigration officers] gave me the nationality without my doing anything, without knowing the language, anything… We had the visit from two police officers who told me the visit is to verify the co-habitation (…) they only laughed when I couldn't speak German…." The case of Claudio shows that the discourses about "deserving migrants" apply formal and informal criteria unequally. Here, employability in terms of full-time position and prestigious occupation win over the language proficiency of the candidate for naturalisation. Interestingly, Samuel was naturalised in a French-speaking canton while Claudio in a German-speaking one. Between the two places, the formal criteria might differ, based on federalism. But the mobilisation of informal criteria based on gender and social class in discourses about "deserving migrants" improves the recognition of Swiss credentials for one group : Peruvian male graduates in engineering occupations. They show rewards on legal and occupational trajectories, and the work-citizenship matrix positively reinforces this: access to fast-track naturalisation is enhanced by the exercise of prestigious professions.

All in all, the recognition of Swiss educational credentials in the struggles to fulfil the conditions for the right to stay and to work legally by means of family reunification shows unequal outcomes based on gender and social class. Moreover, the discourses that mobilise gendered family models along social class lines and the racialisation of skills seem to have long-term impacts on the occupational trajectories of Peruvian graduates. However, the family reunification tactics show the mobilisation of time, financial and social resources of the bi-national couples. Peruvian women and men were able to obtain the right to stay legally thanks to their spouses' financial support and engagement in family caregiving.

II.4.5. Summary

The aim of this chapter was to investigate the dynamic of the citizenship-work matrix in high-skilled migration. The aim is to understand the relationship between occupational transitions and legal ones. To do so, I focus on the employment transitions of Peruvian men and women who have

graduated from a Swiss HE institution. This interest in international students aims to disentangle the issue of the recognition of foreign credentials for labour market participation. The goal was to question the common-sense idea that precarity is essentially due to a lack of skills, or a lack of recognition of existing skills and that earning credentials issued in the host country is an uncomplicated solution to both of these problems.

Given the fixed-term permit for non-EU international students, the forms of job-hunting abroad also involve shifts in the non/citizenship continuum. Beside confirming the mutual influence of employment and citizenship trajectories, the findings emphasise the impact of shifts between non/citizen forms during job-hunting and their long-term effects on occupational trajectories abroad. The recognition of the educational credentials issued in the host country does not guarantee straightforward access to the Swiss labour market. Temporal boundaries to the right to stay legally produce inequalities based on ethno-national markers, gender and social class. The portability of skills is thus not only a matter of location (e.g. the place where degrees where obtained) but also timing (e.g. the moments of job-hunting abroad). These findings make an original contribution to the debate about high-skilled migration and demonstrate how and when the struggles to fulfil the conditions for the right to stay legally influences the recognition of educational credentials and occupational trajectories.

A time-sensitive perspective is particularly suitable for tracking the portability of skills and the temporal boundaries imposed on legal trajectories. The comparative analysis of the transition narratives of Peruvian graduates demonstrates the circumstances under which they navigated between different noncitizen forms and experienced slow- and fast-track access to settlement abroad. In turn, the legal transitions impact on the recognition of Swiss educational credentials in the labour market. Put in other words, the impact on the rewards (or lack thereof) in the labour market of holding a degree issued there. The impact of legal transitions shows long-term effects on occupational trajectories, and access to naturalisation is faster for upwardly mobile professionals.

After graduation, the struggles to fulfil conditions for the right to stay legally fashions not only the employment conditions of non-EU graduates but also the recognition of the credentials they acquire in the host country. Thus, when analysing the extent to which reskilling improves employment opportunities in the host country, it is important to recognise that skills are a social construction marked by gender, social class and ethno-national markers. The discourses and practices in relation to conditions for the right to stay legally show the mobilisation of formal and

248

informal criteria to assess the employability of Peruvian graduates. The gender-based global hierarchy of occupations informs the "essential employment clause" for work permits whereas a gender and social class-based family model influences the assessment of employability in the family reunification pathway. The struggles to fulfil conditions to gain the right to remain and work legally devalues the reskilling of Peruvian women by preferring male-dominated occupations and reinforcing a male-breadwinner family model. The racialisation of migrants' skills is reinforced formally by immigration laws towards non-EU/EFTA citizens and informally by immigration officers' stereotypes about Latinas' employability. In this way, my findings contribute to a burgeoning debate about intersectionality in high-skilled migration experiences (Grigoleit-Richter, 2017; Shinozaki, 2017; Verwiebe, Seewann, Wolf, & Hacioglu, 2016).

The study of temporal boundaries enabled me to shed light on slow and fast tracks to settlement abroad. The allocation in one or the other is unequal for Peruvian graduates. In this sense, they might linger between noncitizen forms (e.g. fixed-term permits) or even downgrade to more precarity (e.g. tourist visa) while job-hunting. Access to fast-track naturalisation is also possible. Family reunification represented an intermediate tactic to remain legally to perform job-hunting with less uncertainty. This was the solution for those lingering between noncitizen forms, and the stepping-stone for those who had the fastest access to naturalisation. In view of the legal restrictions on the labour migration of non-EU nationals, bi-national marriage often provides an alternative strategy for Peruvian migrants. Consequently, the dynamics of the work-citizenship matrix are also linked to family trajectories. In the case of Peruvian graduates, the timing of the occupational and legal transitions coincided with questions about family formation and bi-national partnering. Although the family reunification pathway might "buy" time for job-hunting after graduation, the long-term effects on occupational trajectories seem to be ambiguous. The debates about tied migration amongst high-skilled migrants exemplify the blurred lines between work and family pathways for entry and legal settlement into host countries and their gendered effects on occupational trajectories. The effects of marriage on migrant women's occupational trajectories have been discussed at some length (Brekke, 2013; Donato et al., 2014; Riaño, 2011; Riaño & Baghdadi, 2007a). This will be discussed further in Part III of the dissertation.

Drawing on the dynamics of work-citizenship, the following chapter focuses on the ways in which unauthorised Peruvian men and women participate in the work for conditionality to gain residential authorisations. Analysing those migrants who have experienced spells of non-citizenship in Switzerland (e.g. overstaying visas), I compare their formal and informal strategies to gain security

(e.g. regularisation and EU citizenship) through the mobilisation of information, contacts and resources. The shifts in the non/citizenship continuum do not follow only one direction, and the impact on occupational trajectories is not univocal. The aim is to understand the extent of migrants' agency to negotiate with multiple actors and counteract precarity. In this sense, the legal trajectories show ways of upgrading security abroad without achieving citizenship while access to citizenship forms does not necessarily mean better employment. Consequently, the next chapter shows the heterogeneous legal trajectories amongst Peruvian migrants and the ways in which they capitalise or not on citizen forms along gender and social class divides.

Part II - Chapter 5

The legal and employment trajectories of Peruvians with spells of unauthorised residence in Switzerland

Introduction

In this chapter, I study the legal and employment trajectories of Peruvian men and women with spells of unauthorised residence in Switzerland and analyse the impact of this experience on their occupational outcomes. Legal categories and their entitlements change over time, and migrants might be classified in different socio-legal categories across their life-course. Beyond legal status at entry, I analyse migrants' strategies to navigate the conditions for residential authorisation. However, the mobilisation of information, contacts and resources and the recognition of their applications by a range of actors depends on their locations in unequal power relationships. The aim is to contribute to understanding the forms of evolution in the non/citizenship continuum and the dynamics of the work-citizenship matrix. For instance, unauthorised spells at the beginning of a life-course do not necessarily lead to permanent occupational downgrading, nor does legal settlement guarantee subsequent upward mobility. Gender and social class play an important role in explaining these variations.

In Switzerland, the presence of *sans papiers*, migrants without residence authorisation, is an important justification for restricting the inflow of foreigners to the country. Although there are valuable efforts to impove data (Flückiger et al., 2012; Flückiger & Pasche, 2005; Morlok et al., 2015), information about who belongs to these categories, as well about as their legal and occupational trajectories is scarce in Switzerland (Carbajal, 2007; Carbajal & Ljuslin, 2010; Valli, 2007). In this sense, the non/citizenship lens provides an alternative approach that considers "dynamic assemblages of individuals and institutions that negotiate and navigate formal and substantive systems that confer or deny rights to remain present in a country and access entitlements" (Landolt & Goldring, 2015, p. 854). In view of non/citizenship continuum as an evolving assemblage of these elements, it is possible to analyse legal trajectories as multidirectional processes towards precarity or security.

As mentioned previously, the shifts between non/citizenship statuses depends on the ability to fulfil the formal and informal conditions for residence in Switzerland. The non/citizenship approach

suggests that the recognition of applications for permits is central to rights abroad (Bloemraad, 2017; Landolt & Goldring, 2015). This involves the interactions of multiple actors at different levels. Furthermore, the outcomes are influenced by the mobilisation of ideas about "deserving migrants". Therefore, the extent of migrants' agency to provide "appropriate" proofs and the discretionary powers of other actors are part of the analysis. The definitions of un/deserving migrants are marked by broader stratification processes of gender, ethno-national and social class divides. Although many migrants might informally negotiate better employment conditions and pay taxes and insurances, most of them shift between multiple noncitizen statuses before achieving authorised long-term residence. However, the transnational lone motherhood and paid care work of Peruvian women seem to be recognised as more "deserving" of legal residence by state authorities than the parenthood and employment of Peruvian men who do not conform to the male breadwinner role of full-time and well-remunerated jobs. Furthermore, when migrants access citizenship forms, there is no automatic improvement in occupational mobility. In this sense, the work-citizenship matrix shows interactions at two levels: the assessment of "employability" for the recognition of demands and the relations between legal and occupational trajectories in multiple directions. Relationships between both trajectories do not show a fixed sequence of events: more security in one sphere that translates into more security in the other. Therefore, I analyse the long-term effects of the shifts in the non/citizenship continuum on the occupational trajectories of Peruvian men and women

This chapter is structured into six main sections. After briefly presenting a short review of the non/citizenship theoretical framework and the assessment of "employability" in frames of deservingness (1), I will present the context of regularisation pathways in Switzerland (2). Then I present the research participants under analysis (3), before going into analysing how unauthorised Peruvian men and women experience shifts in the non/citizenship continuum based on the employability criteria and the effects on occupational trajectories (4). In discussion of the findings (5), I argue that ideas and discourses about "deserving migrants" influence the regularisation processes, and that the impact on employment outcomes is dependent on the past accumulation of resources (or lack thereof) and to migrants' transnational social position. Finally, I present some final remarks (6).

II.5.1. Noncitizenship amongst unauthorised migrant workers

> "Irregular migrants are kept in a space of liminal legality and governed not simply through criminalisation, but through the simultaneous promises of inclusion and threats of exclusion, a situation that the notion of governing through probation better captures" (Moffette, 2014, p. 275)

The quotation above suggests three important dimensions of non/citizenship dynamics amongst unauthorised migrant workers. The first is that forms of noncitizenship are a constitutive part of migration regimes. The institutionalisation of noncitizenship sheds light on exclusion and inclusion technologies based on the displacement of the border in space and time. That is, the fashioning of unauthorised migration at entry (e.g. visa overstayers) leads to the emergence of a probationary period where these migrants are policed and scrutinised. The mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion are paths for regularisation, forms of policing the street and the detention-deportation nexus. The second dimension refers to the ways in which these technologies influence migrants' legal trajectories in the non/citizenship continuum. These technologies show moments and places for the negotiations of conditions with multiple actors. From daily interactions to defending requests in courts, there are discourses to select and filter un/desired migrants. As mentioned before, the employability criteria are mobilised along gender and social class divides. In this sense, forms of stereotyping inform the recognition (or lack thereof) of requests for legal residence. The assessment of employability reinforces the legal precarity of groups of migrants in line with the multiplication of precarious jobs for migrants. Although these migrants have little opportunity to change the legal-administrative structures, they experience social learning during the probation time to navigate the system. The third dimension thus focuses on the extent of migrants' agency to mobilise information, contacts and resources to gain residential authorisations and counteract overall precarity. Consequently, migrants develop tactics to informally exercise rights and capitalise on transnational networks to remain legally.

To understand the three dimensions, I briefly develop the concept of governing through probation to understand the temporal boundaries in different technologies of inclusion and exclusion. Drawing on the concept of the frames of deservingness, I explain the idea of employability criteria to understand the forms of stereotyping in demands for residential rights. Finally, the concept of migrants' transnational legal consciousness allows me to grasp the extent of migrants' agency to capitalise on information, contacts and resources across borders.

II.5.1.1 Governing through probation

The non/citizenship approach goes beyond dichotomies of un/authorised migrants to understand the non-linear dynamics of regularisation and irregularisation processes in legal trajectories. Beside the securitisation of the border, the migration regimes show forms of displacing the border inward and extend it over time by facilitating entry while expanding control afterwards. For instance, the removing of visas for entry to national groups that migrate to work displaces some of the filtering performed by borders and immigration selection across space and time (Moffette, 2014). In this sense, the entrance of unauthorised migrants is part of the mechanisms to control and filter migrant inflows. It is not a sign of failure but rather a constitutive component of migration regimes. The displacement of the borderwork creates a probationary period for migrants. After arrival, unauthorised migrants are subject to a period of probation mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion such as paths of regularisation, police control in the streets as well as detention and deportation. This represents a temporal border of long periods of insecure residence, and the constant risk of downgrading. These mechanisms show the way in which "deserving" migrants are partially included while "underserving ones" are targeted for removal. In this process, the negotiations of conditions for residential authorisations and other rights expands to involve institutional actors dispersed in space and time.

The probation period for unauthorised migrants is characterised by non-linear legal trajectories made up of ladders and slides. During the period of probation, migrants develop social learning about the exclusion and exclusion mechanisms and the deservingness criteria. They mobilise resources across borders to gain residential permissions and counteract downgrading abroad. However, the paths of regularisation involve few guarantees until access to long-term settlement authorisation. Since the risk of deportability is always present, the extent to which they can informally negotiate better conditions depends on the cumulative discretionary decisions by actors at multiple levels. These decisions express the negotiations of conditions for residential authorisations between institutional actors and migrants where discourses about un/desired migrants are enacted and contested. The criteria are the object of political struggles at local, regional and national levels. And the contexts for which deservingness criteria have been made evolve. Consequently, there are tensions between discourses. Nevertheless, the employability criteria have been pointed to as important to regularisation programmes.

The growing importance of the employability criteria points to citizenship-work dynamics, and the ways in which the context of employment influence deservingness classifications. The analysis of employability criteria shows forms of stereotyping in the discourses. For instance, the gender models of citizenship have an impact on regularisation opportunities.

II.5.1.2. Gendered frames of deservingness

Although much of the literature has studied the impact of legal trajectories on occupational outcomes (Chapter 4), analysis of employability criteria contributes to understanding this influence from another angle. The aim is to understand how the negotiations of conditions for residential rights mobilises different categories and levels of civic membership based on work: a condition for integration, a way to enhance selective migration policies or a guarantee of economic deservingness. In view of the context of growing precarity in citizenship and employment, it is important to address the impact of employability standards on the recognition of requests for residential authorisations. As mentioned in Chapter 4, employability criteria play a significant role in migrants' shifts along the non/citizenship continuum. The idea is to understand whether precarious employment is a source or a consequence of precarity of residence, or both. An example is the programmes for regularisation of unauthorised migrants. Prior research has examined the rationales for regularisation, the content of regularisation policies for different target groups and the impact of regularisation measures. However, the role of employment as a condition for migrant regularisation has been under-researched.

There are two criteria to answer the question of who deserves or not residential authorisations in regularisation processes: civic performance or humanitarian reasons. The first one refers to the idea of earned citizenship that privileges "chosen" migration (e.g. economically desired migrants) and the second one refers to the vulnerability of migrants refused from official procedures who cannot be removed due to restrictions imposed by international law (Chauvin et al., 2013b). Both have increasingly given importance to employability, where employment is seen as an individual virtue, proof of "integration" or a condition for settlement. Comparing work-based (e.g. Spain and Italy) and humanitarian regularisation processes (e.g. Austria and Germany), a paradox emerges: employment becomes both a civic obligation and a privilege (Chauvin et al., 2013b). Migration regimes restrict the right to work for migrants in favour of citizens, while the evaluation of migrants' requests for residential authorisations is based on employability. Beside the tensions in discourses, the employability criteria refer to standards based on one type of employment: full-time continuous

formal employment. However, this form of employment becomes increasingly elusive for the migrant and non-migrant population. In combination with the proliferation of insecure forms of residence, a disintegration circle might be in place where employment precarity represents a source and a consequence of legal precarity (Chauvin et al., 2013b).

Nevertheless, the employability criteria are not static, nor are they applied homogeneously amongst migrants. There are tensions between local, national and international legislation. Employability in discourses also represents the evolving ideas about citizenship along gender and social class lines.

II.5.1.2.1. Gender stereotyping in the framework of deservingness

The ideas about citizenship that provide an increasing importance to employment are marked by evolving stratification processes. Although neoliberalism reinforced the idea of employment as a civic obligation (Chauvin et al., 2013b), the post-war figure of the breadwinner citizen had gendered effects. While the male citizen was assigned to employment and social benefits, the female citizen was the spouse in charge of caregiving who depends on the husband for social rights (van Walsum, 2013). In this sense, employability in citizenship discourses evokes the role of productive and reproductive work along gender lines. However, ideas about the breadwinner male citizen and the homemaker female citizen have become increasingly ambiguous. In European countries, the emergence of gender-equality discourses in combination with EU legislation have complicated the conditions based on employment for migrant men and women.

Although the re/productive gender division in citizenship has been questioned in Western countries by gender-equality discourses and practices, there are two dimensions of ambiguity. The first is the tensions between discourses about migrants and employability criteria at local, national and international levels, and the second is the intersection of ethno-national markers in gender stereotypes. On the one hand, the assessment of employability refers to employment and care work in the recognition of migrants' claims for being considered deserving citizens. However, the outcomes of the struggles to fulfil conditions for residential authorisations based on re/productive work division show the tension between local and international legislation. The EU legislation based on international law (e.g. Human Rights Chart, gender-equality protocols, etc.) recognise the requests of primary home-based caregivers for residential authorisations. Drawing on the rights for circulation, an EU citizen does not need to be a breadwinner (full-time employed) to be recognised as a worker and derive rights to reside in another member state. Drawing on international law, an EU child has the right to live with the primary caregiver parent regardless of his/her nationality. In

this sense, home-based care work is recognised for requests whereas the breadwinner role seems to be losing importance. In this sense, migrant women can capitalise on the performance of care work to make requests for residential authorisations. Although the public/private work gender division is weakening, a new hierarchy based on employment is emerging. At national level, family reunification requests mobilise gendered family roles: the male sponsor must adhere to the breadwinner role in relation to his female foreign spouse. For instance, the sponsor is asked to provide proofs of a steady job, a more-than-minimum wage, and a high level of education (Fernandez & Jensen, 2013; E. Morris, 2014; Ruffer, 2011; Schweitzer, 2015). Given the current hierarchy of employment, social class also intervenes in requests for residential authorisations on the basis of family reunification. In this sense, groups of migrants might struggle to meet the employment standards for family reunification requests (Bertolani, Rinaldini, & Tognetti Bordogna, 2013; Bonizzoni, 2015; Fresnoza-Flot, 2014b, 2017; Paciulan & Preibisch, 2013). Consequently, gendered family roles still seem to influence the conditionality in family reunification requests along social class divides (see Chapter 4). At local, national and international levels of interactions, notions of citizenship that question the unequal recognition of re/productive work in gender coexist with the mobilisation of gendered family models for the recognition of requests (van Walsum, 2013). Nevertheless, the employment-based assessment of deservingness continues to be important in the conditions for residential authorisations.

The ambiguity of gender models of citizenship based on work also revolves around ethno-national markers. For several decades, women have been assimilated to family reunification whereas men were identified with labour migration in migration law. In doing this, migrant women have been constructed as dependent with non-economic interests whereas migrant men are perceived as independent economic-driven individuals (C. Fischer & Dahinden, 2016; Kraler et al., 2011; Morokvasic, 1984, 2011). Currently, gender equality questions gendered family roles and the un/reproductive work hierarchy. However, the same gender-equality discourses are also used to distinguish good Western citizens from underserving non-Western migrants (Kofman et al., 2015; Schrover & Moloney, 2013; van Walsum, 2013). It follows forms of stereotyping migrant men and women along gender ethno-national markers: migrant women, who are victims of patriarchy and family-dependent, in contrast with economic-driven migrant men, who are always suspected of violence. In mobilising these gender stereotypes of foreign populations, Western countries also express their moral superiority in relation to Southern countries on the basis of gender-equality discourses.

The mobilisation of these gender stereotypes about employability has an impact on the ways in which the claims of migrant men and women are recognised in the fulfilment of conditions for residential authorisations. However, the employability criteria are not only mobilised to favour work-driven migrants over others, nor do they always favour migrant men over migrant women. For instance, research on asylum concluded that the higher rate of women's success depends on a positive interpretation of certain characteristics: being accompanied by a spouse, having children and coming from countries considered unsafe. Indeed, women seen as family-dependent and victims of patriarchal domination were rewarded with residential authorisations while their male counterparts were penalised for corresponding to the image of independent economic-driven migrant: single, no children and from countries perceived as safer (Mascini & Bochove, 2009). Although female asylum seekers have long suffered from the depoliticisation of their claims, the same supposed vulnerability and dependency of women can also improve their chances in asylum procedures. Drawing on the same gender stereotypes amongst the migrant population, men are disadvantaged in the asylum procedure. Consequently, the construction of masculinity, like the construction of femininity, influences the recognition of claims in relation to employability. In the asylum-seeking procedure, although the employability criterion is mobilised, it does not favour economic-driven migrants but rather vulnerable, family-dependent ones. Consequently, migrant women can capitalise on gender stereotypes in the struggles for fulfilling the conditions for residential authorisations.

The examples of EU-circulation, family reunification and asylum-seeking processes show the interactions between multiple actors at local and inter/national levels that mobilise employability criteria along gender, social class and ethno-national divides. In this sense, the employability criteria show the ambiguity of the re/productive work hierarchy in citizenship models. Although the male breadwinner citizen is still valid, migrant women can capitalise on care work and family stereotypes to gain residential authorisations in negotiation with institutional actors at different levels. In this sense, the negotiations of conditions show the extent of migrants' agency to have their requests for residential authorisations accepted.

II.5.1.3. Migrants' agency: legal consciousness

The concept of legal consciousness refers to people's ways of feeling, thinking about and enacting the law (Schwenken, 2013). Given the relational and performance dimensions of the fulfilment of conditionality, migrants develop tactics to gain recognition of their requests for residential

authorisations. There are three dimensions: the law can be perceived as something one has to follow, as a game in which one negotiates requests against others, and as the painful experiences of vulnerability and arbitrariness (Schwenken, 2013). All migrants experience the three dimensions in the struggles to fulfil conditions and the legal outcomes along the non/citizenship continuums. Drawing on the tensions between local, national and international frames, the development of migrants' tactics mobilises contacts, resources and information across borders.

Unauthorised migrants draw on social learning about the struggles to fulfil conditions -acquired during the probationary period- to upgrade their petitios for secure residence and diminish the risk of deportation (Moffette, 2014). Without downplaying the power relationships at play, unauthorised migrants develop tactics in the three dimensions. Some of them might accept waiving their rights in order to have a job (Ahmad, 2008; Ambrosini, 2015; Paciulan & Preibisch, 2013; Schwenken, 2013; Villegas, 2015). Using their legal consciousness, others might embark on demands for residence authorisations in everyday practices and institutionalised strategies (Alberti et al., 2013; Bridget Anderson, 2010; Kontos, 2013). They can perform "acts of citizenship" in line with the idea of earned citizenship based on work ethic. For instance, unauthorised migrants might display extraordinary work ethic and civic participation while collecting the "appropriate" proofs to earn the recognition of their claims from institutional actors (e.g. payment of taxes, social insurances registration, collection of job contracts, etc.). In line with the employability criteria, migrants capitalise on their exercise of reproductive and productive work according to multiple discourses. In doing this, they perform requests based on transnational legal knowledge, resources and contacts. Drawing on the tensions between discourses about migration, unauthorised migrants can build up claims by invoking EU legislation and/or Human Rights Chart. Contacts with fellow migrants in EU members states foster the circulation of narratives about legal victories and employment conditions elsewhere to inform the making of demands daily and globally (Schwenken, 2013). In doing this, they capitalise on the overlapping of different frames at local, national and transnational scales.

Against an image of passive recipients of the law, unauthorised migrants display legal consciousness to build up their claiming tactics at interactions with institutional actors. Although many migrants might negotiate better employment conditions and pay taxes and insurances, most of them shift between multiple noncitizen categories before achieving unconditional authorised residence. Therefore, the citizenship-work matrix does not show a fixed order of more security in one equally translated in the other. However, I argue that gendered discourses about migrants show the

ambiguous results of the employability criteria in relation to the re/productive work hierarchy for regularisation processes and outcomes. Transnational lone motherhood and paid care work in the host country seems to be more rewarded by immigration authorities than parenthood that does not conform to the male breadwinner role of full-time and well-remunerated jobs. To clarify the argument, I briefly present the regularisation pathways and dead-ends in the Swiss migration regime.

II.5.2. Unauthorised migration and regularisation mechanisms in Switzerland

To understand the dynamics of unauthorised migration, it is important to note that forms of noncitizenship are multiple and processes of irregularisation are multidirectional. In other words, precarity of residential authorisations shows different degrees in a continuum rather than dichotomies of unauthorised vs. authorised migration. As mentioned previously, precarious legal statuses include fixed-term permits for students and workers and long waiting periods to access authorisation for settlement. In this way, the process of irregularisation might happen after periods of legal authorisation and include ladders and slides in the non/citizenship continuum. While considering this dynamic definition of unauthorised migration, I briefly address definitions proposed by Swiss institutional actors and the most common pathways to regularisation of non-EU citizens in the Swiss context.

In Switzerland, there is a formal definition of unauthorised migration, the so-called s*ans papiers*. While defining s*ans papiers* as non-EU foreigners living for more than a month without authorisation and unpredictable length of stay, current literature in Switzerland addresses three broad processes: asylum refusal, expiration of fixed-term permits, and tourists visas (Morlok et al., 2015). The approximate number of undocumented foreigners in Switzerland in 2015 was between 76,000 and 105,000, and 43% of them came from CSA (Morlok et al., 2015, p. 40). With differences at cantonal level, most unauthorised migrants work, 53% of them work in private households and the rest work in the construction, hospitality, restaurant and agriculture sectors (Morlok et al., 2015, p. 50). Most of those who worked in private households are women from th CSA region (see more details in Chapter 3).

In Switzerland, the pathway from unauthorised to authorised residence is limited to *"cas de rigueur"* (hardship cases[37]) which evaluate integration, family relations, financial autonomy, length of stay (5 years minimum) and reintegration in the home country (Morlok et al., 2015, p. 55). In comparison with the regularisation process elsewhere in Europe, Swiss *cas de rigueur* regularisation is unique for three reasons. Created in 1986 and slightly modified in 2005, this is a humanitarian-based and case-by-case regularisation mechanism that assesses "personal cases of extreme gravity." However, the interpretation of personal circumstances is highly flexible and the discretionary power of local authorities is quite important (Della Torre, 2017). Outcomes are rather disappointing: for 2010, regularisations via *"arraigo"* in Spain benefited 13% of the irregular population whereas in Switzerland regularisations via *cas de rigueur* accounted for only 1% of the estimated total number of s*ans papiers* (Della Torre, 2017, p. 21). The use of this measure is also highly unequal between cantons: big French-speaking cities show the highest numbers.[38]

Finally, the role of employment is also important for assessing migrants' deservingness for *cas de rigueur*: common reasons for refusal involve the lack of exceptional socio-occupational integration and/or possession of specific qualifications only valuable in Switzerland (Della Torre, 2017). There is a decreasing trend of successful cases from 428 in 2013 to 391 in 2016, whereas there is an increasing trend for coercive measures of return (e.g. deportation) from 8603 in 2015 to 8791 in 2016 (Morlok et al., 2015; State Secretary for Migration, 2017). Interestingly, the number of requests and the rate of successful cases show gender divides (see Table 11). In 2016, women represented 40% of applicants for *cas de rigueur* (SFSO, 2017a). However, the numbers in relation to the rate of successful cases show the opposite: 60% of the foreign population who earned *cas de rigueur* authorisations were women for 2016 (SFSO, 2017g). It is probable that unauthorised migrant women gain residence permits by means of *cas de rigueur* more frequently than their male counterparts. Therefore, the negotiations about conditions to gain residential authorisations might show gendered discourses about "deserving migrants". Here, in contrast to the cases of Chapter 4, the construction of femininities and masculinities amongst the migrant population might favour migrant women.

---

[37] Although *cas de rigueur* also figure in the Asylum Law, I only consider the Federal Act for Foreign Nationals (FNA) here.
[38] In Geneva canton, a new mechanism to render the requirements clearer has been approved, following the 2007-2018 Papyrus project.

Table 7. Requests and beneficiaries of hardship cases 2016

Number of requests for hardship cases FNA			
2016	Women	Men	Total
	749	1114	1863
%	40	60	100
Number of foreigners with hardship case authorisations FNA			
2016	Women	Men	Total
	850	1213	2063
%	61	39	100

Source: Own calculations based on SFSO statistics (SFSO, 2017g, 2017a)

Regularisation mechanisms in Switzerland, as in Germany and Austria (Chauvin et al., 2013b), seem to deny the role of *sans papiers* in society but sustain precarious integration by providing scant chances for residential authorisations and reinforcing measures of detention and deportation.

Since unauthorised residence is considered a crime, unauthorised migrants are subject to prison and forced return. In this sense, the police sporadically run identity control campaigns in neighbourhoods, workplaces and public spaces (e.g. bus stops, restaurants, bars, etc.). Other actors collaborate with the police to denounce unauthorised migrants. Public transport employees who verify the validity of tickets frequently might call the police when passengers do not have a valid ticket and cannot provide a residence permit. The migrants whom I have encountered also told me about the denunciations made by employers, neighbours and fellow migrants to the police. They call the police and give the address of the unauthorised migrants, so the police can look for and arrest them. I briefly present two episodes of identity control.

Renato arrived in 1995 and worked in the construction industry. He had two identity controls. The first one happened when he was going to work with another unauthorised colleague. They were assigned to paint an entire house that was close to the French-Swiss border. They took the bus and walked to the house. Half-way there, they met a border control officer who asked them for their residence permits. They ended up at the police station. The police officers gave them an order to leave Switzerland within 20 days. Renato called his employer and explained the situation. the employer said that Renato could continue to work for him. So, he asked around for advice and fellow migrants told him that he could cross the frontier to leave the paper in a border control office, and then return by crossing the border elsewhere. He did that. He also moved to another apartment. Several months later, he told me that someone denounced him. He was returning from work to his apartment and he saw a red car parked nearby. He passed it and he noticed the police uniform of the driver and passenger. For him, it was clear that someone had called the police to

give them his address. They got out of the car and asked for his residence permit. He spent two days at the police station. This time, they told him that he would be taken to the airport to make sure he took the plane to Lima (Renato, construction worker, married with three adult children in Peru, aged 59).

Pamela arrived in 1991 and worked cleaning private houses and cooking for a restaurant. She was at the bus stop. She noticed that police officers were looking for drug dealers. When two of the men next to her were being handcuffed, one of the police officers asked her for identity documents. She showed her Peruvian passport, but the police officer asked for the residence permit. They took her to the police station and interrogated her for about five hours. They asked her about her employment and employers. She told me that in the early 1990s when police officers performed identity control amongst unauthorised migrants, the risk of detention and deportation was extremely high. Consequently, she did not want to disclose the identity of her employers because she intended to return to Switzerland and get those jobs back. However, the police officers asked for her public transport season ticket and they found out her address. When the police officers told her that she was committing a crime, she said that she was not stealing or selling drugs. She said that she had come to Switzerland to work because employment prospects were not good in Peru, and that she logically received a wage in return for her work. She was surprised when the police officer released her. One of them told her to always look straight into the eyes of every police officer she met to avoid identity controls. Since then, she has followed that advice. (Pamela, care worker/computer repairwomen, single without children, aged 51)

Although the detention and/or deportation of Renato and Pamela happened in the 1990s, identity controls continue in public spaces in Switzerland. Since the law against undeclared work was enacted in 2005, identity control also take place in workplaces. However, the above-mentioned stories show the ways in which migrants develop tactics to avoid deportation and/or circumvent border controls. These daily encounters also display the discretionary power of state authorities to recognise migrants' arguments and implement the law. Between the gain of residential authorisations by means of hardship cases and the deportation to the host country, there are half-way stages in the non/citizenship continuum.

One half-way stage for unauthorised migrants is social insurance registration and the acquisition of a social security card. Although the procedure is possible for those without a residence permit, it is imperative to have the agreement of employers, since they have to file the request to the authorities

and accept to pay the employers' share of social insurance contributions. Here, employers have great discretionary power. For instance, Elsa, a care worker who arrived in 2001, told me that she asked one of her employers to file the request. After five years working for the same employer, she felt confident to ask the question and that the latter would agree. However, the employer refused to pay more for social insurances and to spend time on the application form. Some weeks later, the employer also fired Elsa. She had never asked another employer again.

However, employment law obliges employers and employees to pay social insurances: health and work accident insurances, old age and survivors insurance (OASI), disability insurance (DI), income compensation allowance in the event of military/civil service or maternity leave (EO/MSE) and unemployment insurance (UI). Theoretically, all workers who pay social insurances are entitled to family allowances. Although unauthorised migrant workers can theoretically access the above-mentioned entitlements except from UI and EO, the risk of identity disclosure between insurance authorities and police officers varies across cantons. Identity disclosure can happen at registration for social insurance and/or when claiming rights at hospitals, workplaces, etc. Given the administrative task for the employer and the risk of identity disclosure for migrants, NGOs have designed on-line programmes to facilitate the task of registering unauthorised workers in social insurances and to calculating the adequate monthly salary (e.g. *cheque-emploi* and *cheque service*[39]). Based on the half-way stage to regularisation, noncitizen forms include unauthorised migrants with unequal access to employment-based rights in Switzerland.

The analysis of employability in the discourses about residential permissions considers the different regularisation paths in Switzerland as well as the extent of migrants' agency to gain residential authorisations or counteract downgrading in the non/citizenship continuum. The employment history of migrants also influences the regularisation outcomes along gender lines.

II.5.3. Methodological precisions

A life-course approach to intersections between legal trajectories and occupational mobility contributes to understanding non-linear pathways amongst Peruvian men and women in Switzerland. The data presented is based on a sub-group of biographical interviews with 24 participants (11 women and 13 men) who had experienced or currently experience noncitizenship

---

[39] https://www.cheques-emploi.ch/questions-reponses/

in Switzerland (see Table E in Annexes pages 29 - 31). The aim of the interviews was to collect systematic information about the important events in the participant's legal and occupational trajectories, as well as their own explanation of multidirectional shifts between noncitizen forms and towards citizenship. Furthermore, the narrative approach helps to emphasise the legal consciousness that informed Peruvians' tactics for rights claiming.

Although the study sample is not representative of the Peruvian migrant population, it is interesting to note that the selected interviewees predominantly come from Lima and entered with a tourist visa but overstayed. But not all of them have experienced noncitizenship from the beginning: some of them entered by means of family reunification, as well as Spanish passports. In fact, some of them have travelled to other EU cities or gone back to Peru and returned to Switzerland recently. In addition, most of them have achieved post-compulsory education: seven of them have university degrees. While half of them currently have a residence permit, predominantly settlement permits (C permit) and Swiss passports, the other half remain without Swiss permits. In the latter group, the majority also do not have access to social insurance services, e.g. health insurance, retirement pension, family allowances, etc. Unsurprisingly, most of the women work in the care, cleaning and restaurant sectors while the men are concentrated in the construction and cleaning sectors. Given the heterogeneity of legal status trajectories, I chose four cases that portray critical moments of intersections between noncitizenship and occupational trajectories and the long-term effects.

II.5.4. Pathways into and out of noncitizenship and occupational mobility outcomes

To understand the relations between shifts in socio-legal categories and employment conditions, I present four life stories. The two first stories show legal trajectories characterised by lingering between noncitizen forms that include pathways into less precarious jobs (Nestor) and pathways towards citizenship by obtaining a Spanish passport with no improvement to employment pr working conditions (Pamela). In fact, the degree of formality in employment is not necessarily linked to migrants' legal status: EU citizens without Swiss residence permits may not fare as well on the labour market as unauthorised migrants with declared jobs (Morlok et al., 2015). The two next stories show regularisation pathways: one based on a successful *cas de rigueur* request and upward occupational mobility (Pilar) and the other based on family reunification (Francisco) without change in employment conditions. Both stories enable me to explore the gender dimension

of deservingness frameworks in Switzerland based on employability criteria and employment history.

II.5.4.1. Sans papiers *with EU passport*

Box n°3 Excerpt from interviews with Pamela in 2016 and 2017 (computer repairwoman, Sociology degree (BA), aged 51)

After graduation as a sociologist and before visas were required, Pamela, aged 25, arrived in a big French-speaking city in Switzerland in 1990. She got her first jobs in the care sector and lived in the employers' residences. The, she changed to cleaning jobs paid by the hour and moved out to live alone. She also enrolled in French courses; then, she enrolled in courses to learn how to repair computers. She then decided to provide repair services. At the beginning, she was successful in finding clients by posting ads in supermarkets. In the meantime, she and her Peruvian friend, both without a residence permit, embarked on the project of obtaining a Spanish passport. They hired a Spanish lawyer of Peruvian origin to do the formalities in Spain while they were still working and living in Switzerland. After going several times to Spain to sign documents, they first got the Spanish residence permit in 2001. In 2006, Pamela obtained a Spanish passport. But since then, she has not been successful in finding formal employment in Switzerland. EU citizens need a job contract to request a work permit. She sent her CV to different enterprises hiring IT workers, but most of them asked her for job certificates. Since she felt too old to engage in unpaid internships to build up her CV and liked being an independent worker, she stopped job-hunting in enterprises. She has a list of clients, handles her own schedules, and recently obtained the OASI card. She combines clients who declare and others who do not declare her repair services, while she does other occasional cleaning and care jobs. She is, however, rather skeptical about the future utility of the OASI card in Switzerland. Thanks to the Spanish passport, she feels she has a more secure residence in Switzerland and enjoys the right to mobility abroad, for instance she has travelled several times to Argentina, where most of her family migrated. She plans to eventually leave Switzerland to join her family there.

The story of Pamela shows the mobilisation of transnational contacts, information and resources to gain residential authorisations in Switzerland. However, it shows new contradictions in the dynamics of work-citizenships matrix: the acquisition of an EU passport does not necessarily lead to work-based residence authorisation or to the improvement of employment conditions. For Pamela, having a Spanish passport represents a form of citizen that predominantly provides authorisation to mobility. In this way, she can sustain transnational family relations with frequent visits back home.

Pamela's story shows the transnational tactics and legal consciousness used to circumvent barriers to residence authorisations. This is a form of transnational regularisation processes: obtain a citizenship in a country with a less restrictive policy but intend to reside and work in another one. In this sense, the struggles to fulfil the conditions for residential authorisations abroad happens across borders and involves multiple actors at different levels. Instead of considering the law as something one has to follow, Pamela engaged in transnational tactics to negotiate residential authorisations in several European countries. She circumvented the scant regularisation

opportunities in Switzerland by embarking on requests for residential authorisation in an EU country with better prospects for unauthorised migrants. In doing this, the mobilisation of information, contacts and resources enhanced her capacity to negotiate citizenship. The choice of Spain to start a regularisation process was based on her knowledge about the fast-track paths for regularisation and naturalisation reserved for former colonies (e.g. Latin American countries). Moreover, Pamela had contacts with friends and professionals in Spain who helped her to gain the recognition of her requests over there. Drawing on the resources earned by working in Switzerland, she could afford the fees of a lawyer, housing, social insurances and other expenditures in Spain. Information about the regularisation processes circulates across the borders in Europe (Schwenken, 2013). Unauthorised migrants exchange tips about successful cases of regularisation in different European countries. Consequently, demands for residential authorisations can display transnational forms of consciousness and practices.

Nevertheless, Pamela's story shows a new form of half-way to regularisation in Switzerland. EU citizens without residence permits working in Switzerland show the emergence of another case of unauthorised migrants there. Therefore, the EU and non-EU divide diffuses in the non/citizenship continuum within the region. The dynamics of the work-citizenship matrix show the influence of employability to gain residential authorisations; but the acquisition of EU citizenship is not sufficient to guarantee formal access to the Swiss labour market. For Pamela's case, the employability criterion in Spain's regularisation process was circumvented by registering Pamela as an independent worker in Spain. She paid for the lawyer to obtain the appropriate documents and file the request. Once the answer was positive, two more controls were made by state authorities until applying for fast-track naturalisation within five years. Although Switzerland also confers an important role on employability criteria, the requests for residential authorisations shows different conditions. For EU citizens, the acquisition of a job contract follows the grant of a five-year residence permit. Nevertheless, Pamela had less chance of obtaining the adequate documentation – a job contract. Here, the discretionary power of employers seems highly important. Obtaining some form of citizenship did not automatically grant authorisation to work or occupational upward mobility. Pamela obtained a form of residential authorisations since the EU passport may counteract detention and deportation in Switzerland and provides mobility rights for sustaining transnational family relations. However, the lack of employment proofs hinders full access to secure residence and employment-based authorisation in Switzerland. While their authorisations to stay

and circulate are less questionable, legal authorisation to work is dependent on obtaining a job contract.

The timing of regularisation in relation to age and the stage in the life-course is important. In contrast with younger migrants, Pamela considered that the age of 39 was too late to embark on training projects and eventually obtain a work permit in Switzerland. Beside age, the accumulation of experiences in informal jobs highly restricts occupational reconversion. In combination with non-recognised educational credentials, the several years spent on the informal labour market hinder the job-hunting process. Here, the spells of noncitizenship show a long-term impact on occupational and legal trajectories. Pamela remains in the Swiss informal labour market regardless of EU citizenship. As a coping strategy, she aims to exercise her mobility rights and eventually exit the Swiss labour market to other destinations.

In contrast to Pamela's story, the story of Nestor shows access to employment-based authorisation regardless of noncitizenship.

II.5.4.2. From black to grey

Box N°4 Excerpt from Nestor's interview in 2016 (cleaner, bachelor's degree in Management, aged 51)

Nestor obtained a university degree in management in 1991 and arrived in Switzerland in 1996 from Germany, a country that did not ask Peruvians for visas at that time. Aged 30, he moved in with his sister who was married to a Swiss citizen of Chilean origin and was living in a big French-speaking city. Thanks to contacts with other migrants, he found hourly-paid jobs in the cleaning sector. He was working a few hours until he found a full-time but night shift cleaning job for an enterprise. The employers provided him with the OASI card in 1999. Although he only lasted a few months in the job, he stated that he no longer works "al negro" (black) but "al gris" (grey). Since the social security card does not have an expiration date, he explains the long-term positive effects: "When you have order in one domain, it will be valuable in another domain". He said that while some of their friends didn't want declared jobs to avoid wage deductions, he was persuaded of its future value in accessing social services. "I have been paying my social insurances for sixteen years now and I can rightfully ask for family allowances and retirement pension". However, he has been unsuccessful in obtaining a residence permit. Although he always obtained certificates in each job, he found out that employers were misinformed about the work permit procedure for non-EU foreigners. In 2002, he joined a national movement in favour of sans papiers regularisation. He explained that some permits were granted to those living in Switzerland for at least five years, who were employed and had never had social assistance or legal problems. But his regularisation request and many others were rejected without specific arguments. After his two children were born, he filed for hardship case regularisation for him, his partner –another undocumented CSA citizen – and their children in 2009, unsuccessfully. Although he provided several job certificates, he thinks that gendered norms about family penalised him. That is, the fact that he stills works in hourly-paid jobs less than full-time and his wife works as many hours does not conform to the male breadwinner ideal.

The story of Nestor shows the half-way path to counteract precarity of presence and employment in Switzerland. To do so, he mobilised local legal consciousness made up of political participation and relationship with employers. Although his employers refused to file a work permit request due to misinformation, they agreed to register Nestor with the social security authorities. In this sense, he can exercise employment-based services in Switzerland, for instance he receives family allowances for his two children. However, Nestor lingers between noncitizen forms and remains in informal part-time poorly paid jobs; but informal access to services fosters a feeling of security. Furthermore, the pathway to regularisation seems more elusive along gender lines. He perceived a gender frame of deservingness that measures employability criteria for unauthorised migrant men against an unattainable breadwinner role.

In contrast with Pamela's transnational legal consciousness and tactics, Nestor mobilised information, contacts and resources at the local and national level. At the national level, Nestor's stories show the tension between two discourses about "deserving migrants": the Swiss regime for residential authorisations and the Swiss work regime for access to employment-based rights. Despite the lack of residence authorisation, Nestor's access to social services is possible thanks to a loophole between the two national regimes. He becomes less *illegal* by obtaining recognition as a

worker rather than a migrant. At the local level, Nestor embarked on political participation and networking with fellow migrants, advocates and lawyers. During the mobilisation for a collective regularisation request, Nestor learned about the legal-administrative procedures as well as un/successful cases of regularisation to compile and file his own request. The social learning helped him to understand the formal and informal employment criteria for granting hardship cases. In this sense, he figured out the male breadwinner citizen model in the discourses about "deserving migrant".

Nestor's story shows the ways in which spells of unauthorised residence do not show the same long-term effects on legal and occupational trajectories. In contrast to Pamela, registration in social insurance happened at the beginning of his residence in Switzerland. The early timing of steps in the regularisation path fostered a greater feeling of secure residence. He feels confident about family formation and retirement there. Regardless of citizenship, this timing facilitates access to employment-based rights linked to later life phases such as family allowances and retirement pensions. Access to employment-based social services provides a safety net for social risks: parenthood and old age. In this way, he perceived a positive long-term effect of the social insurance card for settlement in Switzerland. Nevertheless, the spells of part-time and poorly paid jobs are not neutralised by the social insurance card.

The dynamics of the work-citizenship matrix show an ambiguous mutual influence: recognition as a worker improves security of presence abroad in terms of access to certain social rights. However, the relations between legal and occupational trajectories are not without tensions. On the one hand, the tactic of becoming *less illegal* by being recognised as a worker happened at the expense of job quality. He obtained the social insurance card when he accepted working night shifts. Although Nestor changed to formal employment, he remained in part-time, poorly paid cleaning jobs. He did not achieve occupational upward mobility. This employment history hampered full regularisation. On the other hand, the employability criteria in gendered discourses for residential authorisations penalised his labour market position in Switzerland. The exercise of part-time and poorly paid jobs hindered his requests for residential authorisations. The gender norms about citizenship influenced the non-recognition of his request for residential authorisations in the Swiss migration regime. The image of the male breadwinner citizen disfavoured the recognition of this group of migrant men as "deserving" workers. In this sense, the precarious labour market position showed some kind of "reward" (e.g. social security card) for being a flexible worker (e.g. accepting night shifts) while

270

being penalised for not conforming to gender models of citizenship. By contrast, the next story, that of Pilar, evokes rewards for caregiving roles.

II.5.4.3. A Successful *Cas de rigueur*

Box N°5 Excerpt from Pilar's interview in 2017 (skilled care worker, bachelor's degree in Accounting, aged 55)

After working for 20 years as an accountant for an international cooperation agency, Pila, aged 37, already divorced from the father of her children, decided to leave Peru. In 2000, she arrived with her children in Switzerland from Italy where they obtained a tourist visa. Thanks to Peruvian friends already living in a big French-speaking city, she found jobs in the care and cleaning sector as an hourly-paid employee and had good relations with her employers. Thanks to one employer, she obtained the OASI card and most of her employers declared her jobs. She enrolled her children at school but the teacher told her that sans papiers children were not able to pursue university studies in Switzerland. She decided to send her children back to Peru with her sister. Some months later, she decided to return too. In Lima, she enrolled in accounting update courses and searched for jobs unsuccessfully. She decided to come to Switzerland, but to keep contributing to her retirement pension in Peru. Thanks to the invitation of a former employer, she obtained a tourist visa and arrived in 2004. She worked again in the cleaning and care sectors as an hourly-paid employee, but she got involved in the sans papiers movement. She was part of a collective request that was approved at the cantonal level but refused at the federal one. Although the movement weakened with time, she continued with an individual request. While she was gathering all the documents, she continued to work as a caregiver, sent remittances to pay for her children's private schooling, and volunteered in health-related associations. She was interested in the auxiliaire de santé training programme, so she started to learn French in courses given by associations. Thanks to the free legal counselling given by associations, she prepared for a year and finally filed her cas de rigueur request. In the meantime, one of her children joined her with a student visa sponsored by her former employer and current best friend to enrol in a Swiss university. In 2011, she received her permit B in company with her two children; the other one came for three months as a tourist. She finished the auxiliaire de santé training programme. With her new credential, she found a permanent full-time job at a school for handicapped children. After two years, she obtained the settlement permit (permit C) and is training to obtain a VET degree as an educator.

Like Nestor, Pilar mobilised legal consciousness and practices at the local and national level. She entertained good relationships with employers and engaged in political participation with lawyers, advocates and fellow migrants. The acquisition of the OASI card also happened early in her employment history. And the social learning within these networks enabled her to file an individual request. In contrast to Nestor, she had a positive outcome from the negotiations of conditions for hardship case regularisation. The gendered frame of deservingness suggests the hypothesis of "rewards" to migrant women who comply with femininity constructions for the migrant population: caregivers in transnational families and the labour market. The dynamics of the work-citizenship matrix show positive results of being recognised as a worker and then earning secure residence as a "deserving" migrant woman.

Pilar's story shows the completion of the regularisation pathway from unauthorised migrant to legal foreign settler. Although the next step would be naturalisation, she had already obtained long-term

and unconditional authorisation to reside. Interestingly, the case of Pilar resembles the story of Nestor except for the outcome. The social learning during probationary periods of unauthorised residence provided them with information, contacts and resources at the local and national level. Pamela learned about applying for secure residence and the discourses about "deserving migrants" based on employability criteria. She also realised the importance given to employers in the regularisation process from the acquisition of the OASI card to the collection of appropriate documents to file a hardship case request. She thus combined two tactics: the first relates to the effort to entertain good relationships with employers and the second to building up her case based on a career plan in Switzerland.

Fostering good relationships with employers required great effort. Like Nestor, a job position to do a night shift cleaning provided her with the OASI card. From then on, she only selected employers who declared the paid hours and she had to refuse several jobs. Consequently, she invested time and resources in sustaining good relationships with employers who agreed to declare her paid hours (e.g. being flexible and helpful). She did not change employers frequently but remained several years with the same ones. One of her employers became a close friend and they exchanged favours: Pilar helped her with family caregiving and the employer helped Pilar by sponsoring visas for her and her children. Consequently, she felt confident to ask for job certificates and support letters from her employers to build up her hardship case request. She told her employers about her political participation in the *sans papiers* movement and she received support. One employer opened a bottle of a champagne when Pilar told her about her participation in the collective request: Pilar was one of the spokespersons to give a speech in front of the cantonal authorities in favour of unauthorised migrants.

Given the idea of earned citizenship, she also built up her request for residential permissions by collecting employment proofs and other signs of "good worker" qualities. For instance, she has been extremely organised with job certificates and social insurance documents. Furthermore, she designed a (care) career plan in Switzerland to file her hardship case request: drawing on her prior jobs in the care sector, she aspired to become a qualified care worker. To do this, she started to learn French, performed voluntary work in health-related associations and finally earned the Red Cross *auxiliaire de santé* certificate. Consequently, she provided arguments to prove coherence and sustainability in her participation in the Swiss labour market and the acquisition of competences valuable in Switzerland: French language and training. She also provided reasons for the impossibility of reintegration in the labour market back in Peru, for instance the barriers to finding

an accountant's job and earning an adequate salary. She also provided proofs of her family responsibilities as a long-distance lone parent. In doing this, Pilar mobilised legal consciousness and developed practices to maximise her chances in claim-making for secure residence.

In comparison with Nestor, the gendered frame of deservingness showed a favourable outcome. The features of Pilar's employment and family situations seem to adhere to femininity constructions about migrant women: care work and transnational motherhood. The performance of care work for her family and Swiss labour market seems central for the recognition of her requests as a migrant woman. It seems that the care career plan in combination with transnational lone motherhood enhanced her chances for regularisation along gender lines. Although she adheres to the female citizenship model based on family caregiving, the performance of paid care services is recognised as valid for migrant women.

The dynamics of work-citizenship show positive mutual influence. Drawing on employability criteria, she mobilised her prior employment history as a worker in the care and cleaning sectors to design a care career plan. She also performed voluntary work in particular associations to emphasise her vocation for care work. Thanks to the OASI card, the shifts from informal to formal jobs favoured the recognition of the early employment history. Consequently, the early spells of unauthorised migration gained recognition in the request process. The employment history thus becomes a step in the regularisation pathway. Here, the shifts between noncitizen forms (from "black" to "grey") lead to rewards in the legal and occupational trajectories. The early steps in the Swiss labour market were neutralised by the regularisation process. For instance, the acquisition of a residence permit enhanced her care work career. She found a full-time institutional care job and embarked on more training to achieve a skilled position. Therefore, she embarked on upward occupational mobility. The timing of employment and citizenship events shows the positive accumulation of effects.

In contrast with Pamela, she valued positively the timing of regularisation to embark on re-training projects. In this sense, age and timing of events have a subjective dimension. Since Pamela aspired to eventually exit the Swiss labour market, investment in re-training did not make sense. In contrast, Pilar aspired to settle in Switzerland with her children and investment in her career seemed pertinent: at age 55, she started a re-training programme. The positive outcomes of the work-citizenship dynamics foster family relations. Although her young adult children could no longer

benefit from family reunification, they managed to achieve family reunion informally (e.g. student permits for her children). The three live together in Switzerland.

Noncitizenship at entry seems to be neutralised by cumulative effects linked to the Swiss care sector to obtain citizenship. Pilar's successful regularisation by means of *cas de rigueur* suggests gender effects of legal deservingness frames and employment outcomes after regularisation. Like Nestor, she developed tactics and legal consciousness focused at local and national levels. In contrast to childless Pamela who aimed to exit care/cleaning jobs, it seems that her accumulation and orientation towards care work (paid and voluntary) and her transnational mothering role was rewarded. Indeed, her profile more resembles stereotypes of female migrant workers in the global economy. She seems to capitalise more on regularisation by achieving upward mobility (formal stable and full-time skilled care job) than Peruvian men in Switzerland – for example, Francisco.

II.5.4.4. Regularisation by means of family reunification

Box N° 6 Excerpt from Francisco's interviews in 2016 and 2017 (cleaner, VET concierge, aged 61)

After working as an appliances technician, Francisco arrived in Switzerland from Spain where a visa was not required in 1990. Aged 34, he moved in with his sister who was married to a Swiss citizen of Spanish origin and living in a big French-speaking city. Separated from his wife, he had left his three small children with his parents and sent remittances to Peru every month. He struggled with discontinuous and low-paid jobs in the cleaning and construction sectors. He also met his future wife: a Swiss citizen of Argentinian origin. They moved in together and she became pregnant. Then, Francisco underwent an identity check, was caught by the police and deported to Peru. However, they decided to marry and started all the legal-administrative procedure. So, Francisco obtained a residence permit by means of family reunification, returned to Switzerland with his oldest son and filed a request to bring his two younger children to Switzerland. Since the oldest son was aged over 18, Francisco knew he wouldn't be able to ask for family reunification for him. He could only ask for the two younger ones. The oldest one enrolled in a private school and got a student permit until he married a Swiss woman. However, the family reunification request for the two children forced Francisco and his wife to work under precarious conditions (long hours, weekends, without job contracts) until they obtained the "right" proofs for immigration officers. In fact, the requirements of "financial autonomy" (full-time and stable jobs) and "adequate housing" (a big apartment) were hard to attain. He said: "I fought a lot for family reunification until they (the immigration officials) gave it to me". He obtained a full-time job as a concierge for an association in 1998 and achieved a concierge VET credential in 2007. Aside from family allowances, he has been living in a subsidised apartment and recently obtained the Swiss passport. He also reduced his occupation rate due to health issues. After working many years as a concierge, he is now worried about a small retirement pension.

In contrast with Pilar's upward occupational mobility, Francisco's employment history did not change after regularisation. Although both embarked on re-training (VET credentials), the returns in the Swiss labour market are unequal. Beside the employability criteria along gender lines, the role of cleaning jobs to gather "appropriate" proofs for demands for rights shows social class divides. Although regularisation shows the shift from informal to formal jobs, Francisco remained in the

same poorly paid and low-skilled employment sector: cleaning. It seems that unauthorised spells at the beginning left durable imprints in occupational trajectories regardless of shifts towards citizenship.

The dynamics of the work-citizenship matrix show negative outcomes. The first spells of unauthorised residence combined with informal cleaning jobs. The two features combined to hinder family reunification processes for him and his children. The employability criteria were hard to attain in relation to the male breadwinner citizen model. Like Nestor, Francisco did not adhere to gender norms: he worked in unstable, part-time and poorly paid jobs like those of his wife. In contrast to Nestor, the first steps in the employment history were characterised by informal jobs and non-access to employment rights. Precarity in employment thus translated into barriers to achieving regularisation. However, the shifts towards citizenship did not guarantee better positions in the labour market. Although Francisco entered the formal labour market after regularisation, he remained in the same employment sector. Like Pilar, he embarked on training afterwards. He nonetheless performs the same job after training as before: he has not changed his employer, his employment conditions or his position in the socio-occupational ladder. The timing of re-training and the age was similar for Pilar and Francisco. Indeed, adult re-training is common after successful regularisation (Söhn, 2016). but the outcomes in the labour market are unequal. Francisco shows a continuous employment history. He counteracted downgrading by earning residential authorisations and employment-based rights; but he did not achieve upward mobility regardless of naturalisation. While the legal trajectory shows upgrading to citizenship, the occupational trajectory shows continuity in poorly paid and unskilled employment sectors.

The gendered discourses about migrants show similar outcomes for Francisco and Nestor. The employability criteria of the male breadwinner citizen did not favour the claim for residential rights of migrant men in cleaning jobs s. Here, the family reunification pathway to regularisation also shows the social class dimension of "deserving masculinity". Beside the non-recognition of informal jobs during requests for residential authorisations, the features of the "appropriate proofs" for family reunification were hard to attain. The cleaning jobs performed by Francisco were not valued as sufficient to exercise a male breadwinner role, nor did they provide sufficient resources to collect "appropriate proofs" for family reunification. Francisco did not have the resources to comply with "adequate housing" and "financial autonomy" to bring his children to Switzerland. For instance, the calculations for "adequate housing" demand a number of square metres that the average wage of a worker in the cleaning sector could not afford. Similarly, the requisites of financial autonomy

in terms of full-time, long-term, stable job contracts are impossible to find in the cleaning sector. In this sense, the employment history of Francisco did not conform either to masculinity constructions or to social class-based constructions of "deserving" male migrants. In comparison with Peruvian male graduates in engineering (see Chapter 4), Peruvian migrant men in cleaning jobs had a harder time to gain recognition of requests for residential authorisations for them and family members.

In view of the social class dimension, it is interesting to note another difference between Francisco and Pilar. Francisco's occupational trajectory was rather continuous between Peru and Switzerland (low-skilled manual work), whereas Pilar obtained a university degree and a job commensurate with her skills before migration. Therefore, the social class dimension in the discourses about "deserving migrants" might suggest the accumulation or loss of resources across borders. Analysis of the work-citizenship dynamics should include the whole extent of occupational trajectories and address the demands for rights based on gender and social class in the home country. The figures of second-class citizens in Peru might be neutralised or reinforced in the noncitizen forms abroad.

II.5.4.5. From second-class citizens in Peru to non/citizen forms abroad

The assumption that non/citizenship barriers only happen after international migration is not accurate. Second-class citizenship exists in Peru and affects Peruvians' occupational trajectories: access to education and employment-based rights. As mentioned before, Peru shows stratification processes where the rural/urban divide combines with gender and ethnicity. In this sense, the capacity of Peruvian citizens to exercise rights is highly unequal (see Chapter 2 for details). In relation to education and employment, the barriers to access as second-class citizens have repercussions in social class positions in Peru. Some of them had the opportunity to emigrate and experienced forms of noncitizenship. In turn, social background has an influence on the legal and occupational trajectories abroad. The comparison of two stories show the ways in which second-class citizenship can be reinforced with noncitizenship abroad or neutralised by access to naturalisation abroad. Elsa's and Vanesa's stories show unequal effects of their social background in Peru on regularisation processes and employment outcomes in Switzerland.

Both experienced rural-urban migration and struggled to access education and employment-based rights. When they arrived in Lima in adolescence, both worked as live-in domestic employees without social insurances. In contrast with Elsa, Vanesa did not finish compulsory education in Peru. While Vanesa, single without children, embarked on onward migration from Argentina to

Spain led by her employer's mobility; Elsa, married with small children, arrived directly in Switzerland thanks to an acquaintance. Vanesa had legal authorisation to work in Argentina and Spain and finally obtained a Spanish passport. When she arrived in Switzerland in 2014 to work as a live-in care worker, she struggled with her employers to gain a residence permit. The employer refused to declare all of Vanesa's working hours. Drawing on legal consciousness earned at other destinations, she changed employer, helped the new employer to file the request and obtained the five-year residence permit for EU citizens. She recently started to work as a waitress in a restaurant. By contrast, Elsa arrived in Switzerland and overstayed her visa. She has always worked as an hourly-paid cleaning lady. While she remained in home-based jobs, most of her employers refused to declare her work and threatened her with dismissal. She finally convinced an employer to register her and pay social insurances and got the OASI card in 2014. After fourteen years of residence, she cannot embark on a *cas de rigueur* regularisation due to lack of proofs (e.g. job certificates, social insurance records, etc.). In contrast to Vanesa, the story of Elsa seems to accumulate negative work-citizenship dynamics from the home to the host country. She continues to perform precarious jobs and employment-based rights across borders. Vanesa's story shows the ways in which the acquisition of a second nationality can improve access to rights in comparison with second-class citizenship experiences back home.

To understand the dynamics of the work-citizenship dynamics in migration, the legal and occupational trajectories can be traced to the home country. The performative and relational dimensions show that citizenship is not synonymous with equal treatment or unproblematic exercise of rights. There are barriers to being recognised as a "deserving" citizen and accessing services for citizens. Consequently, the social background of second-class citizens in the home country have an influence in the legal consciousness and practices for request for residential authorisation abroad. Access to regularisation and naturalisation abroad can neutralise the background of second-class citizenship whereas entrapment in noncitizenship forms can reinforce downgrading experiences.

II.5.5. The dynamics of the work-citizenship matrix for regularisation

The main purpose of the chapter was to understand the ways in which employability criteria and employment history influence shifts in the non/citizenship continuum. The focus on the multiple paths to regularisation represented a particular setting to earn recognition as "deserving" citizens. In view of the earlier unauthorised spells, the interactions with actors at multiple levels and the

extent of migrants' agency showed unequal outcomes of requests for residential authorisations and their impact on employment conditions. In some cases, the employability criteria and employment history allowed migrant women to build up successful hardship cases whereas the opposite happened in relation to migrant men. Moreover, higher degrees of security for residence are not homogeneously translated into better positions in the labour market. Consequently, precarity in employment seems to be a source and a consequence of legal precarity. However, there are three dimensions that explain situations of upgrading, intermediate situations and downgrading in both legal and occupational trajectories. The analysis of these four stories thus suggests the importance of encounters between noncitizens and citizens, the gender- and social class-based discourses and the multi-directionality of pathways to understand the dynamics of the work-citizenship matrix.

First, encounters between migrants and other actors are considered turning points in migrants' pathways in the non/citizenship continuum. Everyday, unexpected or formal encounters represent the crystallisation of the negotiations of conditionality for residential authorisation and other rights abroad. Multiple actors engage in the recognition (or lack thereof) of demands for residential authorisation by mobilising discourses about the migrant population. In response, migrants develop tactics to enhance their chances of recognition. The encounters are followed by outcomes that influence legal trajectories and eventually occupational ones. Moreover, encounters can have accumulative effects or path-changing effects. The unequal discretionary power of actors influences the extent of the impact on legal and occupational trajectories. For instance, negotiations with employers who possess a high discretionary power in regularisation processes have important effects. In this sense, fostering good relationships with employers facilitates access to employment-based rights such as OASI cards, job contracts and certificates. Beside the transition from informal to formal jobs, the three elements can be helpful for building up a hardship case request. Since not all employers are willing to declare jobs, these migrant workers developed tactics that range from refusing undeclared jobs to combining declared and undeclared jobs.

Beside employers, there are individual and collective actors who influence the social learning process of migrants during the probationary stage as well as the legal consciousness and practices for regularisation demands. In doing this, unauthorised Peruvian workers also grasp structural and circumstantial opportunities. The former involves family networks, contacts with other migrants, associations and institutions, whereas the latter involve historical moments of political movements in favour of *sans papiers*. On the one hand, unauthorised migrants entertain relations with fellow migrants in other destinations and exchange information about pathways for regularisation and

278

successful cases. Thereby, migrants may develop legal consciousness and practices across the borders in the EU region; therefore, they might enact transnational tactics to gain residential authorisations. At the local and national levels, the advocacy associations and institutional actors are important gatekeepers of information and services. These migrants deal with institutional actors at school, employment offices, police stations, etc. and these actors may mis/guide them. Unauthorised migrants can also access services in associations such as counselling and language courses. On the other hand, migrants' political participation in *sans papiers* movements open pathways into regularisation and access to free legal counselling. Although federal authorities have refused collective regularisation requests systematically, the experience enhance the legal consciousness of unauthorised migrants to file individual hardship case requests afterwards.

The encounters with multiple actors in the negotiations of conditions show cumulative effects in regularisation processes. Daily encounters might pave the path into citizenship or create dead-end roads to stagnation in noncitizen forms. For instance, good employer-employee relations can lead to the acquisition of an OASI card and provide employment records to file a hardship case request; but misinformation and/or refusal of employers to pay social insurances can lead to entrapment in legal and occupational precarity. The first case of cumulative positive effects might foster the extent of migrants' agency to resist exploitation from employers and only accept formal jobs whereas the second case of negative cumulative effects might inhibit the capacity of migrants to counteract abusive situations for fear of dismissal and/or deportation.

Secondly, the gender and social class stratification processes influence discourses for regularisation and the dynamics of the work-citizenship matrix. In other words, gender and social class mediate regularisation outcomes and effects on occupational mobility abroad. Comparing successful and unsuccessful regularisation process based on *cas de rigueur*, Nestor's assessment emphasises the impact of gendered models of citizenship in deservingness frameworks: the male breadwinner citizen and the female caregiver citizen. Nestor's and Francisco's employment history made up of unstable part-time jobs might have been penalised against a male breadwinner norm of full-time stable employment. They were not considered "deserving" migrants based on their non-breadwinner position in the labour market and family. Both belonged to dual-earner households. In contrast, Pilar's employment experiences in Switzerland of home-based care jobs (and voluntary caregiving in associations) might have been rewarded. Interestingly, Pilar's transnational lone motherhood might also have been recognised positively using gender stereotypes of citizenship and migrant populations. Pilar personifies the female (migrant) caregiver role in comparison with

Pamela, who decided to exit the care sector to become a computer repairwoman and does not perform long-distance childcare. In addition, regularisation processes also show the mediation of social class. Although care and cleaning jobs show similar employment conditions, these jobs are unequally assessed in requests for residential authorisations. While the employment history of care jobs might be recognised for migrant women, the performance of cleaning jobs is not sufficient for migrant men. Access to financial resources and employment status also seems important to gather "appropriate" proofs for family reunification. Francisco struggled to show the "financial autonomy" and "adequate housing" requisites to immigration officials to reunify with his children. The fact of doing cleaning jobs did not favour the family reunification of these Peruvian men in contrast with their engineering graduates counterparts (see Chapter 4)

Finally, the multidirectional paths into and out of noncitizen forms and the unequal impact on employment abroad imply that the dynamics of the work-citizenship matrix are not straightforward. Since legal trajectories are not linear, Peruvians who have earned a residence permit do not always achieve occupational advancement or might even experience lapses into legal and employment precarity afterwards. The story of Pamela shows that possessing valid documents for residence is not synonymous with smooth pathways into security. Despite having an EU passport, she lingers between noncitizen forms. She was unsuccessful in job-hunting in other employment sectors than informal home-based care and cleaning. It seems that an employment history made up of care/cleaning jobs did not allow her to reconvert professionally regardless of citizenship. The early unauthorised spells in combination with precarious jobs thus might have long-term effects on occupational mobility and access to residential authorisations. However, those who do not possess any valid document and work in low-paid and unstable jobs are not necessarily condemned and can achieve legal and employment security later. Albeit with different regularisation processes, the stories of Pilar and Francisco show the ways in which noncitizenship is overcome but employment outcomes are unequal. For regularisation, the family reunification pathway happens much more frequently than the hardship case one. The former is based on the language of rights to family life whereas the latter refers to exceptional situations. Even though both are selective processes, occupational outcomes seem more favourable in the latter than the former.

Another important dimension is the meaning giving to transition towards citizenship abroad. The meaning of citizenship is not the same for all migrants based on their aspirations. Although residential authorisations and access to rights abroad is the main goal of unauthorised migrants' struggles, the acceptance of less illegal, half-way situations in the non/citizenship continuum also

happened. While Nestor highly praised the rewards of having an OASI card, Pamela was rather sceptical. One explanation is that Nestor plans to remain where his children were born while Pamela plans to exit the Swiss labour market and join her family in Argentina. For her, access to mobility rights by using the EU passport would be more important than residential authorisation in Switzerland. Therefore, the non/citizenship dynamics also show a symbolic dimension: migrants' perceptions about the value of citizenship influence the tactics of regularisation and identification processes (see Chapter 6).

II.5.6. Summary

The framework of non/citizenship complements a life-course analysis to disentangle the dynamics of the work-citizenship matrix. Here, the focus was on the influence of work on citizenship: the employability criteria in the discourses about "deserving migrants" and the impact of employment histories on regularisation outcomes. The results show non-linear paths. Neither overstaying a tourist visa nor possessing valid residence document determine univocally legal trajectories but they represent phases that might change into noncitizen forms or paths towards citizenship. There are regularisation and irregularisation processes coexisting in the same migration regime and migrants navigate for longer periods within noncitizen forms. Employability criteria play an important role in understanding upgrading and downgrading paths in legal trajectories. In addition, legal security does not translate homogeneously into better employment outcomes. Indeed, a long-term effect of noncitizenship spells might show entrapment in informal, part-time and poorly paid jobs. However, the regularisation processes also might be successful and have positive impacts on occupational mobility.

In view of the discourses for residential authorisations, access to regularisation pathways seems to be contingent on gender and social class divides. Gender models of citizenship and stereotypes of migrant populations mediate the mobilisation of employability criteria and the recognition (or lack thereof) of employment histories abroad for residential authorisations. In this sense, migrant women who adhere to the gender stereotypes of (migrant) female caregivers might use their employment history in the care sector to build up their demands for residential authorisations. In relation to the male breadwinner citizen role, migrant men cannot mobilise their employment history in part-time, unstable, poorly paid cleaning sectors to earn recognition of their claims. Although the cleaning and care sectors have similar employment conditions, the measures to earn recognition are different for migrant women and men: for the former, it seems to be about a

disposition to provide care and, for the latter, it is more about the employment conditions and status. This gender frame of deservingness might be the explanation for the higher rates of successful hardship cases for migrant women than for men: unauthorised migrant women can provide proofs of caregiving experience and disposition whereas unauthorised migrant men are not able to provide proofs of full-time stable employment abroad to fulfil the desired breadwinner role. Although there is a proliferation of precarious jobs in the global labour market, the positions are not equally recognised for migrant men and women in making demands for residential authorisations.

Given the assessment of employment conditions and status, the social class dimension thus seems more evident in the unfavourable regularisation outcomes for Peruvian men. However, migrant women who succeeded in regularisation seem to better capitalise on legal security to achieve upward occupational mobility in the care sector (see Chapter 7). The female-dominated success in *cas de rigueur*, the most selective form of regularisation, seems to show better employment outcomes than the most frequent and less restrictive family reunification processes. Interestingly, Pilar had experienced full-time, stable, skilled employment in Peru whereas Nestor and Francisco had predominantly done poorly paid and less skilled jobs back home. In this sense, Pilar might have also succeeded in the hardship case request by mobilising social class privileges from the home country (e.g. educational credentials, job certificates, etc.). Self-selection or pre-selection mechanisms based on social class might be also an explanation. The analysis of the impact of social class on the work-citizenship matrix should therefore include the background in the home country.

Finally, the forms of positioning across borders are pertinent to assess the outcomes of regularisation processes and effects on occupational mobility. Although those who belong to the urban middle classes and are university-educated have better chances of accessing regularisation and capitalising on it in the labour market (Pilar's story), noncitizenship also neutralises those privileges (Pamela's story). However, unfavourable background from the home country can be overcome. Those who experienced second-class citizenship in Peru might enhance the exercise of rights and access to services by acquiring a second nationality abroad (Vanesa's story). For others, second-class citizenship in the home country might be transformed into noncitizen forms abroad to sustain precarious access to rights and employment conditions across borders (Elsa's story). Beside the citizenship background, the transnational forms of belongings influence the value given to non/citizenship by Peruvian men and women abroad. Those who plan to settle assign greater value to pathways to regularisation than those who plan to settle elsewhere. For the former, access

282

to employment-based rights represents a social security safety net for the future (Nestor's story). For the latter, access to mobility authorisation might be more important than authorisation to reside and work (Pamela's story). In this sense, non/citizenship dynamics have a symbolic dimension that interacts with social positionings. In the following chapter, I discuss the ways in which non/citizenship becomes a marker of status for in-group hierarchies where migrants (re)create socio-legal categories to assess the deservingness for leadership and participation in migrant associations.

Part II - Chapter 6

"Permits and degrees": struggles for recognition in immigrant associations in Switzerland

Introduction

Drawing on the relational and performative analysis of non/citizenship dynamics, the questions about the perceptions and uses of socio-legal categories by migrants seems pertinent. This chapter addresses the instrumental dimension of citizenship from a particular angle. Drawing on the global inequality that places unequal value on countries' citizenships, the instrumental turn has focused on the utility of dual citizenship to enhance social and physical mobility across borders (see Chapter 12 for EU mobility rights). Another dimension of instrumentality is the perception and use of citizenship as a status symbol. As mentioned previously, the multiple forms of non/citizenship are differently perceived, valued and enacted in relation to migrants' positioning in a transnationally stratified space. The mobilisation of citizenship serves to reinforce, neutralise and change cross-border stratification processes on multiple levels. For instance, encounters between compatriots shed light on the ways in which citizenship is mobilised to (re)create in-group hierarchies. The analysis of migrant associations displays the use of citizenship as a status symbol to discern who deserves membership and leadership. The perceptions and uses of citizenship intersect with social positionings that evoke the subjective and performative dimensions of gender and social class stratification across borders.

The intersections of citizenship, gender and social class have been important to understand the dynamics of the work-citizenship matrix in terms of transitions, frames and trajectories in the non/citizenship continuum. Here, the focus on migrant associations provides a setting to address the transnational references of gender, social class and citizenship for narratives of self-positioning and positioning of others, and the role of volunteering in these associations for occupation mobility. Interactions with compatriots in migrant associations provide a setting for the (re)interpretations of references from "here" and "there" to gain local prestige and a socio-economic platform for ethnic business.

The mobilisation of citizenship to select members and leaders of migrant associations and the opportunities for ethnic business abroad advance the understanding of social class in migration

experiences. While processes of gendering and racialisation of migrant careers are increasingly discussed (Kofman & Raghuram, 2015; Schrover et al., 2007; Scrinzi, 2013), analysis of migrants' social class membership and practices is often absent from the current literature (Fresnoza-Flot & Shinozaki, 2017). On the one hand, revisiting the social class debate in Migration Studies should include transnational frames of reference that show coherence and discrepancy between "here" and "there" (Fresnoza-Flot, 2017; Leung, 2017). These processes of identification with class positions happen in relation to others, migrants and non-migrants, at multiple levels. For instance, the occupational aspirations and self/positioning of migrant men and women crystallise during interactions with compatriots abroad: Peruvians in immigrant associations evoke citizenship as a marker of distinction to address un/desirable members and leaders such as women without legal residence or reunified female spouses.

On the other hand, the study of local and global networks of compatriots, such as ethnic business and voluntary associations, can help to understand migrants' occupational (im)mobility (Handy & Greenspan, 2009; Sundeen, Garcia, & Raskoff, 2009; Yoon, 1991). The existing literature on these types of ethnic networks is rather ambivalent as to their influence on migrants' career opportunities: some studies have emphasised the closure, wage penalty and conflict associated with self-employment in ethnic business (Yoon, 1991), while other studies have shown how ethnic businesses and informal networks (e.g. through voluntary work) provide support and potential stepping-stones to better and more stable employment (McIlwaine & Bermúdez, 2011; Roth, Seidel, Ma, & Lo, 2012; Tomlinson, 2010). Interestingly, business and volunteering might use the same co-ethnic networks to combine paid and unpaid work and achieve recognition of qualifications.

In relation to citizenship as a status symbol, this chapter contributes to a broader understanding of social class. One dimension of social class, the location of individuals in the stratified labour market, has been privileged over other subjective dimensions (Fresnoza-Flot & Shinozaki, 2017). Given its multidimensional nature, I focus on social class as performance (P. F. Kelly, 2012), i.e. the meanings given to voluntary work in migrant associations for occupational trajectories and in the encounters with co-nationals for assessments of prestige in migration. Since social class is not only contained in discrete national settings of class relations and identities, the comparison of socio-economic positions in home and host countries is not straightforward. In view of non/citizenship dynamics, migration brings to the fore the spatiality of social class. In this sense, transnationalism means that "(…) occupational type and prospects for mobility in one society are assessed relative to those in another (…) the juxtaposition of different understandings of what class means (…) the

establishment of co-ethnic communities at destination that provide alternative conceptions of class" (P. F. Kelly, 2012, p. 164).

In this chapter, volunteering in migrant associations represents sites of self/positioning using markers from "here" and "there" and tactics for occupational mobility (Tomlinson, 2010). Although social class intersects with citizenship and gender, comparative research on volunteering experiences of migrant men and women is rather scarce (McIlwaine & Bermúdez, 2011). In order to analyse meanings and practices linked to migrant associations, I examine the experiences of Peruvian men and women in dual-sex occupational and cultural associations as well as in unisex fundraising and sports associations in French and German-speaking regions of Switzerland. This analysis of volunteering amongst Peruvians also contributes to research on recent immigrants' civic participation according to sub-national variations in Switzerland (Kriesi & Baglioni, 2003; Manatschal & Stadelmann-Steffen, 2014).

Drawing on a dynamic lens for the work-citizenship matrix, I present the ways in which volunteering interacts with non/citizenship markers to assess the local prestige of migrants in associations and platforms for ethnic business. Narratives about membership and leadership recreate hierarchies among co-nationals according to un/desired migrant figures based on gender, class and citizenship. Interestingly, "permits and degrees" are referred more to assess Peruvian women than their male counterparts: not only women without residence authorisations are undervalued but also reunified female spouses without university degrees. In addition, volunteering represents occupational mobility tactics according to gender: immigrant men's practices seem to be closer to ethnic business opportunities related to associations' activities while immigrant women's practices seem to channel their unrecognised occupational experiences more into unpaid work for associations. These results about citizenship and class subjectivities as well as occupational mobility tactics provide a sociocultural framework to understand the subsequent Part III about positions and process of occupational attainment.

This chapter is structured into five sub-sections. After briefly presenting how voluntary work is related to migrants' perceptions and uses of citizenship for (self-)positioning narratives in relation to co-nationals and the tactics from occupational mobility based on these compatriot networks (1), I then go on to review how the volunteering of non-EU foreigners combines gender and nationality in Switzerland, and the volunteering in Peru (2). After presenting the research participants under analysis (3), I go on to present the forms of prestige assessment amongst Peruvians for membership

and leadership (4.1) and the gendered impact of volunteering on occupational trajectories (4.2). Finally, I present some final remarks (5).

II.6.1. Instrumental turn in citizenship studies

The instrumental turn sheds light on the ways in which migrants perceive and use citizenship forms. There is a movement away from the conception of national membership based on exclusivity and territoriality (Harpaz, 2018; Harpaz & Mateos, 2018; Joppke, 2018). The analysis thus includes the instrumental practices of acquisition and use of citizenship and the instrumental attitude towards nationality. While Chapter 12 addresses the use of dual nationality to earn mobility rights, this chapter discusses the instrumental attitudes towards citizenship as a symbol of status. Beside the unequal allocation of rights abroad, the bottom-up lens emphasises the utilisation of the non/citizenship forms by migrants to (re)create in-group stratification: from naturalised to unauthorised migrants. Consequently, the ways in which migrants narrate self-positioning and the positioning of others show the perceptions and uses of citizenship to gain status and prestige in relation to other migrant and non-migrant actors.

Since citizenship address stratification processes between nation-states, it also sheds light on the dynamics of transnational frames of reference that migrants use to perform self-positioning and positioning of others. At intersections with gender and social class, migrants mobilise citizenship as a symbol of status to gain prestige in relation to compatriots and fellow migrants locally and globally. In encounters with co-nationals abroad, migrants negotiate references from "here" and "there" to (re)create in-group hierarchies. Instead of reproducing social orders from the home country, migrant can negotiate alternative sources of identification and renew forms of stratification abroad. The social location within the non/citizenship continuum represents a social marker to negotiate a position in a global stratified order. The interactions in migrant associations represents a setting to grasp the (re)creation of in-group hierarchies mobilising citizenship, social class and gender.

After showing the influence of social class and gender in the work-citizenship matrix, here, I am interested in the perceptions and uses of non/citizenship forms to understand forms of self-positioning and positioning of compatriots abroad. As mentioned previously, the perceptions and practices of citizenship are understood as part of migrants' tactics to improve positions in the global order. Like citizenship, the analysis of social class considers perceptions and practices to negotiate (self-)positioning beyond employment outcomes abroad. The narrative dimensions of stratification processes are analysed in the setting of co-national interactions in migrant associations.

II.6.1.1. Citizenship, social class and gender in volunteering and migrant associations

Volunteering has been associated with the public unpaid labour of middle-class women (R. F. Taylor, 2005). Although relevant research on voluntary work has already questioned those stereotypes, I focus on the citizenship, gender and social class meanings and practices linked to volunteering in immigrant associations. In this sense, I explore the corresponding membership hierarchies recreated amongst migrants and the role of volunteering in occupational mobility. These co-national relations represent settings for subjective understanding of un/successful migration in terms of class, citizenship and gender. They might also represent socio-economic platforms for occupational mobility.

While Migration Studies have increasingly implemented intersectional analysis of gender, ethnicity and citizenship, interest in social class (Van Hear, 2014) and analysis of the subjective construction of social class have been scarcer (Fresnoza-Flot & Shinozaki, 2017). As stated by Beverly Skeggs (1997b), social class categorisations involve processes of subjective construction: the recognition of others' evaluations, representations of oneself and accommodations to assigned positions. Beside positions in hierarchical ordering and relationships in labour processes, social class is also a performance – everyday understandings of own identities and those of others in class terms (P. F. Kelly, 2012). Although subjective understanding of class may be inconsistent with class positions and processes, all the dimensions are interrelated, that is, "one can choose, within limits, how to articulate one's class identity, but one has much less freedom to choose one's class" (P. F. Kelly, 2012, p. 159). Gender and citizenship influence access to and are constitutive of social class. As mentioned previously, the position in the non/citizenship continuum has an influence on employment outcomes abroad. Here, non/citizenship as a social marker also participates in the subjective construction of oneself and others in migrant experiences. The intersections between social class and citizenship cross the borders of nation-states materially and subjectively.

In migration experiences, social class analysis needs to consider multiple spatial scales. Indeed, national settings have been considered as containers of labour positions and processes, and class identities (P. F. Kelly, 2012). Drawing on a transnational framework, space is, however, a constitutive element of social class. In particular, migration creates cross-cultural encounters, co-ethnic communities and transnational links that provide alternative, in-between and simultaneous conceptions of social class (P. F. Kelly, 2012, p. 164). The analysis of social class therefore needs to consider transnational frames of reference as the ways in which migrant interpret their locally and

transnationally embedded experiences (Fresnoza-Flot & Shinozaki, 2017, p. 875). In view of co-national networks as settings for transnational frames of reference, migrant associations contain meanings and practices of social class, gender and citizenship. In other words, volunteering in migrant associations involves the assessment of migrants' un/successful social mobility along gender and citizenship lines.

Since migration experiences shed light on the spatiality of social class, stratification across borders includes positions in the non/citizenship continuum between secure and precarity of presence abroad. The mobilisation of citizenship as a symbol of status by migrants is related to the discourses about residential authorisation and other services. As mentioned previously, the work of conditionality includes the extent of migrants' agency to achieve the recognition of their claims in encounters with state and non-state authorities. In this sense, migrants develop legal consciousness and tactics in relation to the criteria for un/deserving foreigners. Beside the global hierarchy of countries' citizenship, the mobilisation of citizenship by migrants thus borrows, transforms or criticises the formal and informal criteria used in the negotiation of conditions. For instance, social class and gender intervene in the assessment of the employability criteria for access to work permits, fast-track naturalisation and regularisation pathways. Beyond encounters with state authorities, migrants mobilise discourses about "deserving migrants" to (re)create in-group stratification. In this sense, non/citizenship forms are used to position oneself and others in a continuum of un/deserving foreigners. Focusing on the local settings, the interactions with compatriots in migrant associations represent another dimension of the instrumentality of citizenship. Beside formal access to services and presence abroad, citizenship might be a source of prestige in relation to other compatriots and fellow migrants. In addition, other forms of positioning and subjectivities are based on plural non/citizen forms. Research highlights the participation of unauthorised immigrants in associations (Cordero-Guzmán, 2005; Margheritis, 2007; McIlwaine & Bermúdez, 2011; Yu, 2013). Beside showing the participation of migrants with multiple non/citizen forms, socio-legal categories are used to unequally recognise the volunteering of migrants in associations. In line with transnational social class positioning, non/citizenship influences gendered hierarchies regarding membership and leadership in volunteering.

As Susan Ainsworth et al. state, "gendered dynamics of volunteering can be a mechanism of empowerment for women but at the same time reinforce the expectations and constraints of their more traditional roles" (2014, p. 42). Gender hierarchies related to membership, leadership and participation in associations are also embedded in a larger context that might enable or hinder

women's participation (Lindell, 2011; Petrzelka, 2006). In particular, the links of voluntary work to occupational mobility display gendered interdependencies of occupational and family trajectories[40] (Windebank, 2008). While working-class women seem more active in migrant associations than their middle-class counterparts, participation and leadership is easier for women later in the life-course when children have grown up than for men (McIlwaine & Bermúdez, 2011). Furthermore, participation is highly gendered: women tend to volunteer in caregiving, welfare and social services, whereas men predominate in emergency services, professional associations and sports (Ainsworth et al., 2014; McIlwaine & Bermúdez, 2011; Windebank, 2008).

The gender dimensions of volunteering influence the relations between volunteering and occupational trajectories. In view of the dynamics of the work-citizenship matrix, employment history influences the mobilisation of non/citizenship and social class positioning. The in-group hierarchies thus are dynamic. While migrants might capitalise on citizenship and social class positioning to earn prestige in migrant associations, volunteering also influences occupational trajectories by providing a potential stepping-stone into ethnic business. Consequently, the interactions of volunteering and employment help to understand what is at stake when negotiating local prestige (or not) in migrant associations.

II.6.1.2. A life-course perspective on the voluntary work of migrants

Contrary to the literature about migrant politics and mobilisation (Però & Solomos, 2010), current research on volunteering and immigrant associations is rather ambivalent as to the impact of voluntary work on migrant's employment trajectories. However, the results from both types of literature reveal some common features. For migrants, voluntary work might provide proof of integration, a transition to paid employment, a stepping-stone into ethnic business, a way of exercising unrecognised occupations, etc. (Cordero-Guzmán, 2005; E. Fong & Shen, 2016; Handy & Greenspan, 2009; Jacobs & Tillie, 2004; Schrover & Vermeulen, 2005; Tomlinson, 2010; Yu, 2013). Consequently, volunteering is linked to occupational transitions and effects migrants' employment. A life-course approach is thus suitable to study the interactions of paid and voluntary work over time.

---

[40] Indeed, studies have explored the ways in which volunteer work fits into the overall gender division of labour. A gender division of voluntary work seems to depend on working time patterns, the provision of childcare services and the household division of domestic work.

II.6.1.2.1. The role of voluntary work for migrants

Linked to other concepts such as the third sector (non-profit organisations, community engagement and non-family care work), volunteering seems to challenge a univocal concept of formal and unpaid work (Hustinx, Cnaan, & Handy, 2010). Some studies have privileged a dynamic approach to the plurality, interdependence and evolution of voluntary work (Hustinx, 2010; R. F. Taylor, 2005; Williams, 2011). Consequently, voluntary work is related to other forms of labour across different domains – state, market, not-for-profit, community and household – and its activities may shift from unpaid to paid or from non-market to market in response to economic, cultural and political changes (Taylor, 2016, p. 489).

 In Migration Studies, much research on volunteering has shown the existence of different forms of organisations across time and countries (Moya, 2005; Schrover & Vermeulen, 2005), as well as the social capital linked to membership and to relations between associations (Jacobs & Tillie, 2004), to conclude their importance for the integration (Cordero-Guzmán, 2005; E. Fong & Shen, 2016; Handy & Greenspan, 2009) and political participation of immigrants (Caglar, 2006; Margheritis, 2007; Morales & Pilati, 2014; Però & Solomos, 2010). Despite the predominance of cross-sectional analysis, some studies have highlighted the history of immigration streams to understand the evolution of associations at different destinations (Moya, 2005; Schrover & Vermeulen, 2005). Furthermore, some studies have focused on gender relations in associations, particularly to explain limitations to women's participation (Lindell, 2011; McIlwaine & Bermúdez, 2011). Fewer studies have focused on the diachronic dimension of volunteering in migrant associations and its effects on occupational mobility. In addition, migrant associations may represent settings for positioning oneself and others in relation to co-nationals. In this sense, transnational frames of reference are enacted and transformed to assess un/desirable members of migrant associations along gender, social class and citizenship divides.

II.6.2. Migrant associations in Peru and Switzerland

Despite the scarcity of data, a survey in 1998 showed that 31% of the Peruvian population reported volunteering in non-profit organisations (Portocarrero Suárez, 2001; Sanborn, Cueva, Portocarrero, List, & Salamon, 1999). More cautious estimations stated that volunteering represents 2.9% of non-agricultural work (Sanborn et al., 1999). In addition, grassroots organisations, mutual aid networks and religious philanthropy have a long history in Peru. "Andean reciprocity" – considered one of the organisational principles of pre-Hispanic societies – is frequently invoked as a precursor to

contemporary forms of solidarity. To compensate for the state's deficient service provision, massive rural-urban migration from the middle of the 20th century contributed to the development of co-ethnic networks and hometown associations in big cities as well as organisations of female neighbours to provide meals and other welfare services in poor urban districts (Portocarrero Suárez, 2001). It is important to note that the non-profit sector also represents one of the biggest employers in Peru (Sanborn et al., 1999). For instance, many middle-class professionals work for NGOs and cooperation agencies (multilateral development and religious organisations).

In contrast, 20% of the Swiss population was involved in unpaid activities for associations in 2013 (FSO, 2015). Given that Switzerland is a federal state with an important subsidiary principle, local associations play an important role in political decision-making and service provision (Kriesi & Baglioni, 2003). In addition, differences in policy-making and practices at sub-national levels such as between French and German-speaking cantons are considerable (Kriesi & Baglioni, 2003). There are also important gender differences: women are more engaged in informal voluntary work (23.2% in contrast to 17.9% of men) related to caregiving for neighbours, friends and extended family members and are less engaged in volunteering for associations than men: 13.8% and 22.2%, respectively (FSO, 2015). Although sports and cultural associations are the most popular for both sexes, charity and religious organisations are more popular for women, and advocacy associations are more popular for men (FSO, 2015, p. 6).

In addition, research on the impact of integration policies on immigrants' volunteering reveals cantonal variations (Manatschal & Stadelmann-Steffen, 2014). Results show that immigrants' access to public employment (e.g. cantonal openness towards immigrants regarding jobs in public administration) and balance between demands for cultural adaptation (e.g. degree of cultural integration required for naturalisation and the conditions of language skills for residence permits) and cultural rights are associated with higher levels of volunteering (Manatschal & Stadelmann-Steffen, 2014). Although the German-speaking cantons show higher levels of volunteering than the French-speaking ones (Kriesi & Baglioni, 2003), the rural German cantons seem to have the most restricted immigration politics (Wichmann et al., 2011). Consequently, I examine sub-national differences in the selection of Peruvian associations.

II.6.3. Methodological precisions

For this section, I chose to analyse the experiences of volunteers, mostly through participant observation in a series of migrant association events as well as biographical interviews with

members of these associations. Field notes were collected between 2014 and 2017 in various settings (soccer matches, fundraising activities, Peruvian music concerts, Peruvian Independence Day festivities, etc.[41]). Interview data are based on 17 biographical interviews in Spanish with members and leaders (seven women and ten men) of seven Peruvian associations in the French-speaking and German-speaking regions of Switzerland (see Table B in Annexes pages 24 - 25).

In the course of my fieldwork, I observed the following voluntary activities: Peruvian volunteers who contribute to development projects in Peru with funds raised in Switzerland, volunteers who help with organising cultural and sport events and high-skilled Peruvians who promote the signature of exchange agreements between Swiss and Peruvian institutions. Most of them have acquired long-term residence authorisation based on family reunification. None of these associations have any paid staff. They were created at different moments, the oldest in 1989 and the newest in 2014. The dates of creation correspond to some features of Peruvian migration to Switzerland: from 261 men and 231 women in 1981 to 3038 men and 5830 women in 2011 (FSO, 2016b). This evolution might be related to the early creation of sports and cultural associations that have unauthorised migrants as members, and the recent creation of professional associations that have selective requirements for membership, i.e. university degrees. Although it is not a formal requirement, members have Peruvian nationality in all associations. Likewise, single sex associations do not have formal requirements related to gender, but in practice, soccer teams are only male, and the "Chachani" fundraising association is entirely made up of women. Gender mixed cultural associations not only have both female and male members but also leaders of both sexes. However, one professional association is male-dominated, "Profesionales por el Perú" (PPP), and the other is female-dominated, "Científicos Peruanos" (CP).

To understand the interactions among co-nationals in migrant associations, I discuss the organisation and development of one event in each association by briefly presenting excerpts from my field notes. The events described take place regularly (e.g. once a year) so they represent the most frequent forms of organisation in a particular association. The goal is to show who did what in all the stages of the events. I also present the ways in which I participated, as simple spectator or formal member.

---

[41] See Annex 1 for a complete list of events.

II.6.3.1. Peruvian Independence Day Festivities

Every year, the "Hijos del Sol" association organises an event to commemorate the Peruvian Independence Day ("28 de Julio") in a big French-speaking city. The Board members[42] are in charge of all aspects of the organisation: booking the venue, looking for sponsors, drawing up a schedule of cultural performances, hiring dancers, musical groups and catering services, recruiting volunteers, etc. There had recently been a female president, but, as a rule woman are usually treasurers and secretaries while men are regularly presidents and vice-presidents. Although unauthorised migrants can be Board members, the presidents have always been naturalised Swiss. The event brings together some 150-200 people. The coordination begins 3-4 months before the event at the end of July. Drawing on prior experience, some tasks are routine: they know who to talk to, where to go, and how to do it – for instance, booking the venue. However, other tasks are less predictable, e.g. hiring the catering services and the musical groups, since they are subject to the attendees' evaluations. Conflicts often arise here. On the day of the event, the Board members gather at the venue early in the morning. They organise the arrival of volunteers to help with different activities during the whole day: the food, the bar, the sound system, the performances, etc. One member of the committee contacted me via phone or text messages to ask me to volunteer. I participated in the morning to install chairs and tables and then in the afternoon/evening in the bar and food stations. The volunteers are usually family and friends of the Board members. Not all of them are Peruvians, there can also be Swiss spouses of Peruvian members and Central and South American (CSA) friends from the Catholic Church. Those who staff the bar or cash registers are predominantly the Swiss spouses, offspring of bi-national families or close Peruvian friends of the board members, whereas those who arrange chairs and tables, install the sound system and prepare some Peruvian desserts tend to be un/authorised Peruvian men and women. The attendees are also regulars: Swiss-Peruvian families who live nearby and go to enjoy a Peruvian meal in the afternoon and return to dance in the evening. The event finishes after midnight and the Board members of stay later, to clear up.

II.6.3.2. The finals of the football amateur league

---

[42] Albeit with some variations, all the Peruvian associations that I encountered have an Executive Board consisting of a president, vice-president, treasurer, communications officer and secretary.

The "Chan Chan" association is devoted to playing soccer in the amateur league of the French-speaking region of Switzerland. The Board members[43] organise player recruitment, training and participation in soccer matches against other teams. While all of the Board members are Peruvians, the players can be from other countries (e.g. African and Latin American countries). Unauthorised migrants are members of the executive committee and players. Unauthorised migrants have also acted as president or trainer in the past. During the football season, there is a match every Sunday. The association also organises fundraising events to buy kit and other supplies and organised transportation and amenities to watch the Peruvian team play anywhere in Switzerland. Although I went only once to a Sunday match, I attended the final play-offs of the amateur league in a German-speaking city. I received the invitation via Facebook (e.g. public event). The champions of the French-speaking region played against those from the German-speaking region. "Chan Chan" won several matches and was invited to take part. For this occasion, the association also organised the transportation and amenities (e.g. banners, music, food and drinks) to support the team on a Sunday in another city. Since the supporters are predominantly the family of the players, they invited friends to gather a bigger group. Each participant paid for the transport, food and drinks. Here, the men are the players and friends while the women are the wives and daughters. However, those who are in bi-national marriages rarely bring along their Swiss spouses. The Peruvian spouses prepare the food and the Peruvian players buy the drinks. During the match, the wives talk with one another and collectively supervise their children. They are friends who have known one another for several years and meet up at other events. The main conflicts revolve around absences for training sessions and late arrival at soccer matches. When the team lost the final match, disagreements arose about how to coach the players and their lack of discipline. For example, one of the best players, a Peruvian man, arrived with a hangover that prevented him from playing.

II.6.3.3. Fundraising events for humanitarian projects in Peru

"Chachani" is an association focused on organising fundraising events to finance humanitarian projects in Peru. Most of the projects are related to the health and education of children. Every year, they organise two events: a cocktail party and a buffet dinner. I received the invitations to attend these events via email and text messages and I attended both as a contributor. The Board is composed of Peruvian women. All of them are authorised migrants, and most of them gained long-

---

[43] Beside the president of the association, there is a trainer of the football team.

term residence authorisation by means of marriage to an EU/Swiss spouse. They organise all aspects of the events: reaching out to sponsors, sending invitations, booking the venue, hiring the caters, etc. For the first event, the Board members worked in collaboration with the Peruvian Embassy[44] since the cocktails were to be served in the Ambassador's residence. He also offers the catering services. They get in touch with Peruvian or Swiss musicians to perform and gather donations from sponsors for a raffle. For the second event, the organisation is similar except for the location and catering services. With help of the cantonal authorities, they booked another venue and hired a Peruvian chef to prepare a buffet meal. People working in the Embassy attended the event. A Peruvian music group played between courses and attendees danced to Peruvian music until midnight. The number of attendees was restricted to 40-80 persons, and the fees for drinks and food were higher than at other Peruvian events. There is a formal dress code, and there are as many Peruvian attendees as Swiss ones. They are mostly family and friends of the Board members. At the beginning of the events, the president gives a speech to thank people and explains the purpose of the fundraising. They circulate brochures with photos of the projects in Peru. During the events, the members play the role of hostess: engage in conversation, introduce people to one another and initiate the activities. People who have attended or heard about both events told me about their "exclusive" character. The presence of diplomatic authorities, the dress code, the entrance fees and the restricted list of invitations reinforce this idea.

II.6.3.4. Vintage festivities to raise funds for cultural activities and social projects

The association "Kuelap" participates in Vintage festivals to raise funds for their cultural activities and social projects. This is a huge festival in Switzerland. They have a stand at the festival where they offer Peruvian cocktails and food. I participated as a volunteer to attend to the stand. The president contacted me via Facebook. The board members organised the fundraising event: reaching out to volunteers, gathering sponsors to provide or purchase food or drinks, installing the stand and delivering the products, etc. The Board is made up of Peruvians and Swiss members. However, the presidents have always been Peruvian and recently a woman was president. The Peruvian members are naturalised by means of family reunification and have known each another

---

[44]In Switzerland, there is a Peruvian Embassy in Bern and three Peruvian Consulates in Geneva, Bern and Zurich. Geneva's consulate coordinates with most of the Peruvian associations in French-speaking cantons, Bern's consulate coordinates with French and German-speaking cantons in the middle of the country, and Zurich's consulate coordinates with Peruvian associations in German-speaking cantons. These diplomatic actors might mediate relations with Swiss institutions, except for Swiss universities.

for several years. The children have participated in the association's activities from a young age. There is a generational replacement with the Peruvian-Swiss adult children of the founders progressively becoming Board members. During the event, the family members of the president (e.g. siblings and spouse) were the main volunteers for installing the stand and transporting the food and beverages. The Swiss friends of her children run the bar. The main custumers were Swiss people who lived in the city and already knew about the association and/or had met the president. Next to the stand they installed tables and a sound system. At night, they put music on for people to dance to. The funds go to finance the purchase of materials for schools in Peru.

II.6.3.5. Peruvian Professionals Conference Event

The male-dominated association of Peruvian professionals (PPP) organised its' first conference on the future of Peru. Membership is by invitation only and all of the members are Peruvians naturalised Swiss. Two years after the creation of the association, the Board members decided to organise a conference. The president coordinated with the Peruvian Embassy and the speakers as well as the catering services. He actively participated in drawing up the guest list. I received the printed invitation from the Embassy. Most of the members are Peruvian men with university degrees from Switzerland, Peru or elsewhere. Four of them delivered a presentation on a topic in relation to their occupational activity (e.g. national security, social work, sustainable development, etc.). The two female members did not make a presentation, but they performed the role of hostesses: welcoming the attendees, seating the VIP guests, providing the "thank you" gifts to sponsors, etc. They invited the Peruvian Ambassador, who also gave a speech. He also helped them to find the location for the conference, sent printed invitations by post and sponsored the Peruvian cocktails at the end of the event. People who work in the Peruvian Embassy were present along with employees from Embassies of other Latin American countries. Some diplomatic officials attended but left before the end. The audience asked questions after each presentation. Questions about political distress and poverty in Peru were addressed to the Ambassador. Moments of tension arose. At the end of the presentations, the Ambassador announced the award of the Peruvian Foreign Relations Secretary "Achievement of Peruvians abroad" prize to the president of the association. The room was, however, not full. The only members of the association present were all Board members.

II.6.3.6. The Creation of an Association of Peruvian Researchers

The female-dominated "Científicos Peruanos" (CP) association was created at a meeting organised by a Peruvian Consul. I received a phone call from a Board member of the "Hijos del Sol" association. He told me that the Consul was organising a meeting of Peruvians working in universities in Switzerland. I told him I was interested, and he gave me a phone number. My call was answered by Eva. She told me the date, timeand place of the meeting, and we arranged to go there together by car. The day of the meeting I met Eva for the first time and another Peruvian female graduate assistant. Eva drove us to the Consulate. In the car, we talked about ourselves. Eva had been the teacher of the Peruvian graduate years earlier. Both work in SSH faculties of Swiss universities. When we arrived, we met the other guests. All of them were Peruvian men. I also met for the first time the Consul who welcomed us with drinks and finger food. We sat around a table and introduced ourselves: degrees, profession and employment. The three Peruvian men were an archaeologist working in a museum, a psychologist working in a hospital and a bank CEO. The purpose of the meeting was known beforehand, and Eva had already prepared a document. The document explained the goals of the association and the rules for membership and election to the Board. Whereas the goals of the associations were quickly discussed – promoting networking of Peruvian professionals in Switzerland, and between universities in both countries – the membership criteria were discussed at greater length – the requirement of university degrees. The majority agreed to impose the university degree requirement. Then, the Consul asked us to distribute the Board functions. The bank CEO agreed to be the president, Eva agreed to be the treasurer and I agreed to be the secretary. Except for me, the executive committee members are all Peruvians naturalised Swiss. We ended the meeting by agreeing on the date of the next meeting, this time in the home of Eva, who sent us her address. She drove me back home.

The brief descriptions of the activities of these six associations aim to describe the most distinctive features of their internal organisation, membership pool and dynamics. The idea is to understand the gender, nationality and citizenship composition of the Board and the assignment of positions and tasks during the activities I attended. Similarly, the description of attendees conveys the larger audience, the institutional support and the role of family and friends within each association. In the following section, I analyse in detail the informal and formal criteria mobilised in relation to membership and leadership in the Peruvian associations. Then I discuss the potential effects of volunteering as a platform for employment.

II.6.4. Volunteering in Peruvian Associations in Switzerland

The practices and meanings of voluntary work in Peruvian associations in Switzerland demonstrate inequalities based on social class, gender and citizenship status. First, I analyse membership and leadership as examples of in-group categorisations. Indeed, transnational frames of reference played a role in processes of (self-)pos^§1itioning in relation to co-nationals and (self-)assessments of un/successful migrants. Secondly, I analyse the relationship between volunteering and occupational trajectories: interactions between paid and unpaid labour as steeping stones in occupational mobility and alternative sources of recognition for qualifications. Also, I consider the gendered interdependencies with family situations.

II.6.4.1 Narratives of positioning

The mobilisation of non/citizenship forms to gain (or not) recognition for leadership potential and membership in migrant associations follows gender and social class divides. Lack of legal status (e.g. unauthorised migration) but also "suspicious" dependent pathways to settlement (e.g. sham marriages) are used to discredit volunteers. The ambiguity in relation to citizenship is differently perceived for women and men: bi-national marriages are mobilised to assess women's leadership capacity whereas men's competences are more linked to the acquisition of educational credentials. Moreover, the recognition of educational credentials is unequal. In interactions with Peruvian institutions in Switzerland, male-dominated occupations receive more recognition than female-dominated ones.

These processes occur to different degrees according to the type of association: I start the discussion with the relationship between Peruvian institutions and associations; then I discuss the social class subjectivities mobilised in volunteering and, finally I present the discourses about "toxic femininities" in professional and fundraising associations, compared to masculinities in professional and sports associations.

II.6.4.1.1. Gendered qualifications

Recognition by diplomatic representatives of Peru in Switzerland as well as other Swiss political institutions is essential for immigrant associations to accomplish their goals and sustain their activities. However, recognition of voluntary work seems to vary according to the type of association concerned.

While soccer teams that accept unauthorised members complain about a lack of support from the Peruvian Embassy and have an autonomous functioning, the female-only fundraising association

composed of women with Swiss/EU spouses receives the Embassy's support for organising events. In fact, members of the soccer teams have never been invited to Embassy events. In contrast, Chachani's events are held at the Ambassador's residence with the attendance of diplomatic representatives. In view of the social class and citizenship of members of these associations, key actors seems to recognise voluntary work in line with traditional gender roles: *well-married* Peruvian women doing fundraising in favour of children rather than unauthorised Peruvian men playing soccer.

Moreover, the recognition of women's voluntary work outside of charity associations seems limited. The PPP male-dominated professional association receives support from the Peruvian Embassy to organise conferences and to get in touch with Swiss political institutions. Científicos Peruanos (CP) a female-dominated association, created at the same time, receives another message. In a diplomatic event to celebrate the voluntary work of Peruvian associations on December 2014, a female member of CP presented herself to the Ambassador and told him about the association. He answered: *"You should get more engineers in your association in order to be valuable for the Embassy. There are a lot of social sciences and humanities professionals."*

In a context of a cooperation paradigm shift from programmes of poverty alleviation to technology transfer between Switzerland and Peru, the interest in professional associations has risen. It is important to note the recent creation of Peruvian professional associations highly dependent on initiative and/or support from the Peruvian Embassy and Consulates. Despite this generally positive environment, some Peruvian professionals receive more support and/or recognition than others, according to the global gendered hierarchy of occupations.

Based on technology transfer as a cooperation paradigm, engineering, a male-dominated occupation, is more valued than humanities or social sciences, which are female-dominated. The Peruvian Embassy seems to privilege engineers to establish scientific networks and agreements between both countries at the expense of other disciplines. A gathering of Peruvian professionals in a Swiss engineering university organised by the Ambassador in 2015 is a good example. Peruvian professionals in SSH and STEM were invited to discuss the opportunities and limitations of exchange between Peruvian and Swiss HE institutions. The number of SSH and STEM attendees was equal, but the STEM attendees were predominantly male engineers. Despite the multidisciplinary and mixed gender composition of the audience, the Ambassador concluded the meeting with the announcement of the creation of a new network of male Peruvian engineers. The

promotion of "technology transfer" in bilateral relations focussed only on the contribution of STEM occupations. In the case of Peruvian institutions in Switzerland, this discourse seems to leave out Peruvian female SSH professionals and allocate recognition and support to some professional associations at the expense of others.

II.6.4.1.2. Class Privilege and Voluntary Work

Participation in migrant associations also involves processes of (self-)positioning amongst co-nationals and forms of (self-)assessment about un/desired migrants. The discourses about membership and leadership in Peruvian associations portray transnational frames of reference of social class, gender and citizenship. First, volunteering is identified as a marker of privileged social positions. For example, Diana, a co-founder of "Kuelap", explained that engaging in unpaid voluntary work is a "luxury" that depends on family situations:

> "Interviewer: How was it to be a mother and to do volunteering?
>
> Diana: It was easy because my husband is a schoolteacher, works twenty hours a week and earns a good salary. So, I have the luxury of sharing my time not only with Peruvians but also with other communities from Latin American and Africa. I was in a Red Cross project to encourage other women to take courses and then volunteer in maternity centres. But not all of them have the economic resources to become volunteers. This happens in the Red Cross and other organisation that "do not have money". A friend told me: "I don't know why you are working full-time and not being paid". I have no problem, but I would have to think about the others. Because if I accept this, they might think that the others will also accept it and I feel uncomfortable to ask them to do the same."

Secondly, particular types of femininities and masculinities are used to assess un/desirable membership in combination with social class and citizenship status. In the co-national networks and relations with institutional actors, social class subjectivities differ according to the type of association studied. In professional and humanitarian associations, discourses about "*toxic femininities*" abound. Two ambiguous forms of femininities determine the membership and leadership potential (or lack thereof) of migrant women: the first one circulates in mixed gender professional associations and refers to upper class Peruvian women who didn't go to university; and the second one circulates in women-only fundraising associations and refers to unauthorised migrant women. Some forms of family reunification as for a route to naturalisation - from marrying Swiss millionaires to being part of sham marriages - might hinder women's access to membership and leadership positions in these associations. In addition, noncitizenship statuses are mobilised to discredit the volunteering of unauthorised migrant women. Although they might actively participate

in some voluntary work, they cannot access all types of migrant associations or become Board members. Evidently, the "toxic femininities" emerge in relation to specific types of masculinities. Masculinities are valued differently along the non/citizenship continuum. The issue of bi-national marriage is rarely raised in discussing the membership and leadership potential of Peruvian men. Narratives showed that Peruvian men who took the family reunification path to citizenship are not the object of any criticism in these associations. Moreover, unauthorised male migrants are recognised at legitimate potential members. In sports associations, they can even be elected to the Board.

II.6.4.1.3. Gender norms in professional associations

Formally mixed gender professional associations have a membership requirement: a university degree. However, analysing negotiations about membership reveal the role of informal gender, citizenship and social class requirements. The reasons for explaining whom to let in or not contain contrasting images of femininities and masculinities. For instance, Nicanor, the president of PPP, the male-dominated professional association, talked about "toxic personalities" to explain the heated discussions that preceded the decision to admit Rita, the only female Board member:

> "Interviewer: Why was it so difficult to let Rita into the association?
>
> The only one that doesn't have a degree is Rita. We gave her the secretarial job, since she has been working in banks and has done some courses in Switzerland. But she will never be executive director […] She entered because she is a leader, but it was difficult to let her in. She is driven and joyful and she has money. She is the only woman and she helps us […] But I even had to change the statutes, so she could become a member. She doesn't fulfil the requirements we wanted: an association of Bachelor, Master and PhD degree holders. The idea was to be an elite. We all have degrees. We have no money, but we have degrees, right?
>
> Interviewer: What about other Peruvian women?
>
> Look, I don't know any Peruvian women with degrees […] Well, one of our criteria when we founded PPP was to be a closed society where the most important thing was academic exchange and not to be (open) for toxic or noxious persons. And here there are plenty. There are a lot of Peruvian women, like Rita, who married Swiss millionaires. And some of these women hate Rita because she loves being the centre of attention while organising events."

As Nicanor indicates, identifying undesired members for migrant associations is based on gender, citizenship and social class. Toxic femininities refer to particular sources of power and prestige: Peruvian women lacking university degrees but possessing high public notoriety and financial

resources in contrast to Peruvian men who have Swiss university degrees but are underemployed. Although these women's power and prestige are necessary for the professional association, there are mechanisms to restrict their influence over the association: assigning them less prestigious tasks and emphasising a dependent path for naturalisation (e.g. "being the wife of"). The emphasis on women's dependency is also mobilised to discredit their financial resources (e.g. "being married to a millionaire"). Here, the upward occupational mobility of Rita in the finance sector is made invisible. In contrast, references to men tend to emphasise educational credentials while minimising the current underemployment. Men's source of prestige, educational credentials, seems to be relative to the lack of them in "toxic femininities". While family reunification is not mentioned for assessing the leadership potential of Peruvian men in professional associations, their current employment situation seems to be neutralised by the mere possession of university degrees.

Social class (self-)positioning divides migrants' narratives of self-improvement (Skeggs, 1997a): indirect wealth for women as opposed to educational credentials for men. But a particularity of those narratives in migration contexts is the non/citizenship divide: in professional associations, dependent pathways to settlement seem more important for assessing the leadership potential of migrant women than that of their male counterparts. Social class subjectivities thus cut across gender and non/citizenship categorisations.

II.6.4.1.4. Legal status in single sex associations

In single sex associations, non/citizenship forms are invoked to assess membership potential. Women-only fundraising associations target more privileged social classes than male-only sports associations. Women-only fundraising associations such as Chachani seem to filter out unauthorised (female) migrants and Peruvian women with ambiguous legal/marital statuses. In contrast, male-only associations, such as football clubs, seem to be less judgemental in terms of noncitizen status and focus more on the abilities and capabilities (playing football or organizing match-related events).

Although fundraising associations do not have formal membership requirements, discussions about the admission of a new member are often divisive. Chachani holds fundraising events to donate material to hospitals and schools in Peru. The fundraising events are known to be "fancy" and ticket prices high. In fact, a former female leader was known to be elitist. Teresa, a Peruvian woman married to a EU citizen and a member of Chachani, explained the problems she encountered when trying to become a member:

"Interviewer: How did you get to know about Chachani?

When I arrived in Switzerland, I went to the Peruvian Embassy to register myself and I asked about the best way to integrate and someone told me about Chachani […] but when my husband and I arrived, we first moved into a fully furnished apartment and we did not have a landline phone and my name did not appear on the mailbox. I didn't know but this situation created a preconception of me in the Latino community: people thought I was undocumented or a conniving woman who married a "gringo" to have a good life […] they even asked for my identity documents […] So there was suspicion. We were living in rented accommodation for two years until we bought an apartment. So, during those years, in the eyes of the Latino community of my city, I was not a trustworthy person […]."

As Teresa explained, membership assessment in this women-only association is not only about legal status but also marital status: being considered an undocumented woman or part of a sham marriage. Citizenship by means of family reunification is interpreted differently for women than for men. Assessing Peruvian women's membership and leadership potential involves an evaluation of who they are married to and under what circumstances they married. Here, noncitizen and dependent citizen pathways are used to discredit women. In view of social class positioning, the construction of "elitist" meaning and practices of volunteering in migration contexts thus shows the interactions of gender and citizenship for women-only fundraising associations.

In contrast, single sex football teams seem to be more concerned with masculine work ethics than with legal/marital statuses. For instance, the "Chan Chan" football team had an unauthorised Peruvian man as president. Although membership is less contested on the basis of noncitizenship status, one criterion exists for assessing participation: reliability as a volunteer. As Manuel, a former coach of the "Chan Chan" team said to me while watching them losing the final match of the Swiss amateur soccer league: "Peruvians are good players, but they are not disciplined. That's why they don't win." Although this might happen in any sports association, assessments based on the masculine work ethic seem to spill over from the volunteering to the employment sphere. However, having or lacking the legal authorisation to work is not as important as showing trustworthiness as a volunteer in migrant associations. Indeed, the participation in football clubs of young undocumented Peruvian men, such as Guillermo, who recently arrived from Spain, acts as a stepping-stone to the labour market, thanks to fellow players' information about employment in Switzerland. Since sports associations are not linked to privileged social classes, these co-ethnic networks give access to low-skilled jobs. Given the social class differences between fundraising and sports associations, the absence of residence authorisation is seen as more problematic in the former than in the latter.

Discourses about membership and leadership potential in Peruvian associations are based on forms of assessment of un/desired migrant men and women. The interactions amongst co-national reveal the tendancy to recognise voluntary work differently along gender, class and citizenship status divides. In these interactions, migrants might capitalise on or contest the intersecting social markers to gain local prestige. Non/citizenship statuses act as distinctive criteria in a migration context. Interestingly, this does not only involve the filtering out of unauthorised migrants but also the negative perception of some dependent pathways towards citizenship, notably family reunification. However, the mobilisation of citizenship as a symbol of status depends on gender. Peruvian men seem to draw more prestige from their legal status than their female counterparts. The latter are depicted as dependent on a Swiss/EU spouse and are therefore deemed to be less suitable for leadership positions. In addition, transnational frames of reference lead to contrasting meanings for social class positioning (wealth, prestige and qualifications) along gender lines. Traditional gender roles are still present, since the assessment of women's leadership potential tends to be based on her family situation (e.g. married to whom and under what circumstances), while the assessment of their male counterparts is based on the occupational sphere: having a university degrees or a strong work ethic.

Although it is beyond the focus of this study, Swiss sub-national levels seem to play a lesser role in comparison with other axes of differentiation in hindering or encouraging migrants' volunteering. While Peruvian institutions in Switzerland privilege professional associations, the recognition of Peruvian volunteers seems to echo the global gendered occupation hierarchy. Indeed, Peruvian women's voluntary work seems to be more valued in fundraising associations. However, reinforcement of traditional gender roles in voluntary work is more complicated. Migrant associations display discourses about un/desired members where gendered social class subjectivities are intertwined with legal categories.

II.6.4.2. The role of voluntary work in gendered occupational trajectories

The stakes in the recognition of membership and leadership potential in migrant associations are related to gendered occupational trajectories. The negotiations between co-nationals for local prestige influence the role of migration as a socio-economic determinant. Being recognised as a leader and/or valued member of co-national networks can have an impact on employment outcomes abroad. In this sense, the mobilisation of citizenship as a symbol of status influences social class subjectivities and positions in the labour market.

I found three ways in which judgements about membership and leadership potential in migrant associations have an impact on occupational trajectories abroad. The first one has already been mentioned in the analysis of the participation of unauthorised Peruvian men in male-only sports associations. The use of these co-national networks for job-hunting is widespread. Given the features of this migrant association, information and contacts about jobs predominantly lead to the lower segments of the Swiss labour market: the cleaning and construction sectors. The other two impacts of involvement in migration associations on employment follow gender lines. While Peruvian women consider volunteering to be a potential source of recognition outside of the labour market, Peruvian men link voluntary work to opportunities for (self-)employment in ethnic business. The discourses about "toxic femininities" seem to render invisible the occupational experiences of the Peruvian women who become involved in charitable, humanitarian migrant associations. However, it would be wrong to assume that the female volunteers are all dependent housewives. Some of these women have full-time jobs and exercise leadership positions in migrant associations, particularly thanks to a more equal gender division of labour at home. Unsurprisingly, Peruvian men also rely on delegating caregiving responsibilities to their spouses in order to take on leadership roles in migrant associations. Indeed, for men and women, voluntary work depends on particular family arrangements and employment prospects. Some Peruvian male volunteers assume the lion's share of family caregiving due to their Swiss spouses' better employment opportunities, whereas others are employed full-time and delegate family caregiving to their spouse. These different situations correspond to gendered roles of voluntary work that lead some Peruvian male volunteers to capitalise on co-national networks and local prestige to embark on ethnic business ventures.

II.6.4.2.1. Voluntary work as a stepping-stone to the lower segments of the Swiss labour market

Membership of sports associations is linked to the job-hunting process. Here, long-settled and newly arrived migrants met and exchange information and contacts about the local labour market. This is eloquently explained by Guillermo, a 23-year-old Peruvian man who followed his father to Switzerland from Spain, to look for jobs and pay their mortgages. Since both of them have Spanish passports, they were looking for jobs that would qualify them for the five-year residence permit:

> "Interviewer: How do you know where to go (to find information about jobs)?
>
> Guillermo: I arrived at the same time with another two men, a Colombian and a Peruvian, who came from Spain. We were living in the basement of the

> church. My father had already found a job in construction. So, I go out with them for job-hunting […] When you migrate anywhere, you always go to… what does the Latino like? Playing soccer and drinking beer. So, you go there. You met people who are talking. You keep silent and LISTEN. You hear something interesting and intervene in the conversation to ask questions. You can pretend to know about it and you engage in arrangement to go together: 'Yes, we met there at that time'. And like this we met and went [job-hunting] together…"

Given that sports associations do not have a formal membership requirement, unauthorised and/or newly arrived migrants have easy access to them. However, the informal requirement of being a male soccer player excludes most migrant women from these networks. Newly arrived migrant women mobilise other networks or experience more solitary job-hunting experiences (G. Maher & Cawley, 2015; Marchetti, 2016; Seminario, 2011). Nevertheless, the contacts and information that circulate in sport are limited to jobs in lower segments of the labour market. Although not all members of sports association are in low-skilled occupations, the quantity and frequency of job offers in construction and cleaning means that they are the ones that circulate most frequently in these networks. Other valuable information also circulates, such as places to access free services, administrative processes, housing, etc. Consequently, sports associations seem to play an important role in facilitating the labour market participation of recently-arrived migrant men, although they tend to lead them into migrant-dominated and low-skilled segments of the Swiss labour market.

II.6.4.2.2. Voluntary work as a stepping-stone into ethnic business ventures

Volunteering for migrant associations provides a platform for business ventures such as importing / producing Peruvian groceries, becoming a journalist to cover migrant associations' events, creating an enterprise that brings Peruvian musicians to perform at festivals, etc. Many of the male volunteers mentioned the ways in which their voluntary work was linked to (self-)employment opportunities. Indeed, a combination of formal employment and informal economic activities appears to be relatively frequent. Carmelo, a member of Kuelap, who holds a VET degree for dairy products and works full-time in a dairy factory, explained how his business involving producing and selling *queso fresco* [45] was related to his voluntary work activities:

> "Interviewer: When did you join Kuelap?
>
> Carmelo: I started 25 years ago. I am part of the founding Board […] thanks to my flexible schedules at work (the dairy products factory). Five years ago,

---

[45] *Queso fresco* is a type of cheese widely use in the cooking of Peruvian and Latin American dishes.

the adventure of launching *queso fresco* started, because it is my occupation and people who tasted my product were asking for it […] I got the idea when I met the owners of the first grocery store specialising in Peruvian products. Since we were organising cultural events with Kuelap, we bought Peruvian beverages and products there. The store also started to import fresh products such as chilli and *choclo*.[46] They said it would be great to prepare *choclo con queso fresco* and I told them that I could prepare the *queso fresco*. I started to prepare small quantities at home until several Latino restaurant owners called me to ask for a constant supply. When the demand increased, I asked my cheese maker friend to do it with my recipe and now I am only in charge of distribution in different Latino grocery stores and Peruvian restaurants."

Some male volunteers used their flexible job schedules to do voluntary work and embark on ethnic business ventures. But most of the voluntary work of full-time employed Peruvian men depends on delegating family caregiving to their spouse. However, other family-employment arrangements do exist, particularly when the men are at a disadvantage in the labour market in comparison to their (Swiss) spouse. Consequently, linking voluntary work with an ethnic business venture also offers an opportunity to improve the financial resources for Peruvian men struggling in the Swiss labour market. For instance, Nicanor, who holds a Swiss Master's degree in law and is married to a Swiss lawyer, struggles to find jobs that are commensurate with his skills and works as an on-call legal translator. Thanks to attending various events and being the president of the *Profesionales Por el Perú* (PPP) association, he also found a job as a journalist for a Latin American journal in Switzerland and writes articles about migrant associations' and diplomatic events. He combines unpaid voluntary work, networking and paid journalist services that complement his fluctuating monthly income as an underemployed lawyer.

While participation in sports associations is widely recognised as a useful tactic for job-hunting amongst Peruvian men, Carmelo's and Nicanor's occupational mobility plans relate slightly differently to their voluntary work. A former rural-urban internal migrant who moved to study, Carmelo had been involved in volunteering in his hometown association in Lima since adolescence. While his parents were involved in cattle raising, he met successful *paisanos* (e.g. male engineers, doctors and lawyers) in Lima. His occupational trajectory was linked to these volunteering activities and to his rural background: he decided to become an agronomic engineer and taught maths to the *paisanos'* children. For him, obtaining a VET and job linked with dairy products in Switzerland

---

[46] *Choclo* is a type of maize.

represents a certain form of occupational continuity. Volunteering also sustained his class membership by providing contacts with and recognition from co-nationals.

In contrast to Carmelo's continuity tactic, Nicanor's used volunteering to resist the risk of occupational downgrading. For him, the PPP association is a platform to achieve occupational mobility transnationally. While he struggles with underemployment in Switzerland, he maintains professional networking in Peru and promoted the "Swiss quality" of his degree to achieve a high-status job there. Volunteering in a Peruvian association founded in Switzerland represents a way to put a stop to the downward occupational spiral by shifting his attention to receiving professional rewards in his home country. As he said: "Over there, you are the head of the mouse whereas here you are the tail of the lion".

Carmelo emphasises the "Swissness" of his degrees (and himself) to gain local and global prestige in professional associations whereas Nicanor perceives the utility of Swiss citizenship differently. Although he gained naturalisation by means of family reunification, he did not mention the socio-legal dependency of "toxic femininities" but rather capitalises on his "Swiss nationality" for seeking leadership positions in co-national networks in Switzerland and Peru. By contrast, Nicanor has a sceptical vision of the advantages that having Swiss nationality represent fot him. He made an evaluation of the practical uses – mobility rights and access to the Swiss labour market:

> "A lot of people want the document for administrative reasons: to work. It is true: you have the Swiss passport and you can easily travel anywhere to study, to work, etc. BUT this [Swiss passport] won't change everything. You can have the Swiss passport, but you can be blocked in one position. When you want an important position in the military services or public offices… you come with a new passport and inevitably you won't get in… Although they find a polite way to say that you are not fit for the position… but it really is the other reason… Therefore, having the passport is not absolute… I know if I had the Swiss passport and went to Bern and said I am Swiss [we both laugh at the idea that no one would believe him]. You know, it is a reality… but it [Swiss passport] would be helpful if I decided to return to Peru and everything went wrong… Being Swiss, the municipality has to receive and support me here…"

Like Nicanor, Carmelo has gained prestige in relations with Peruvian institutions and individuals (e.g. he earned the achievement prize from the Embassy in 2016) in Switzerland. He exercised a

political-administrative position in a French-speaking municipality[47] and is part of the naturalisation committee. He holds a C Permit. Since he has access to unconditional long-term residence authorisation, he considers naturalisation unnecessary. Thus, dual citizenship is not perceived or used by all the migrants to gain local prestige. Moreover, Swiss nationality seems to be more valued for the freedom it offers to travel abroad than for the advantages it brings on the Swiss labour market. Once these migrants have achieved unconditional and long-term residential authorisation in Switzerland, they capitalised on co-national networks to embark on ethnic business ventures.

II.6.4.2.3. Voluntary work as a substitute for employment

Like their male counterparts, female volunteers who are employed part-time or are out of the labour market adopt patterns of voluntary work that adapt to the age of their children and/or their spouse's employment patterns. Female volunteers who work full-time can often benefit from a husband's help with family caregiving, as well as the support of other family members. Valentina, a former public relations professional in Peru, who works full-time as a cashier in a supermarket, was the president of the "Hijos del Sol" cultural association for two years thanks to the support of three of her male family members: husband (on sick leave), brother (informal hourly jobs) and adult son (out of the labour market).

Some female volunteers also struggle in the Swiss labour market despite their citizenship status and educational credentials, but they are sometimes able to satisfy their occupational aspirations through unpaid voluntary activities rather than employment. In particular, those with degrees and/or experience in the arts participate in cultural associations; those with Swiss university degrees are involved in professional associations; and those with commercial abilities do fundraising. As Diana, a Peruvian saleswoman married to a Swiss schoolteacher and the co-founder of "Kuelap", said about doing volunteering:

> "Interviewer: what about your experience in volunteering?
>
> Diana: I love selling and I love to work outdoors. We do open air markets with "Kuelap". I know everybody in the city so I tell them to buy something. For me it is like a challenge […] I tell myself today I am going to sell this amount and I am not happy until I achieve that amount."

---

[47] There is only one canton in Switzerland that allows foreigners to fill these positions.

In addition, the recognition of professional competences through voluntary work produces a form of "distinction" within the immigrant group. For instance, Blanca, who holds a Bachelor of Arts degree from a Swiss university but is out of the labour market, feels free to criticise Valentina, the president of the "Hijos del Sol" cultural association for "not being cultural enough". The main criticism concerns the "quality" of performances presented on Peruvian Independence Day, and/or the fact that the promotion of Peruvian cultures did not end with a festive celebration. Valentina, in turn, is able to use her public relations degree, which is not recognised in Switzerland, to affirm her leadership and organisation skills in the face of any internal criticism.

II.6.4.2.4. Voluntary work as a source of local prestige for migrant women

Volunteering is a way to gain local prestige for migrant women. Instead of emphasising positions in the labour market, social class subjectivities draw on prestige from volunteering to counteract feelings of downgrading. For most female volunteers, Peruvian associations do not represent a stepping-stone towards the labour market, but rather an alternative source of recognition and prestige. Recognised by co-nationals and political actors from Switzerland and Peru (e.g. cantonal authorities for immigrants' integration and the Peruvian Embassy), Diana's career in voluntary work represents (a sort of) occupational attainment. After a gap year to learn French sponsored by her parents living in Lima, she worked as an au pair for a family of antique dealers who trained her in sales. She then married a Swiss man and started a family. While she acknowledges that her husband's salary is key to supporting the time she devotes to voluntary work, she maintains (self-)recognition as a *good* saleswoman on behalf of (Peruvian) associations instead of seeing herself essentially as a stay-at-home mother. Subjectivities about social class are not only linked to occupation or economic status but also to prestige in local settings.

II.6.5. Summary

The purpose of this chapter was to understand different forms of (self-)positioning in relation to co-nationals through assessing membership and leadership potential in migrant associations. I also sought to understand the role of voluntary work in male and female occupational mobility in Switzerland. Discourses about membership and leadership in Peruvian associations are good examples of identity work and of the construction of in-group hierarchies within migrant groups. In this transnational frame of reference, social class subjectivities depend on gendering processes and non/citizenship dynamics.

Volunteering acts as a socio-economic platform for occupational mobility and social class subjectivities somewhat differently for men and women. Practices and meanings of volunteering can be placed on a continuum, from an alternative to the labour market for the recognition of qualifications and skills to a platform for ethnic business opportunities in the host country. Migrants can achieve occupational changes to their employment status through voluntary work. They can also display forms of (self-)positioning and social class subjectivities by participating in the definition of membership and leadership within migrant associations. In this context, men and women don't activate citizenship as a status symbol in exactly the same terms. Although dual citizenship is not unanimously perceived as useful or necessary for access to membership or leadership positions in migrant associations, the non/citizenship continuum is more frequently mobilised for assessing female candidates than their male counterparts. The assessment for migrant men is more likely to be based on their educational credentials than on their (non-)citizenship status or their pathways of access to legal residence in Switzerland. In this sense, migrant men can capitalise on the "Swiss quality" of their credentials to achieve local and global prestige. Their membership and leadership potential reflect the prestige of their male-dominated occupations.

To explore the issues of occupational mobility in more detail, the following chapters (Part III) analyse specific transitions in gendered occupational trajectories and migrants' narratives about mobility.

Conclusions to Part II

Each chapter of this part contributes to the current debate on the dynamics of non/citizenship from different angles. First, we have proposed a time-sensitive analysis of the work-citizenship matrix for highly-skilled and unskilled migrant men and women. On the one hand, the dual focus on employment and legal transitions enabled me to shed light on the multiple vulnerabilities that Peruvian graduates face in the Swiss context. In particular, the Swiss migration regime does not differentiate categories of non-EU/EFTA foreigners on the basis of their qualifications. In fact, until recently, this regime did not provide any preferential treatment to non-EU/EFTA foreigners who hold a Swiss degree. Here, the temporal boundaries inherent to the Swiss migration regime can lead to a downward spiral into precarious forms of employment, substitute family reunification strategies or fast-track naturalisation opportunities. The gendered hierarchy of occupations that favour graduates from male-dominated fields (e.g. engineering) translate into preferential treatment in making a request for residential and settlement authorisations. Peruvian male engineering graduates can use the "essential employment clause" and a positive assessment of deservingness for naturalisation, based on a breadwinner citizen model. Interestingly, bi-national marriage as a pathway into long-term settlement authorisation after graduation was frequently mentioned, not only by respondents, but also by immigration officers and employers. In contrast, well-qualified Peruvian women experienced more barriers to gaining residential authorisations and access to the labour market, due to the normative Swiss female caregiver citizen model. The focus on Peruvian graduates from Swiss universities, rather than migrants whose qualifications are not recognized in the Swiss context, has provided an original angle from which to reconsider issues of skills, gender and migration.

Secondly, the comparison with the legal trajectories of less skilled Peruvian migrants allowed me to deepen the understanding of gendered discourses based on employability criteria. The focus on access to regularisation for Peruvian unauthorised immigrants revealed multidirectional and gendered pathways to citizenship. There are multiple shifts along the non/citizenship continuum (e.g. social insurance registration or acquisition of the nationality of a EU member state) before obtaining long-term residence authorisation. Furthermore, the impact of shifts along the non/citizenship continuum on occupational trajectories are far from homogeneous. Interestingly, Peruvian women seem to fare better in the most arbitrary regularisation process (*cas de rigueur*) than their male counterparts. The mobilisation of the employability criteria to assess un/deserving migrants for regularisation has gendered consequences. Peruvian men who work in construction

and cleaning do not fulfil the breadwinner citizen ideal. In contrast to their Peruvian engineer counterparts, they are unable to access full-time stable jobs in prestigious occupations. In contrast, the caregiver female model seems to favour Peruvian women who base their claims on their career history in highly feminised care occupations and on their plans to remain in this segment of the Swiss labour market.

Another way to understand the dynamics of non/citizenship is to study the transnational frames of references that produce particular forms of self-positioning and positioning of others among Peruvian migrants in Switzerland. Beside the work-citizenship matrix, non/citizenship forms are mobilised in the struggles for prestige in the construction of social class subjectivities along gender lines. Of course, legal trajectories have an impact on the global labour market position of male and female migrants. However, the subjective construction of social hierarchies uses citizenship as a symbol of status in the global stratified space. In this sense, migrants mobilise their position on the non/citizenship continuum to gain recognition within co-national networks. The focus on migrant associations sheds light on the attribution of membership and leadership in (re)creating in-group hierarchies. The non/citizen status is used to discredit Peruvian women's leadership and membership in fundraising and professional associations. By contrast, unauthorised Peruvian men are accepted as members and leaders of sports associations, and authorised Peruvian men capitalise on their dual citizenship status and/or on their educational credentials to gain local and global prestige in professional associations. Struggles for recognition in migrant associations are thus related to the potential role of unpaid voluntary work for access to the Swiss labour market, employment substitution strategies and ethnic business ventures.

These findings help me to nuance the gendered effects of migration. They show the ways in which Peruvian women can successfully develop practices to secure the right to stay, upward occupational mobility (e.g. *cas de rigueur*) and alternative recognition of their talents (e.g. migrant associations). However, highly-skilled Peruvian women seem to struggle to gain residential authorisations independently of their marital status and to access to the upper segments of the Swiss labour market, irrespective of their local educational credentials. Peruvian men also experience class inequalities. Those who are successful in entering full-time jobs in prestigious occupations have to overcome temporal boundaries in access to work permits, but they can capitalise on fast-track naturalisation procedures. In contrast, those who remain in poorly paid, part-time unstable jobs struggle to successfully pass through formal regularisation procedures. However, through investment in migrant associations, they can capitalise on co-national networks, both for access to jobs at the

lower end of the occupational hierarchy (in migrant-dominated segments of the labour market) and for the elaboration of ethnic business ventures.

In the following part of this dissertation, I will concentrate on the occupational mobility and family trajectories of Peruvian graduates from Swiss HE institutions and of those migrants without these educational credentials. The idea is to disentangle the role of skills and gender and to further explore the feminisation of high-skilled migration.

Part III: The Influence of Migration on Occupational Mobility

"In this way, we can begin to think of (dual migrant) labour markets in topographical terms – for a new migrant certain routes through the labour market are more readily traversed than others, due to existing social networks, the common-sense assumptions of both other workers and potential employers, and the existing needs of the labour market (…) By referring to 'landscapes of migration' (…), I seek to imply both that there are structural impediments or encouragements to certain forms of migration – economic costs and benefits, immigration laws and point systems, the recognition of skills and qualifications – but also that there exists networks of entwined 'forces' (of ways of being and behaving, seeing and being seen, as well as visible forms), which impact on the migratory routes we take. Such topographical detail is not only imposed on us from the outside, but also enacted from within (…). Furthermore, this landscape is not simply a matter of 'skills', matching the newcomers with the highest abilities with those jobs which are best rewarded. In fact, there is much to suggest that skills, qualifications and abilities alone are not the deciding factor in where we end up in the labour market. It is not the existence of these which are important, but how they are interpreted, valued and enacted, both at home and away (…). Furthermore, there is a danger that we conflate the level of skills required to do a job with the abilities of the person carrying out the role. This is especially pertinent in regards to those in 'low-skilled' roles, who are too often considered lacking in skills (and, indeed, qualifications) because of the way we comprehend and value their work" (Vasey, 2016, pp. 78–80)

As mentioned previously (Chapter 1), labour market outcomes have been central to Migration Studies. There has been much excellent research concerned with the determinants of migrants' occupational attainment. However, the opening quotation revolves around a controversy in current migration literature: the distinction of migrant population on the basis of their qualification or skills is not univocal. The preliminary distinction of studies on highly-skilled and unskilled migration is problematic. Migration and management scholars have already pointed out the limitations of skills-based dichotomies when studying the labour market experiences of migrants (Al Ariss & Crowley-Henry, 2013; Axelsson, 2016). Unpacking the concept of skills fosters a more encompassing analysis of migrants' occupational attainment. On the one hand, skills do not represent a neutral predictor of occupational mobility across borders. The notion of skill refers to socio-political processes that are criss-crossed by citizenship, gender and social class divides (Raghuram, 2008; Scrinzi, 2013; Shan, 2013). On the other hand, migrants' occupational attainment does not represent a fixed and isolated outcome but rather a dynamic process. The processes produce multiple routes in the migration landscape. While most studies have pointed out the unfavourable employment conditions of migrants in relation to the non-migrant population (e.g. migrant-dominated segments), that permanent character of this disadvantage represents a central question in Migration Studies (Reyneri

& Fullin, 2011). In this sense, occupational attainment represents a dynamic process. But it does not necessarily depend simply on the length of stay . The time-sensitive dimensions involve multiple directions, sequences of events and transitions across borders, such as training, employment, non-employment and retirement. Occupational trajectories are linked to other dimensions of migrants' experiences: non/citizenship and family dynamics. Since Part II has already evoked the work-citizenship dynamics, here I address occupational and family interactions. In addition, occupational attainment refers to the meaning given by migrants to sequences and employment outcomes during their migration experiences. The perception of migration as a turning point (or not) in occupational mobility depends on subjectivities (Grossetti, 2006; Hélardot, 2009). In this sense, the meaning given to social mobility across borders refers to transnational frames of reference for social class positioning between "here" and "there" (P. F. Kelly, 2012).

By unpacking the implication of skills by comparing Peruvian migrants with different levels, types and sources of educational credentials, Part III proposes to understand the dynamics of occupational mobility and the interactions with family trajectories across borders. In combination with the analysis of movement up or down the socio-economic hierarchy, I also address the subjective dimensions of class self-positioning and positioning of others across borders. To do this, I mobilise previous findings about the dynamics of the work-citizenship matrix and expand on the debates about skills, gender and family configurations.

III.1. The portability of skills across borders

As mentioned previously, the findings about the work-citizenship matrix show that legal and occupational trajectories interact and yield multidirectional dynamics and unequal outcomes. The acquisition of residential authorisation does not automatically translate into desired labour market participation. Although Peruvian migrants seem to spend more time shifting between noncitizen forms, capitalisation on citizenship forms (e.g. regularisation and naturalisation) for occupational trajectories followed gender and social class divides. The gender models of citizenship and the gender-based hierarchy of occupations are part of the discourses used to recognise the requests of migrants. Furthermore, the legal trajectories of Peruvian men and women are constrained by temporal boundaries, regardless of levels and origin of skills. In other words, the recognition of degrees earned abroad is mediated by non/citizenship dynamics – for instance, the mediation of bi-national marriages rather than work permit procedures. Consequently, the portability of skills is

not straightforward but rather traversed by unequal forms of recognition along citizenship, gender and social class divides.

III.1.1. Skills and gender

Migration Studies have tended to separate the discussion of employment conditions between high- and low-skilled migrants. The literature tends to treat two paradigmatic figures of global labour separately: the highly mobile male engineer and finance "expats" and the highly confined female "migrant" care worker, with few studies that attempt to compare, and find connections and intermediate figures (Kofman, 2013; Mezzadra & Neilson, 2013). Given the migration regimes, the gender-based global hierarchy of occupations has an impact on occupational trajectories. However, the employment history and outcomes are not straightforward. Instead of being neutral criteria (Raghuram, 2008; Scrinzi, 2013; Shan, 2013), the levels of skills do not necessarily predict employment outcomes abroad. In this sense, the recognition of skills is a socio-political process across borders and occupational mobility is not linear for migrant men and women at all levels of skills.

Of course, the current migration regimes use skills to classify and hierarchise foreigners (Boeri et al., 2012; Hercog, 2017; Triandafyllidou & Isaakyan, 2016a). However, rather than accepting a skill-based dichotomy uncritically, other studies have shed light on paradoxical outcomes. The migration of foreigners with tertiary education involves downward mobile careers due to non-recognition of credentials, legal barriers and labour market discrimination (Al Ariss et al., 2013; Csedő, 2008; Grenier & Xue, 2011; Iredale, 2005; Liversage, 2009a; Man, 2004; Raghuram, 2004a; van Riemsdijk, 2013; Verwiebe et al., 2016). For instance, the "race for talent" discourses in EU countries do not translate automatically into smooth circulation and promising careers for high-skilled non-EU migrants (Reyneri, 2004; Triandafyllidou & Isaakyan, 2016a). EU migration regimes restrict inflows of African, Asian and Latin American citizens, who are only exceptionally admitted based on the levels of skills. The restricted migration regimes affect the value given to the skills of migrants from those countries (Al Ariss et al., 2013; Axelsson, 2016; Cerna & Czaika, 2016; Grigoleit-Richter, 2017; Mendy, 2010; Nunes Reichel, 2016; Shinozaki, 2017). As shown in Chapter 4, there is a proliferation of temporal boundaries to residential authorisations, irrespective of educational credentials (B. Anderson, 2010; Axelsson, 2016). Like their less-skilled counterparts, these high-skilled migrants experience legal barriers and labour market discrimination and develop tactics to counteract them.

From a gender perspective, Migration Studies have mostly focused on female migrant care workers in private households (Hochschild, 2001; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2001; Salazar Parreñas, 2001). The studies have exposed the precarious working and living conditions of migrant women from the Global South in the labour markets of Northern countries. However, several scholars have pointed out that care work offers a diverse range of employment opportunities in terms of skills, workplaces, employment conditions, etc. and that migrant women performing these jobs are not necessarily unskilled (Dumitru, 2014; Kofman & Raghuram, 2015; Yeates, 2012). On the other hand, without minimising the struggles in precarious employment sectors, female migrant care workers do not always stagnate in unskilled and domestic employment segments, but also develop strategies to progress onto better quality jobs (Christensen, 2014; Parella et al., 2013; Seminario, 2011; Vidal-Coso & Miret-Gamundi, 2014). As mentioned in Chapter 5, Peruvian women with career antecedents in the care sector seem to have more opportunities for certain types of regularisation and seem to be able to capitalise on their newfound citizenship status to obtain better jobs .

On the other hand, several scholars have pointed out the feminisation of highly skilled migration (Dumitru & Marfouk, 2015; Raghuram & Kofman, 2004; Triandafyllidou & Isaakyan, 2016a). High-skilled migrant women cope with legal barriers and labour market discrimination under different conditions than their male counterparts. Recent studies have concluded that high-skilled women face greater risks of deskilling due to gender dimensions in employment and the family (Cerna & Czaika, 2016; Dixon, 2016; Iredale, 2005; Man, 2004; Shinozaki, 2017; Triandafyllidou & Isaakyan, 2016b). As mentioned in Chapter 4, highly skilled migrant women are more numerous in family-related legal categories than in work-related permits (Kofman & Raghuram, 2005; Raghuram, 2004b). Consequently, the labour market participation of these high-skilled women depends more on family caregiving configurations (Leigh, 2015; Liversage, 2009b; Wong, 2014) and on household configurations (Cooke, 2007; Creese et al., 2011; Phan et al., 2015) than that of their male counterparts. However, these women develop tactics to reach the upper segments of the labour market (Liversage, 2009b). In stark contrast to the figure of the "trailing wife", research has shown the role of highly skilled women in initiating and sustaining family migration projects (Clerge et al., 2015; Creese et al., 2011; Kofman, 2000; Ryan & Mulholland, 2013; Schaer, Dahinden, & Toader, 2016b). This is not to say that the interactions between family and occupational trajectories do not also affect high-skilled migrant men (Fleischer, 2011; Hibbins, 2005; Varrel, 2011). Rather, the interactions between occupational and family trajectories show gender-based outcomes.

III.2. Transnational family dynamics

While critics of the gender bias in Migration Studies have refused the tendency to associate migrant women exclusively with family caregiving and low-skilled care work (Dumitru, 2014; Kofman, 2000; Yeates, 2012), less attention has been paid to the absence of family and care issues in the study of migrant men (Fresnoza-Flot, 2014a; Kilkey et al., 2013; Pribilsky, 2012; Salazar Parreñas, 2008). Transnational family studies have focused on the cases of migrant women who left their children behind to provide childcare to other families abroad (Hochschild, 2001; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2001; Salazar Parreñas, 2001). However, other family relationships are important for transnational families: spouses, siblings, grandparents, etc. While migrant women do not always perform transnational motherhood, the participation of migrant men in transnational families is also variable. Although the gender division of care work is well-documented, migrant men and women negotiate and (re)create family models according to their complex social positions.

Recent studies on the circulation of care have stated that gender, generation and citizenship status all influence the unequal distribution of care obligations among family members (Baldassar & Merla, 2014b; Bonizzoni, 2011), as does social class status. But the lack of research on care circulation amongst middle-class transnational families has recently been emphasised (Baldassar & Wilding, 2014; Singh & Cabraal, 2014; Varrel, 2011). In this sense, analysis of the interactions between occupational and family trajectories at all levels of skills would make an important contribution to a more subtle understanding the multiple dynamics of transnational family and care circulation across borders.

In combination with migration regimes, care regimes have an impact on the employment outcomes of migrants abroad. Several authors have pointed out the relevance of locating the analysis of the circulation of care at the intersections of welfare, migration, care and employment regimes (Merla, 2014b; Simonazzi, 2008). In doing this, the transnational care arrangements and the place of migrant women should not only be judged against Western (middle-class) family models where hands-on female caregiving is the norm. Rather, family relations should be understood in tandem with the historical and cultural particularities of the home countries (Fog Olwig, 2014). Against the discursive equation of Western countries with gender equality (C. Fischer & Dahinden, 2016; Moujoud, 2008), care regimes in receiving countries might reinforce traditional gender roles in non/citizenship dynamics (see Part II) and labour market participation. Gendered family models have an impact on the caregiving and employment configurations of migrant men and women.

Instead of using skills to divide the migrant population into high- and low-skilled groups, I propose to compare the experiences of Peruvian graduates from Swiss HE institutions less well-qualified counterparts. I will thus analyse the different routes of Peruvian men and women in the global labour market to discern different forms of occupational mobility (ascending, downward, stable). This analysis of occupational mobility will not only consider positions on the socio-economic ladder but also the construction of social class membership and feelings of belonging "here" and "there". The findings about the influence of legal status and family caregiving configurations on occupational trajectories confirm the heuristic value of comparing high and low skill migrants through an intersectional lens. The advantage lies in a broader understanding of the multiple forms of occupational mobility and vulnerabilities in migration experiences.

III.3. Occupational Mobility in Migration Studies

There has been much excellent work in Migration Studies concerned with the determinants of migrants' occupational attainment: community of origin, education level, family composition, social networks, legal status, migration regime, employment sector, length of stay, etc. While considering the interplay of these factors, I propose an analysis based on life-course and biographical narrative perspectives. Instead of looking for the causes of occupational outcomes, this approach focuses on timing, sequences and subjectivities. Migration happens at a particular historical and biographical moment, across different institutional settings and in relation to events in other life domains, it has short-, medium and long-term effects and triggers particular interpretations and reactions from the migrants themselves. The trajectory-oriented approach focuses on transitions and the sequence of events in relation to employment. In this sense, there are different transitions that influence occupational attainment across borders: the shifts into and out of precarious jobs as well as the shifts into and out of the labour market (Reyneri & Fullin, 2011; Vidal-Coso & Miret-Gamundi, 2014). Therefore, migrants' occupational trajectories are made up of complex sequences. The analysis of the sequences shows two time-sensitive mechanisms: the durable imprints left by first steps in the labour market and the accumulation of resources based on length of stay (Fullin, 2011; Vono-de-Vilhena & Vidal-Coso, 2012).

In combination with the analysis of occupational trajectories, I focus on migrants' narratives about social and physical mobility. In other words, I am interested in the role of migration as a *turning point* in occupational trajectories, as well as in exactly how migrant men and women narrate their social mobility across time and space. Perceptions about migration as a life event depend on migrants'

social background and on the mobilisation of transnational references (Fresnoza-Flot & Shinozaki, 2017; Grossetti, 2006; Hélardot, 2009). Occupational mobility involves categorisations and representations of class, gender and citizenship categories. Migrant men and women thus interpret their physical and social mobility by processes of (dis)identification in relation to other migrants and non-migrants, at home and at destination.

This section thus combines an analysis of socio-economic and subjective dimensions in migrants' occupational mobility. Mostly based on quantitative research, the former approach has found relevant factors to assess migrants' positions in the labour market from home country to destination. Time-sensitive and multidimensional approaches have emphasised the historical dynamics of migration between countries and the constitution of networks that result in certain employment options (Massey, 1990). In addition, a life-course approach considers the timing of migration, its effects on employment history, and transnational relations. Migrant men and women narrate differently the construction of migration as an event. Indeed, occupational mobility outcomes are linked to migrant identities and social class subjectivities. I develop both analytical dimensions in the next sections.

III.4. Occupational mobility

Given the importance given to the economic dimension of migration, researchers have long been interested in assessing the employment outcomes of migrants. While cross-sectional studies have pointed to important individual factors such as human capital theory, time-sensitive studies, which are scarcer, advocate a dynamic perspective on timing, sequences and plural occupational situations. In addition, qualitative studies have emphasised the subjective dimension to assess the impact of migration on biographies and social belongings at intersections of class, gender and race. In the following section, I briefly present the theoretical developments that inform my analytical approach for studying occupational trajectories and social class positioning amongst Peruvian men and women in Switzerland.

III.4.1. Assimilation and accumulation

The pioneering research of Barry Chiswick (1978; 2005) and Douglas Massey (1990) addressed the complexity of migrants' occupational mobility. The former demonstrated the importance of length of stay to assess migrants and native wage's gap and different U-shaped patterns of occupational trajectories according to skills and legal status. He concluded that highly skilled migrants show a

steeper U-shaped pattern of occupational mobility than low-skilled migrants and a shallower one for economic migrants than family-class ones and refugees. In contrast, Massey advocated a historical and multidimensional approach to understand the sustainability of migration and employment outcomes. While Chiswick proposed an assimilation, theory based on individual factors such as migrants' human capital, Massey emphasised the cumulative causation based on contextual and network dimensions for decision-making and employment options for migrants.

Assimilation theory highlights the role of transferability of skills to compare pre- and post-migration employment outcomes. Indeed, recent research also points to the perceived compatibility of migrants' vocational experience to assess their occupational attainment in the long run. In contrast, Massey observed the cost-reducing characteristic of networks to sustain and expand migration amongst households and communities as well as to shape the occupational trajectories of migrants . Research on migrant networks and their impact on employment has shed light on the dis/advantages of co-national relations in job-hunting and in the working conditions of ethnic business. In a nutshell, downward occupational trajectories have been portrayed as momentary (Parella et al., 2013) or as an entrapment (Goldring & Landolt, 2011) in destination countries.

However, recent research with a life-course approach underscores the unevenness and multipath processes of occupational mobility. However, this literature is predominantly gender-blind, except for some studies (Donato et al., 2014; Vickstrom & Gonzalez-Ferrer, 2016; Vidal-Coso & Miret-Gamundi, 2014). Furthermore, the studies do not analyse the ways in which migrants cope with employment barriers and develop occupational projects. In this sense, the analysis of narratives about migration as an event in their careers and social class positioning "here" and "there" sheds light on the subjectivity of downgrading or upward mobility. In the following paragraphs, I briefly explain the main characteristics of this life-course approach to occupational mobility; I then present the narrative dimension of migrants' accounts about employment outcomes; and finally, I develop the gender dimensions of interactions between family and occupational trajectories.

III.4.2. Trajectories and penalties

A trajectory-oriented approach to occupational mobility in migration addresses the timing and duration of multiple employment states. Comparisons between pre- and post-migration occupational situations has considered status, sectors, requirements and earnings. However, the identification of sequences and pathways has been recently analysed. In particular, typical sequences of employment states shape employment pathways that show long-term effects for migrants' labour

market outcomes (S. Fuller & Martin, 2012). Instead of looking for causality, the interest focuses on circumstances at arrival and ongoing conditions of settlement. Employer's discrimination based on signalling of prior career characteristics and perceived social distance between home and host countries comes into play to understand path dependencies (early steps leave their imprints) and cumulative effects (accumulation of host country specific capital) (Kogan & Weißmann, 2013). For instance, whether the emphasis is on quick employment (e.g. access to jobs right after arrival) or on long-term investment (e.g. enrolment in language courses before job-hunting), both tactics seem to build up different sequences of events with potential unequal employment outcomes. In addition, immigrants' occupational decisions show processes of self-selection regarding higher or lower employment standards based on the success or failure in job-hunting on arrival (Kogan & Weißmann, 2013). Research on occupational mobility thus identifies differences of employment sequences and occupational decisions between migrants and natives as well as within the migrant population.

Ethnic penalties are found when controlling for a series of socio-demographic characteristics (gender, age, educational attainment, family status, etc.). Migrants are more disadvantaged in the labour market than natives (Reyneri & Fullin, 2011). For instance, unemployment seems to be more common among the migrant population than natives in different destination countries (Connor & Massey, 2010; Fleischmann & Dronkers, 2010; Vickstrom & Gonzalez-Ferrer, 2016). But a diachronic categorisation of work situations distinguishes underemployment into two risks of losing the current job and remaining in long-term unemployment. Findings have emphasised that migrant populations show more transitions into and out of unemployment as well as persistent engagement in precarious job positions (Demireva & Kesler, 2011; Fullin, 2011; Kogan, 2011). There are also inequalities within the migrant population according to the host country's institutional settings and nationality stereotypes. Country-level characteristics such as employment legislation and type of labour demand seems to be a better explanation than human capital (Reyneri & Fullin, 2011). A focus on transitions in occupational trajectories thus shows different ways in which ethnic penalty appears in destination countries. For example, access to long-term settlement authorisation may prove to be more important than qualification levels for the transition of Peruvians living in Switzerland out of precarious jobs. However, Peruvian women in feminised employment sectors seem to fare better in their regularisation processes and they are better able to neutralise the long-term effects of non-citizenship on employment outcomes than their male counterparts (see Chapter 5).

Based on human capital theory (Chapter 1), one dimension of the ethnic penalty discussion is related to skills. Highly skilled migration does not necessarily reflect a "smooth circulation of skills" around the globe (Varrel, 2011). Rather, it involves a complex network of actors involved in struggles for recognition. Much of the literature is concerned with the transferability of previously obtained skills to the host country's labour market (Raghuram, 2008, p. 85). Several researchers have pointed out the problems of deskilling due to the non-recognition of foreign educational credentials and work experience abroad (Iredale, 2005; Liversage, 2009b; Man, 2004). Given that the recognition of non-EU educational credentials seems to be problematic, reskilling practices (Chapter 4) in the host country appear to be the most promising solution for improving the labour market participation of migrants (Liversage, 2009b; Riaño & Baghdadi, 2007b). Consequently, acquiring educational credentials abroad is central to capital accumulation.

However, migrants' cultural capital does not represent a "rucksack" that is easily portable and transferable. According to Shan, "skills are a discursive and relational construct that is implicated in the social, cultural and economic organisation of work and workers" (Shan, 2013, p. 198). Skills are the product of the appropriation of work in a context marked by social class, gender and racial hierarchies based on nationality stereotypes (Scrinzi, 2013). While much of the literature has focused on the feminisation and racialisation[48] of migrant workers in low-skilled and poorly paid care services, less attention has been given to the gendering and racialisation of skills amongst highly skilled workers. The acquisition of educational credentials does not automatically improve labour market participation. The idea is not only to understand "which forms of skills are accredited but also to explore how such valuations are being arrived at, by whom, and in whose interests" (Raghuram, 2008, p. 85). The recognition of skills depends on the gender and nationality of the worker, the relations at the workplace and the forms of acquiring the skills (Kofman & Raghuram, 2015, p. 105). Formal modes of recognition (e.g. educational attainment and occupation) coexist with informal modes of recognition that show the ethno-national stereotypes of employers and recruitment agencies (Scrinzi, 2013; van Riemsdijk, 2013). Consequently, the analysis moves from the focus on selectivity at entry to the host countries to the processes of acquisition and valuing of

---

[48] According to Francesca Scrinzi, culturalist racism tends to explain the experiences of migrants on the basis of their different "mentalities, culture, religion, etc.". It also includes a genealogical vision of nationality that implies that integration of a migrant into another culture is doomed to fail (Scrinzi, 2013, pp. 50–51).

skills. The recognition of skills is a power-laden process that influences and is influenced by migrants' occupational trajectories.

While research on the so-called ethnic penalty has shown the trade-off between employment stability and quality, migrants' practices to exit precarious jobs are rarely analysed. Migrants might accept precarious jobs to gain language skills or to support themselves during training as part of longer-term migration projects (Alberti, 2014; Christensen, 2014; Liversage, 2009b). Other migrants might prefer informal jobs in order to avoid paying taxes and quickly accumulate financial resources. The high turnover rates in migrant-dominated sectors might provide a constant supply of informal fixed-term jobs. In this sense, migrants who accept informal fixed-term jobs develop job-hopping tactics. Without any formal engagement, they make themselves available to grasp better job offers when they come along. Job-hopping tactics can be observed in similar migrant-dominated employment sectors locally and globally. When a job opportunity comes up, they might embark on re-emigration to other destinations. In this sense, the other side of high turnover in migrant-dominated employment sectors might be the "mobility power" of leaving and entering temporary jobs at convenience (Alberti, 2014). Nevertheless, job-hopping tactics yield unequal outcomes. In the light of the resources and networks available, some migrants might use citizenship earned in one place to achieve better jobs in other destinations. However, other migrants might be forced into job-hopping in order to resist exploitation rather than achieve upwardly mobile careers.

The trajectory-oriented approach to migrants' occupational mobility also considers the tactics developed by migrants to cope with national settings and global trends of employment. It is also important to understand the subjective motivations of their occupational (im)mobility. Consequently, the focus on occupational trajectories complements the analysis of migrants' narratives (Brannen & Nilsen, 2011) aabout their transnational social positions.

III.4.3. Aspirations and distinctions

In combination with the trajectory-oriented approach, I propose to analyse migrants' narratives of physical and social mobility. In this sense, the meaning given to migration and other life transitions are analysed as dramatic plots to understand the conditions of the climax and the recounting of "before and after" moments. In doing this, the migrants' accounts display forms of self-positioning and positioning of others in the migration experiences, notably on the basis of gender, social class and citizenship status. The mobilisation of transnational frames of reference reveals the (re)creation of social class-based hierarchies in relation to occupational mobility and immobility.

Biographical analysis of migrants' accounts aims to understand migration as a life event. In the light of the concept of turning point, going abroad makes sense and is represented differently by different individuals (Bessin et al., 2009b). Contrary to the ambition to reconstruct migrants' original intentions, the focus here is on the interpretations (Dobry, 2009; Grossetti, 2006; Poussou-Plesse, 2009). As we have seen, migration pathways have different degrees of un/predictability (Grossetti, 2006). Understanding migration as a turning point thus includes structural logics and individual choices helped me to identify the ways in which actors identify tipping points that distinguish a "before" and "after". While moving abroad undeniably involves changes, migrants' presentations of prior situations and reactions vary considerably. Prior situations contain internal/external triggers to migrate that subsequently produce dynamics of continuity or change that are accepted or resisted by actors according to their dis/concordance with their initial aspirations (Denave, 2009; Hélardot, 2009). For instance, the fact of leaving Peru might have a particular meaning and role depending on whether migrants perceived no other possibility to earn an adequate salary in a context of crisis or whether they aspired to gaining international experience or saving up to boost their transnational careers. The ways in which those triggers are acted upon and recalled narratively depends on aspirations that are marked by the migrants' social positions. In particular, class origin not only influences practices of mobility but also feelings of downgrading, upgrading or status continuity in relation to home/host countries and other (non)migrants (Fresnoza-Flot & Shinozaki, 2017).

To understand the narratives of migrants' occupational mobility, it is also important to assesshow their trajectories are embedded in life projects and networks. While processes of gendering and racialisation of migrant careers are increasingly discussed (Kofman & Raghuram, 2015; Schrover et al., 2007; Scrinzi, 2013), analysis of migrants' class membership is often absent from the literature (Fresnoza-Flot & Shinozaki, 2017). On the one hand, migrants' accounts of mobility narrate not only access to resources but also ways of being as part of social class subjectivities that intersect with gender (Skeggs, 1997c). In particular, revisiting the social class debate in Migration Studies should include transnational frames of reference that may imply coherence and discrepancy between "here" and "there" (Fresnoza-Flot, 2017; Leung, 2017). These processes of dis/identification with class positions take place in relation to others, migrants and non-migrants, at multiple levels. Narratives about employment transitions abroad shed light on social class positionings in relation to family members across borders. Along gender lines, the mobilisation of family models shows not only the reinforcement of male breadwinner/female caregiver ideals but also the creation of alternative sources of identification.

Other local and global networks such as ethnic business and volunteering have been analysed to understand migrants' occupational (im)mobility (Handy & Greenspan, 2009; Sundeen et al., 2009; Yoon, 1991). The existing literature on these types of ethnic networks is rather ambivalent as to their influence on migrants' career opportunities: some studies have emphasised the closure, wage penalty and conflict associated with self-employment in ethnic business (Yoon, 1991), while other studies have shown how ethnic businesses and informal networks (e.g. through voluntary work) provide support and potential stepping-stones to better and more stable resources (McIlwaine & Bermúdez, 2011; Roth et al., 2012; Tomlinson, 2010). Interestingly, business and volunteering might use the same co-ethnic networks to combine paid and unpaid work and achieve recognition of qualifications (see Chapter 6). As mentioned previously, occupational aspirations and dis/identifications of migrant men and women crystallise in these activities: Peruvians in immigrant associations evoke markers of distinction against un/desirable members such as women without legal residence or university degrees. The mobilisation of co-ethnic networks (see Part IV) to embark on ethnic business represents an important tactic to achieve occupational mobility abroad.

In this part, I analyse the occupational trajectories of low-skilled Peruvian men. Their employment patterns appear to be rather continuous across borders, with the jobs occupied in Switzerland being very similar to the last job held in the home country. In contrast, unqualified Peruvian women are more likely to experience some form of social mobility, often moving from precarious jobs at destination, before moving up the occupational ladder in highly feminised sectors (e.g. care and restaurants) in the host country. The case of the men illustrate the effects of migrant-dominated sectors – entrapment in precarious jobs and the trade-off between stability and quality of jobs (Reyneri & Fullin, 2011), while the case of the women evoke the impact of citizenship (Goldring & Landolt, 2011), networks of compatriots (Roth et al., 2012) and job-hopping tactics towards better employment opportunities (Alberti, 2014; Christensen, 2014). As shown in Chapter 6, volunteering in Peruvian associations in Switzerland might provide a stepping-stone towards (self-)employment in ethnic business and an alternative source of recognition for qualifications. In addition, I present the occupational trajectories of Peruvian graduates from Swiss HE to show the upwardly mobile careers of male engineers as well as those that are mediated by bi-national marriages with gender-based outcomes. Despite having Swiss educational credentials, some Peruvian female graduates ended up out of the labour market due to the accumulation of caregiving in bi-national couples. Furthermore, Peruvian men and women evaluate differently the place of migration in their life-projects as well as its consequences for occupational attainment. Indeed, migrants' accounts of

downgrading, upgrading and resistance are embedded in relations with other Peruvians and perceptions about the home country.

Combining focus on trajectories and narratives, the analysis of occupational mobility of migrants addresses inequalities based on gender, social class and citizenship. While the trajectory approach sheds light on transitions to assess long-term effects on employment, the biographical approach emphasises the place given to migration as a turning point in occupational trajectories and social class positioning. In order to address this issue, Part III is divided into three chapters:

First, in order to assess migration as a turning point in biographies and occupational mobility, I compare Peruvian men's and women's occupational trajectories and focus on transitions into and out of employment and precarious jobs. While less skilled men remain in precarious jobs from home to host country, among those who obtained authorisation to work, women seem to fare better. In the light of transnational family caregiving dynamics, findings show that male trajectories are rather continuous while female ones might show upward mobility in specific employment sectors. In combination with the accumulation of family caregiving, the non/citizenship dynamics show a cumulative effect that progressively leads to exit from the Swiss labour market.

Secondly, I analyse the occupational trajectories of Peruvian graduates of Swiss HE institutions. This chapter displays the impact of bi-national marriages on employment outcomes along gender lines. Although a group of male graduates can directly access the upper segments of the Swiss labour market, another group gained access by means of family reunification – bi-national marriage. For the latter, the couple's negotiations about caregiving have an impact on access to the Swiss labour market. Peruvian female graduates tended to accumulate caregiving and remained in involuntary underemployment in terms of qualifications and occupation rate.

Finally, I analyse the narratives of employment and family caregiving of Peruvian graduates from Swiss HE institutions. In so doing, I present the tensions around partnership, care and career in the narratives about transition to the Swiss labour market. Migrants' narratives of occupational mobility shed light on the intersections of social class and gender positioning across borders. Although the traditional family model might be reinforced at the host country, other forms of identification emerged that provide alternative discourses about femininities and masculinities across borders.

Part III - Chapter 7

Migration as a turning point in occupational trajectories

Introduction

In this chapter, I compare the transitions into and out of employment and precarious jobs in Switzerland experienced by Peruvian men and women with different types of educational credentials (except for Swiss HE degrees, see Chapter 8). I also analyse their narratives about migration as a turning point in their occupational trajectories. I therefore continue to study transnational frames of reference to assess migrants' (im)mobility. Social class intersections with gender and citizenship produce different narratives about the effect of migration on careers. Beside upward mobility or downgrading patterns, occupational mobility may be characterised by narratives of continuity. In less skilled sectors of the labour market, Peruvian men seem to maintain a similar employment status in Switzerland as they had in Peru, whereas Peruvian women seem to move up the socio-economic hierarchy after migration (e.g. to positions with more responsibilities). The shifts in the non/citizenship continuum and couples' negotiations seem to play a greater role in women's careers than in those of their male counterparts. Based on shared family caregiving, migrant women seem to better capitalise on access to long-term residence authorisation and are able to improve their employment conditions in female-dominated sectors of the labour market. In addition, narratives about occupational mobility in relation to family dynamics differ along gender lines. For those remaining in low-status employment, occupational continuity represents a tactic to counteract the devaluation of their competences during migration, whereas for those who progressively exit the Swiss labour market due to reduced occupation rates and frequent non-employment spells, the experience of downgrading might encourage plans for onward migration or homecoming.

Recent research has established that national settings have a greater impact on migrants' occupational trajectories than individual characteristics (Barbiano di Belgiojoso, 2017; Reyneri & Fullin, 2011). Within the EU region, the study of the Swiss context is interesting for the steady low unemployment rate and scarcity of national workforce in skilled employment sectors (Ebner & Helbling, 2015; Liechti, Fossati, Bonoli, & Auer, 2016). Furthermore, public debate has justified discrimination against migrants on the basis of a "cultural distance" and/or "skills deficit" argument (Yeung, 2016). While the ethnic penalty in occupational trajectories is a broad topic, the analysis of

Peruvians in Switzerland makes two contributions. The first one is a better understanding of new waves of non-EU citizens who seem to be strongly disadvantaged and under-researched in comparison with other foreigners (e.g. the prior immigrant waves consisting of Spaniards, Portuguese, Turks and citizens from the former Yugoslavia). The second contribution is the time-sensitive approaches: life-course and narratives. While cross-sectional research is useful, longitudinal analyses focused on migrants' employment transitions and sequences are scarce (Kogan & Weißmann, 2013; Reyneri & Fullin, 2011). My analytical framework looks at the dynamics of occupational trajectories but also migrants' tactics and perceptions. Although the ethnic penalty for migrant populations has been widely corroborated (Zschirnt & Ruedin, 2016), statistical research does not address the gender and social class issues in occupational trajectories across borders. Transnational and local axes of differentiation are at play in the occupational mobility patterns of Peruvians in the Swiss labour market. Comparison of Peruvian men and women in terms of education level, non/citizenship statuses and family caregiving situations sheds light on specific barriers and opportunities that lead to three routes – patterns of transitions – to unequal employment outcomes in the Swiss labour market. Right after arrival, most Peruvians turned down the first job offers they received, since these were perceived to be below their aspirations in terms of wages, schedules, formality, etc. These jobs were in the migrant-dominated employment sectors. Consequently, Peruvian migrants develop tactics to resist precarity in the Swiss labour market. However, only a few said they had achieved occupational advancement, even after several decades living in Switzerland. Continuity between pre- and post-migration low-skilled jobs seems to be widespread amongst Peruvian men. Peruvian women employed in female-dominated sectors experience some form of upward mobility in the sense that they are progressively able to access jobs with more responsibility, if not significantly better working conditions. According to non/citizenship dynamics, other migrants might consider re-emigration and homecoming as solutions for occupational advancement projects.

This chapter is structured around five sub-sections. After briefly presenting how transitions and sequences in occupational trajectories impact on employment outcomes (1), I then go on to review employment trajectories and the ethnic penalty against non-EU citizens in the Swiss labour market (2). After presenting the participants under research here (3), I go on to present the three gendered patterns of transitions in the Swiss labour market and narratives about the impact of migration of occupational careers (4), before concluding the discussion on this topic (5).

III.7.1. Migrants employment trajectories: ethnic penalties

Although the literature about migrants' labour market participation is abundant, certain aspects of this issue remain less clear. Ethnic penalties for migrant populations have been widely verified, but the mechanisms of discrimination and time-dependent effects are less well known. I thus propose to adopt a dynamic approach focused on transitions into and out of unemployment and precarious jobs (Kogan & Weißmann, 2013; Reyneri & Fullin, 2011). Research on employment discrimination against migrant populations has pointed out several dimensions: stereotypes, networks, citizenship status, etc. While these factors are important, nationality-based hierarchies are intertwined with gender and social class dynamics. Comparison between male and female migrants sheds light on gendered family-employment arrangements, unequal patterns of social mobility and gender-based class subjectivities. Indeed, the analysis of narratives about migration as a turning point in occupational trajectories underscores the multiple meanings and practices.

Recent longitudinal research has shown the advantages of a dynamic approach to understanding migrants' employment trajectories (Barbiano di Belgiojoso, 2017; Kogan & Weißmann, 2013; Reyneri & Fullin, 2011). First, a focus on labour market transitions in the analysis of the unemployment gap between migrants and nationals shows the presence of two risks with different implications: entering unemployment and remaining in long-term unemployment. Indeed, cross-national differences in Europe show that unemployment gaps hide different mechanisms. Non-EU15 citizens in Southern European countries remain unemployed for equivalent or even shorter spells than natives. However, in Central and Northern European countries, foreigners show longer spells of unemployment (Reyneri & Fullin, 2011). Differences have been explained by national settings: labour market demands, the level of protective labour legislation and welfare regimes. The high level of precarious jobs seems to explain the shorter spells of unemployment migrants experience in Italy and Spain, where even highly skilled non-EU15 foreigners accept fixed-term contracts (Fullin, 2011; Reyneri, 2004). In countries with flexible labour market regulations, such as the UK, the risk of long-term unemployment is higher for non-EU15 citizens than for other groups (Demireva & Kesler, 2011). Although the mobility of non-EU15 citizens between employment and unemployment seems higher than that of nationals, they predominantly work in the secondary labour market (Fullin, 2011; Kogan, 2011; Stanek & Veira Ramos, 2013). The focus on transitions helps to understand how unemployment gaps involve different forms of vulnerability.

The focus on the dynamics of immigrants' trajectories addresses time-dependent effects on employment outcomes. The accumulation of resources according to length of stay and the signalling power of first steps have an influence on labour market positions (Christensen, 2014; Goldring & Landolt, 2011; Kogan & Weißmann, 2013; Liversage, 2009a; Ngo, 2006; Parella et al., 2013). As stated by Kogan and Weißman "labour market incorporation is unfolding over a variety of transitionary states, and the sum and the order of transitions might carry significance above and beyond single status transitions" (2013, p. 187).

The idea here is thus to pay attention to transitions in migrants' employment histories, as well as the timing of sequences and states. Beside un/employment transitions, training and family events are part of such sequences (Fresnoza-Flot, 2017; Söhn, 2016). Also, different outcomes depend on quick or delayed entry into the labour market and longer or shorter spells of precarious jobs. Based on signalling, quick entry into high-status employment tends to produce favourable employment outcomes in the long-term. Despite cumulative effects, noncitizenship spells seem to have rather ambiguous effects on employment outcomes (Corluy et al., 2011; Goldring & Landolt, 2011). In Germany, longer spells of non-employment or of working in lower-status job seem to leave no scars on later careers, whereas host country education and high-status working experience seem to bring no salary rewards (Kogan & Weißmann, 2013). In Italy, accumulation of host country skills by means of longer years of residence does not systematically lead to upward mobility (Barbiano di Belgiojoso, 2017; Vidal-Coso & Miret-Gamundi, 2014). In this sense, immigrants' access to the labour market involves different sequences and pathways into unequal labour market positions.

These longitudinal studies have paid little attention to gender (Donato et al., 2014; Vickstrom & Gonzalez-Ferrer, 2016). More qualitative research has already analysed migrant women's life-courses and biographies (Umut Erel, 2015; Liversage, 2009a; Parella et al., 2013). However, less research have been done in comparison with that on men (Ajay Bailey & Mulder, 2017; Kõu, Mulder, & Bailey, 2017a; Triandafyllidou & Isaakyan, 2016a), especially in precarious employment sectors (Christensen, 2014; Dyer et al., 2011). Although groups of migrant men and women work in precarious employment sectors, the mechanisms into and out of less skilled jobs seem to be different (Christensen, 2014; Kilkey et al., 2013; Kofman & Raghuram, 2015; Scrinzi, 2013). In addition, migrant men are increasingly working in highly feminised sectors such as care, cleaning and cooking that might exacerbate feelings of downgrading and develop resistance tactics (Christensen, 2014; Sarti & Scrinzi, 2010), whereas migrant women may find other negotiation tactics and ways to be upwardly mobile in the same sectors (Parella et al., 2013; Seminario, 2011;

Vidal-Coso & Miret-Gamundi, 2014). In addition, family and legal transitions have unequal impacts on labour market participation. For instance, there appears to be greater penalisation for married migrant women who enter via family reunification in the USA and France (Donato et al., 2014; Vickstrom & Gonzalez-Ferrer, 2016). As mentioned previously (Chapter 4), the dependent quality of family reunification legal pathways has an impact on transition to the Swiss labour market and a long-term effect on the exercise of professions (or lack thereof) along gender lines.

III.7.1.1. Biographical approach

While the life-course approach aims to discern time-sensitive mechanisms of discrimination in the labour market, the biographical approach acknowledges migrants' assessments of their own social mobility and practices to cope with the ethnic penalty. The aim is to understand the extent to which migration is a turning point or not in migrants' biographies made up of other life domains and evolving aspirations. Migrants' narratives retrospectively convey their perceptions about the migration project: before and during travel as well as subsequent reactions. Migration as a turning point depends on migrants' perceptions of conditions and consequences as un/foreseeable and ir/reversible (Grossetti, 2006). Although migration seems an irreversible event, migrants have unequal time, resources and information to plan their departure, anticipate arrival conditions and return home if necessary. Contexts of economic and political crisis seem to lead to rushed decisions whereas family networks at the host country may diminish pre-migration anxieties. Migrants who ask for money loans to travel, have family responsibilities or do not have a legal status might not consider return as an option whereas single childless migrants with visas who travel to "explore chances abroad" might contemplate return as an option. Perceptions of migration as ir/reversible with un/foreseeable consequences also affect attitudes towards first jobs in the host country. Those with urgent financial needs and less information might accept first job offers without hesitation, but those with support at the host country and possibilities to return might wait longer for entry to the Swiss labour market (Hellermann, 2006). According to their pre-migration socio-economic situations, if migrants perceive the first job abroad as matching their expectations, they would attempt to stay there, whereas jobs perceived as unsatisfactory might trigger resistance tactics (Hélardot, 2009). From the beginning, perceptions have an impact on migrants' tactics. Consequently, the mobility patterns of Peruvian men and women and their employment outcomes are made up of transitions and aspirations. In turn, perceptions and aspirations regarding careers are influenced by social class positionings that are re-interpreted across borders and intersect with gender identities and non/citizenship dynamics.

III.7.2. Foreigners' access to the Swiss labour market

The Swiss labour market is characterised by a relatively low unemployment rate, labour scarcities in certain employment sectors and specific nationality-based inequalities amongst foreigners. In comparison with a 9.1% rate of unemployment amongst EU-28 countries in 2015, the rate was 4.7% in Switzerland (Walter et al., 2016). Unsurprisingly, the foreign population is more affected by unemployment than nationals: with rates of 8.3% and 3.2% respectively for 2015 (OFS, 2016).

In 2015, Switzerland suffered from a shortage of highly-skilled workers such as engineers, health and education professionals (SECO, 2016). Those occupations also show different rates of foreign workforce: 20% for engineers, 6.7% for health professionals and 10% for education ones(SECO, 2016). In addition, foreigners are present in less skilled employment sectors: 18% in construction, 17% in hospitality and domestic services, and 11% rate in elementary occupations (e.g. cleaning) (SECO, 2016). In this sense, female and male foreigners in Switzerland experience different patterns of labour market access. Female-dominated employment sectors such as health and education limit the recruitment of highly skilled foreigners more than male-dominated sectors, such as engineering. Other female-dominated sectors offer less skilled jobs. However, foreign men in less skilled jobs might face similar precarious conditions to their female counterparts.

Nationality-based inequalities in the Swiss labour market show salient features. Since the 1990s, EU citizens and non-OECD/EU citizens have contributed to a steady growth of highly skilled inflows (NCCR ON THE MOVE, 2017d). However, employment outcomes are unequal: In comparison to migrants from 3rd circle countries, EU citizens show a lower rate of unemployment (6.1% and 14.9% in 2015) and underemployment (15.9% and 26.6% in 2015) (FSO, 2016c, 2017c). Rather than the risk of long-term unemployment, it seems that being trapped in precarious jobs below skill levels is widespread amongst non-EU citizens. Quantitative research has compared employment outcomes between the so-called new (Germany, France and Austria) and old (Italy, Spain and Portugal) migrants from EU countries and Former Yugoslavia (Auer, Bonoli, & Fossati, 2015, 2017; Auer, Bonoli, Fossati, & Liechti, 2016; Ebner & Helbling, 2015; Fibbi et al., 2003; Lagana, 2011). After controlling for human capital, networks and psychological traits, it seems that new waves of migrants still fare better than their older counterparts and non-EU citizens (Auer et al., 2015). Although the labour participation of non-EU foreigners has not been studies so extensively, they might represent one of the most vulnerable groups in terms of job quality and legal situation.

Indeed, the number of Latin American citizens might be underestimated in quantitative studies, notably due to a higher than average share of undocumented migrants (Morlok et al., 2015).

In this sense, Peruvian access to the Swiss labour market has two striking features. Although they represent an under-researched group, being in a statistical minority as foreigners, they are responsible for three decades of sustained migration to Switzerland (1980-2010), and are characterised by high education levels, multiple labour market positions and diverse legal trajectories. While the first waves of Peruvian migrants to Switzerland faced fewer legal barriers than their 1990s counterparts, the most recent waves have experienced secondary migration from Spain to Switzerland. Holders of EU passports can be expected to fare better in the Swiss labour market than those arriving directly from Peru or another non-EU country. Since quantitative measures of dual citizenship holders and unauthorised population are hard to found, this qualitative study of patterns of occupational mobility in the Peruvian migrant population is a contribution to this endeavour.

III.7.2.1. Longitudinal studies of migrants' employment trajectories in Switzerland

Longitudinal research on the labour market transitions of migrant populations in Switzerland has brought valuable knowledge. Although the range of nationalities is predominantly limited to EU citizens, these studies contribute to our understanding of the Swiss context. The risk of losing a job seems higher for all foreigners than for Swiss citizens (Auer et al., 2017; Lagana, 2011). As in Southern European countries, there seems to be a trade-off between spells of unemployment and job quality: shorter spells of unemployment are accompanied by frequent shifts between precarious jobs (Lagana, 2011). But research indicates inequalities based on nationality: longer spells for non-EU citizens and shorter spells for Portuguese migrants, with unstable figures for migrants from former Yugoslavia (Auer et al., 2017; Lagana, 2011). In addition, there are two interesting features of wage penalties and occupational mobility. German-speaking foreigners and French citizens seem to have an advantage in terms of salary – even in comparison with Swiss nationals (Ebner & Helbling, 2015). Although this result might be explained by education levels, other studies have pointed to employer's discrimination against other nationalities (Auer et al., 2015). Another interesting feature is a type of upward mobility amongst non-EU and former Yugoslavian foreigners: those in blue-collar jobs achieved higher levels of responsibility than their Swiss counterparts in the same sector (Lagana, 2011). Consequently, foreign populations in the labour

market show a mix of nationality-based disadvantages and (sector specific) opportunities for upward mobility.

One explanation of nationality-based inequalities in Switzerland has been cultural distance. Indeed, this concept had inspired previous legislation – the three circles system adopted in the 1990s. However, research on current integration policies shows that the previous notion of cultural distance has translated into a skill deficit discourse (Yeung, 2016). For instance, integration measures in relation to Swiss national languages are stricter for "migrants" than for "expats". English-speakers are less forced to learn any national language since English is valued as a sign of internationalisation, and German-speaking foreigners are mistakenly considered easy to integrate due to an underestimation of Swiss-German dialects in daily interactions. In contrast, French-speaking Africans are not seen as well integrated, whereas there is little or no use of dialects in the French-speaking cantons. Combined with an ethnic vision of citizenship (*jus sanguinis*), cultural distance seems to merge "developed Western Europe" and "desired Swiss-ness" against a "less developed and highly threatening rest of the world" (C. Fischer & Dahinden, 2016; Riaño & Wastl-Walter, 2006). The "cultural distance" discourse also influences employer-employee relations. Nationality stereotypes about skills and competencies go some way to explaining gender inequalities in the labour market (Scrinzi, 2013; van Riemsdijk, 2013). One example of the ambivalent effects of such stereotypes is the idealisation of the domestic, docile and caring virtues of South American women (Mora & Undurraga, 2013), which may actually prove favourable to Peruvian women's access to the Swiss labour market.

Valuable research on labour outcomes for foreigners has concluded on the widespread existence of institutional discrimination (Auer et al., 2015, 2017, 2016). In response to public debates about foreigners' (lack of) work ethic, Auer, Bonoli and Fossati show that higher unemployment rates for some migrant groups, including citizens from former Yugoslavia and outside Europe, can not be explained by objective differences in employability such as human capital, social networks, job searching skills, life satisfaction, attitudes towards welfare, (Auer et al., 2015, 2017). In addition, the same authors tested nationality (Portugal, former Yugoslavia and Senegal) as a signal of employer's hiring intent in the hospitality sector. Results show that being a foreigner was a negative signal for skilled jobs, but it was a positive signal for unskilled jobs (Auer et al., 2016). However, other research has concluded that similarities in education systems favoured citizens from neighbouring countries such as Germany and Austria in the Swiss labour market (Ebner & Helbling, 2015). Also, access to

citizenship and length of stay show the biggest returns to those perceived as more distant; but these groups capitalise least on their academic qualifications (Ebner & Helbling, 2015).

Instead of unemployment risks, non-EU/OECD foreigners are likely in lower segments of the labour market in Switzerland. In fact, there is less state dependency for immigrants than Swiss citizens. Once the transition into manual occupations takes place, the latter show a higher probability of remaining in these jobs than the former (Lagana, 2011). Whereas non-EU/OECD and former Yugoslavia foreigners show a high mobility into and out of unemployment, they are less likely to exit blue-collar jobs and enter non-manual positions than EU/OECD citizens (except for older waves: Italians, Portuguese and Spanish) (Lagana, 2011). However, non-EU/OECD citizens more frequently show upward mobility from lower- to higher-responsibility blue-collar jobs than Swiss citizens. It seems that access to the Swiss labour market through the lowest positions represents a pathway into upward mobility in particular employment sectors. One possible explanation of this success in lower segments of the labour market is positive selection in terms of socio-economic background of the new waves of migrants compared with the background of less skilled Swiss workers (Lagana, 2011, p. 346). The focus on transitions in Peruvians' occupational trajectories as well as their narrative accounts of migration as a turning point in their careers can shed light on these mechanisms in the Swiss labour market.

III.7.3. Methodological clarifications

This chapter is based on a sub-group of 36 participants (18 women and 18 men) who had not obtained a Swiss HE degree and had not reached the upper segments of the Swiss labour market (see Chapter 3). Although they represent a highly heterogeneous group, they share common features. Most of them arrived in Switzerland in the 1990s (14) and the 2010s (10) in the age group 20-35. Although most of them overstayed their visas on arrival, they currently have residence and settlement permits as well as Swiss passports. Eight of them hold EU passports (France and Spain) and nine remain without any legal authorisation. Regarding educational level, ten obtained a university degree while eleven finished compulsory education in Peru. Half of Peruvian university degree holders are women; but four Peruvian men obtained VET degrees. While most of them arrived single with no children, the majority are currently in bi-national marriages and have children. However, most of the divorces involved Peruvian men. Regarding occupational trajectories, most of them work in the following employment sectors: ethnic business (restaurants and music), care, construction and cleaning.

The data enabled me to adopt a multi-dimensional approach to biographies, since "the complete biographical path of an individual is composed of a series of parallel trajectories: familial, relational, occupational, residential, etc." (Levy & Widmer, 2013a, p. 17). In order to represent the various patterns of transitions into and out of unemployment and precarious jobs, I have adopted an annotation technique that enables us to compare a corpus of life stories from people who shared similar circumstances, but without subsuming individual experiences under over-generalised categorisations (Liversage, 2009a, p. 207). This type of notation is valuable for depicting "an individual's movements through time and (stratified) social space" (Liversage, 2009a, p. 208). The analysis of life calendars provides information on home country transitions, and biographical interviews display perceptions of (im)mobility and assessments of migration as a turning point.

III.7.4. Labour market transitions for Peruvian men and women in Switzerland

The interviews and life calendars reveal that Peruvian migrants experience different patterns of access to the Swiss labour market, characterised by continuity in employment sectors, (sector-bounded) upward mobility or progressive exit from the labour market (or occupational downgrading). As expected, Peruvian migrants transition into and out of employment frequently, but predominantly remain in migrant-dominated sectors. The continuity of employment patterns between Peru and Switzerland is most likely in less skilled jobs. However, occupational mobility within a given employment sector does occur, for instance through ethnic business ventures. While the continuous employment patterns seem to be male-dominated, Peruvian women seem to experience more opportunities for upward mobility. Less skilled Peruvian men find ways to counteract occupational downgrading, notably by finding similar jobs in Switzerland as those they had in Peru. In contrast, Peruvian women found ways to improve their job status by moving up the ladder of responsibility and earnings, despite remaining in migrant-dominated sectors (e.g. caring and ethnic business). Beside investment in language courses, there are other pathways to achieve recognition of competences earned in the host country. In this sense, ethnic business ventures represented an opportunity for upward mobility. The last pattern of access to the Swiss labour market is characterised by the progressive diminution of employment rates and by an increase in the frequency and length of non-employment spells. In other words, this trajectory ultimately leads to exit from the Swiss labour market. Uncertainties about remaining abroad and the accumulation of family caregiving responsibilities tend to be associated with this pattern. It may also occur in response to feelings of downgrading and be combined with the adoption of unpaid voluntary work or planning for onward migration or homecoming.

Although security of presence abroad represents a condition for upward mobility, the distribution of family caregiving has an impact on the three patterns: shared family caregiving provides women with the opportunity to advance their careers, whereas the female accumulation of care duties hinders their labour market participation. Peruvian men capitalise on the delegation of family caregiving to their spouse and mobilise the "male breadwinner" discourse for self-positioning across borders. However, whatever the extent of delegation of care to someone else, this doesn't necessarily enable them to achieve upward occupational mobility. The assessment of pre- and post-migration employment situations is coupled to the analysis of migrants' prospective thinking. I conclude that the labour market transitions show that migration has a variable effect on occupational trajectories. There are three routes (Vasey, 2016) for Peruvians to follow onto the Swiss labour market: from continuity in less-skilled sectors between pre- and post-migration phases, upward mobility in migrant-dominated sectors and the diminution of labour market participation. Consequently, these findings show not only occupational im/mobility but also the ways in which migrants perceive and react to barriers and opportunities in their careers.

Although the study sample is not representative of the Peruvian migrant population as a whole, it is interesting to note that half of the interviewees (15) were in precarious jobs at the time of interview (e.g. low-status, fixed-term and below-qualification jobs or out-of-employment situations). The other half had been more successful in access to the Swiss labour market and were either working in similar jobs to the ones they had had in Peru (11), or had experienced some form of upward occupational mobility (10)

In the summary graphs presented below (Figure 15), I illustrate each of the three patterns of Peruvian access to the Swiss labour market.

The horizontal x-axis depicts both historical time and the number of years since immigration to Switzerland; it thus enables us to contextualise individual trajectories within historical events, such as the political violence and economic crisis that took place in Peru between 1980 and 2000, the Federal National Act (FNA) that was introduced in Switzerland, and the economic crisis that hit Spain from 2008.

The vertical y-axis represents respondents' movement through stratified social space. The left-hand side of the graph depicts educational events and occupational and employment statuses. The blue arrow refers to periods of study in Peru or Switzerland, including any language courses. Time spent in employment figures in the upper left part of the graph, placing stable, full-time jobs that required

university credentials as the most desirable outcome. Other employment outcomes are graded according to the resources they bring to the respondents. The category "better positions in the same sector" refers to full-time jobs with higher responsibility that are also commensurate with skills, but that require secondary-level educational credentials (e.g. VET). Finally, the category "low-level employment" refers to jobs that do not require any formal qualification and that are often involuntary part-time, short-term and/or undeclared. The category "out of the labour market" refers to situations where respondents were not in employment at the time of the interview (including those in voluntary work or full-time homemaking), but who were not officially registered as unemployed either. On the right-hand side of the graph, the green arrow depicts different family events: partnership, marriage, birth of children and degree of care responsibilities, which is divided into three distinct categories: "delegated care" corresponds to situations where the respondent delegates almost all caregiving responsibilities to someone else, usually their spouse. The category "shared care" depicts situations where care activities are equally shared between both partners and/or other family members and the category "primary caregiver" designates situations where the respondent has personal responsibility for the domestic and care arrangements of the household.

As shown in Figure 15, the three patterns display short blue arrows that represent non-university studies. The "continuous pathways" pattern (see Table F in Annexes pages 32 - 34: participants 1 to 11), is a male-dominated form of transition characterised by low-status jobs in migrant-dominated sectors: construction, cleaning and hospitality sectors. The respondents hold low-skilled jobs before and after migration, and never changed sector or status regardless of the considerable number of years they have already time spent in Switzerland: the red arrow. However, they achieved relatively stable jobs in migrant-dominated sectors. After compulsory education, they quickly entered the lower segments of the labour market in Peru and they remained in similar jobs after migration to Switzerland. Here, achieving legal security in the host country has no influence on occupational mobility. These migrants remain "blocked" in similar low-status jobs and employment sectors. They generally assume a breadwinner role and delegate most caregiving to female members of the transnational family. However, Peruvian men who contract a bi-national marriage would appear to divorce more frequently than those in other employment profiles. Interviewees who have experienced this type of employment trajectory have relatively demanding family obligations that influenced the cnditions under which they arrived in Switzerland. The need to send remittances home and/or to provide for family members in either country affected their first steps in the Swiss labour market. They felt obliged to accept the first job offers they received, regardless of the

employment and working conditions. They thus experienced a rapid entry to the Swiss labour market. Given the lack of contacts and the paucity of resources for settlement, their narratives emphasise the absence of predictability during the migration phase; on arrival, they literally didn't know what to expect. Due to debts incurred for travelling, return to Peru was not an option. Although migration is narrated as unpredictable life event, the participants emphasised the continuity of their employment trajectories across national boundaries. In the face of precariousness, the narrative of maintaining similar jobs across borders serves to combat any feelings of downgrading.

The second pattern of transitions (see Table F in Annexes pages 32 - 34: participants 12 to 21) represents situations of "upward mobility" after migration in terms of status and earnings (e.g. skilled employees or business owners). After post-compulsory education and employment commensurate with qualifications in Peru, these respondents migrated for family or occupational reasons such as marriage with a Swiss citizen, to gain occupational experience abroad or to save up to invest in a business venture back home. On arrival, their first steps were characterised by occupational shifts, language courses and low-status jobs in migrant-dominated segments of the Swiss labour market. They accepted jobs below their expectations in order to gain information, resources and contacts. With a view to improving their future employment prospects. These participants moved up the hierarchical ladder in those sectors. After several years of service, they were promoted to supervisory roles, moved into self-employment, or into more skilled/non-domestic care jobs. Access to long-term residence authorisation represented a condition for this upward mobility. In contrast with the first type, these respondents were able to capitalise on citizenship status for developing their professional projects. While most of them gained legal settlement through bi-national marriage, they shared caregiving responsibilities with spouses and siblings. In contrast with the first type, most of them were single and did not have children on arrival in Switzerland and they were therefore under no pressure to send money back home. They also received the support of Swiss partners and/or siblings already in Switzerland. The consequences after migration seemed less unforeseeable, and they felt less compelled to take first jobs they could find. In subsequent phases, support from transnational family members (spouse and siblings) favoured their upward mobility aspirations, by providing information, contacts and funds. This is a female-dominated pattern of transition in migrant-dominated sectors: care and ethnic business ventures.

The third "out of the labour market" pattern represents situations where frequent non-employment spells eventually lead out of the Swiss labour market (see Table F in Annexes pages 32 - 34: participants 22 to 36). Although post-compulsory education in Peru is common, post-migration employment is characterised by precarious jobs: short-term and part-time as well as below qualifications. In contrast with the other two types, this transition pattern shows more frequent and longer spells of non-employment and the progressive diminution of paid working hours. Former or current situations of non-citizen forms are more frequent than in the prior types. Family situations are plural, but the accumulation of family caregiving locally and transnationally is central to this pattern. In contrast with the second type, family support at the host country was less efficient in counteracting precariousness. However, volunteering represents an alternative source of identification while re-emigration and homecoming represent a possibility. While the degrees of predictability of the travel and its consequences were variable, this type shows the most frequent narratives of reversibility of migration in Switzerland. The prospective thinking of migrants more frequently contemplated leaving the country than in the two other types. This is also a female-dominated pattern where holders of Peruvian university educational credentials progressively exit the labour market and accumulate caregiving.

Migration

Low-level employment

Oblig./techn. Studies PE

Divorce

Marriage

Delegated care

Continuous pathways
male-dominated quick entry and stable path into low-status jobs

Migration

High-level employment
Better stat./same sect.
Low-level employment

Techn./Univ. Studies PE

Marriage

Shared caregiving

Upward mobility
female-dominated path into better job status in the same sector

Migration

High-level employment

Low-level employment
Language courses

Tech./Univ. Studies PE
Out of labor market

Marriage
Primary caregiver

Out of the labor market
Pathway into non-employment

Figure 15. Labour market transitions for Peruvian men and women

III.7.4.1. Continuity in occupational trajectories

This path refers to Peruvians who experienced a quick entry into low-status jobs in Peruvian and Swiss labour markets. In contrast with other two types, training spells in either country are shorter or non-existent after compulsory education in Peru. Transitions in or out of employment are less frequent in both countries than the other two types and transition out of low-status jobs has not yet happened. Consequently, continuity of occupational trajectories involves not only low-status jobs right after arrival but also the stability of this labour market position after 16 years of residence on average. Interestingly, only a few of them remained without legal authorisation to work, but legal security did not automatically lead to better status jobs. This pattern of transition is male-dominated and is characterised by the delegation of family caregiving to female and/or non-mobile members. One example is Marco, who worked as a fast-food employee in Peru, met a Swiss woman touring in Peru and followed her to Switzerland to marry her (see Figure 16). He is the youngest of two

sons of a lower-middle-class family in Lima. After finishing compulsory education, he enrolled in short-term computer courses (1) paid by his parents in a technical institute in Peru. His parents encouraged him to look for jobs right after. He found a job in a fast-food restaurant (2) and spent six years working in different ones. Then he decided to quit his job and visit his friend who had a tourism business on the Northern Coast of Peru (4). There, he met a Swiss woman (3). She extended the stay in Peru to spend time together. Since she was going to visit family members in a Central American country, she invited him to come along. His visa was nonetheless refused. After four months, she returned to visit him in Peru. They travelled together in Peru and decided to get married in Switzerland. She helped him to get a special visa for family reunification (4) in the Swiss Embassy in Peru. She returned to Switzerland and he waited for the answer in Lima. When he got the visa, he travelled to a French-speaking city in Switzerland to join her. They married (5) and she became pregnant right after. However, he was seriously ill in the first four months (6) but was treated and healed rapidly. Then, he enrolled in French courses (7), where he met other South American migrants. He started to play soccer with them. He became a father (8) and was desperately looking for jobs. His soccer friend helped him to find a job in a fast-food restaurant: a Mexican one (9). The couple decided that she would stay at home with their son (10). After some months, he quit the job because the boss did not pay the workers regularly. He registered as unemployed (11). After two months, he found another job in a fast-food restaurant thanks to a former colleague. He continues to work there and maintains good relations with the owner and colleagues (12). However, the couple decided to separate with the help of a lawyer (13). He moved out and lived by himself. He takes care of his son two days a week. He did not lose the residence permit since he is the only one working. His wife is not employed and receives social aid.

Education: computer courses										
Age at entering Switzerland: 26										
		Peru			**Switzerland**					
				0	1	2	3	5	6	
High-level employment										
Better stat./same sector							13			Divorce
Low-level employment	2				8/9		12			Children
Studies Switzerland				5						Marriage
Language courses		3		7						Partnership
Studies Peru	1									Primary caregiver
Out of labour market			4	6						Shared caregiving
Unemployment				10		11				Delegated care
	2005	06/10	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	

	1: computer courses		5: marriage in CH		9: fast food worker
	2: fast food worker		6: Sickness		10: stay-at-home wife
	3: Meet Swiss woman		7: language courses		11: unemployment
	4: quit job/ visa procedures		8: parenthood		12: fast food worker
					13: separation

Figure 16. Lifelines of Marco

Marco also mobilised narratives of continuity to explain occupational mobility. In other words, he explained the ways in which the experiences of low-status jobs in Peru quickly enabled him to gain a foothold in the Swiss labour market. He stated that:

> "After playing soccer, I always went with a Colombian friend to eat Mexican food in a fast-food restaurant. They sell good and cheap tacos. One evening, I went by myself because my friend did not come to play. I arrived and started to talk [in Spanish] with the owners who are Swiss-Mexican. They were born and raised in Mexico and came here to learn French and English (…) I started to talk with one of them. I told him that I had worked for several years in fast-food restaurants in Lima and that I knew how things work… and he said ok… I started the same night". (Marco, aged 30, fast-food worker)

The narratives of continuity represent a resource in job-hunting abroad. Marco labelled his employment story in Lima a "speciality" and mobilised this idea in his motivation letters and CV. Since he had already gained Swiss experience and entertained good relations with the owner, Marco is optimistic about the opportunity to move up the ladder as a supervisor in the future. Another example of narratives of continuity is Rodrigo, who had worked for ten years as a bus driver in Lima. After having his first child in Switzerland, Rodrigo decided to apply to the city public transport enterprise; but he did not have a Swiss professional driver's licence:

> "I told them [the enterprise] that I did not have the licence, but I had worked ten years in public transport in Lima (…) I could not offer proof of my professional experience since in Peru the enterprises are informal and do not provide those documents… They told me that there was no problem, but I should write about my experience in my motivation letter. I did that, and I was called back for the rest of the hiring process (…) I remembered the first time that I had to drive a trolley bus with the instructor and the other students. In Peru, we don't have trolley buses… but the instructor saw me drive I asked me if I had already driven buses, I told him that I had driven other types of buses in Peru… He replied that it was noticeable (…) Everything was ok until the last medical exam. The doctor measured me, and I was shorter than the legal requirement. I was shocked… The doctor was ready to sign the document to eliminate me from the hiring process, but I explained to him that I had driven public buses for several years with no problem… He asked if I had problems with the pedals and I told him no… He suggested an alternative. He requested an exoneration since I had already experience of driving public buses and did not have any problem… They finally approved, and I got the job" (Rodrigo, 47, public bus driver and folklore musician)

Beside the continuity in low-status jobs between Peru and Switzerland, the narratives of continuity in occupational mobility show the development of tactics for Peruvian men. The tactics enabled them to quick gain take a first step into the Swiss labour market and informally obtain recognition

of prior qualifications and professional experience. The narratives of continuity also provide tactics against feelings of downgrading based on the exercise of the male breadwinner role in the family.

III.7.4.1.1. Gendered configurations of continuity in occupational profiles

This type of employment transition pattern is associated with low-status jobs and breadwinner roles. Transitions in or out of employment are less frequent in both countries; however, this stability seems to require a trade-off with job status. This type represents the least skilled Peruvian men who entered employment after compulsory schooling in Peru and might suffer legal insecurities on arrival in Switzerland. For example, Renato dropped out of military school after his father's sudden death and took over his job as a railway maintenance worker. He got married and had three children. Because of the announcement of downsizing measures and the overall political and economic crisis in Peru, he decided to migrate and follow his in-laws living in Switzerland. He quickly entered the Swiss labour market as a construction worker and his accountant wife joined him and got employed as a domestic worker. They sent remittances to pay for the private schooling of their children. Since he did not have legal authorisation to work, he was caught by the police and expelled from Swiss territory. Thanks to family networks in Switzerland, he returned after a year with a visa issued for France, crossed the French/Swiss border and stayed in Switzerland. Furthermore, he was able to reclaim the job with the same employer in the construction sector just after re-entry. His wife returned to Peru, and he plans to join her soon. However, the family still depends on remittances for children's post-compulsory education and purchase of a house.

Although technical education and on-the-job training is frequent, these Peruvian men did not enter or did not complete university education and started working in low-status jobs in Peru earlier than the other types. Their socio-economic background was the least privileged and/or sudden family crisis (e.g. health of family members) had an impact on occupational trajectories. They also assumed family responsibilities earlier than the other types. Although they were employed in low-status jobs in terms of qualifications, insurances and occupation rate, job-hopping was less frequent. The quality of the job represents a trade-off with employment stability. It was urgent to remit back home or assume family-related expenses the host country. However, they delegated most family caregiving to female members the host country or domestic paid workers back home.

Gendered class belongings informed their decisions and tactics. Most of them migrated during the 1980s crisis that highly jeopardised the breadwinner role in Peru. Given their socio-economic background, decisions to migrate during this crisis and the consequences were highly

unforeseeable. But it also represented an opportunity to secure their family role. Planning the travel and border crossing was highly risky: lack of networks, financial or legal resources. Migration was thus perceived as a one-time opportunity since they got indebted, depended on weak ties and/overstayed visas after arrival. In this sense, quick entry into the Swiss labour market was a priority. Unsurprisingly, the first jobs were highly precarious in migrant-dominated sectors (Kogan & Weißmann, 2013). Since time for training into other occupations was not available, they found informal ways to achieve recognition of pre-migration experiences and competences. Job-hunting on arrival aimed for former employment sectors, and, once employed, they proved their competences to employers. In this sense, achieving continuity in terms of employment sectors represented a tactic against feelings of downgrading. The fact of receiving a pay cheque every month fostered the sentiment of fulfilling the breadwinner role. As stated by Francisco: "[My children] can call me whatever they want, but I had always taken care of them (…) I lived working and sending money back to Peru for my parents to take care of my children" (Francisco, aged 60, cleaning worker). Migration represented a way to adhere to traditional gendered family roles – which might be also recognised by immigration officers (Marco's legal situation after separation).

This pattern of occupational immobility represents a tactic against employment instability. In migrant-dominated employment sectors (transport, hospitality, construction and cleaning), high turnover and low occupation rates are widespread, and workers frequently have to deal with spells of non-employment. Employment in low-status sectors represents stability after years of residence. Regardless of citizenship forms, these Peruvian men maintain high occupation rates and strong ties with employers. While legal authorisation to work does not trigger upward mobility, informal recognition of competences and long-term relations with employers and co-workers prevent downgrading to undesired job positions. These migrants are not passive actors but rather negotiate with employers to achieve informal recognition of their competences as well as high occupation rates and continuous work during the year. In this sense, occupational immobility is a source of pride: being employed and fulfilling breadwinner roles.

Lower segments of the labour market are similar in the two countries: construction, cleaning, transport and hospitality. This type of transition pattern shows continuity between pre- and post-migration for the least privileged group that emigrated during the crisis back home and did not enjoy resources on arrival. It represents the continuity of precarious positions in the global labour market, and the small impact of migration as a turning point in occupational trajectories. Instead of accumulating resources based on residence years, this pattern shows the highest influence of first

steps in the labour market on long-term employment outcomes (Kogan & Weißmann, 2013). The segmentation of the labour market along nationality and gender lines seems hard to break through (Vasey, 2016), but local and daily negotiations between migrants and employers may prevent downgrading and sustain feelings of continuity.

III.7.4.2. Upwardly mobile occupational trajectories

This type represents transitions out of low-status positions thanks to the accumulation of experience and resources. These group of migrants progressively progressed to mid-level, more qualified jobs in specific employment sectors: ethnic business ventures and care services. In contrast with the first type, this group had longer spells of post-compulsory education back home and took VET courses on arrival in Switzerland. Quite extensive spells of working in low-status jobs eventually enabled them to progress onto various jobs with more responsibilities and better pay. This shows the ability of some migrants to capitalise on citizenship status and to accumulate jobs that eventually lead to better career prospects or working and employment conditions.

Whereas the first type is male-dominated, this second type is female-dominated. Instead of transnational family caregiving delegation, this type is characterised by family formation at the host country: partnering and parenting. Support of Swiss spouses is key for women achieving this form of upward mobility. Other members of the family such as siblings also help these Peruvian women to counteract the negative effects of the accumulation of care responsibilities at home on their career progression. The second pattern can be illustrated by the case of Margarita, a former care worker and current restaurant owner (see Figure 17).
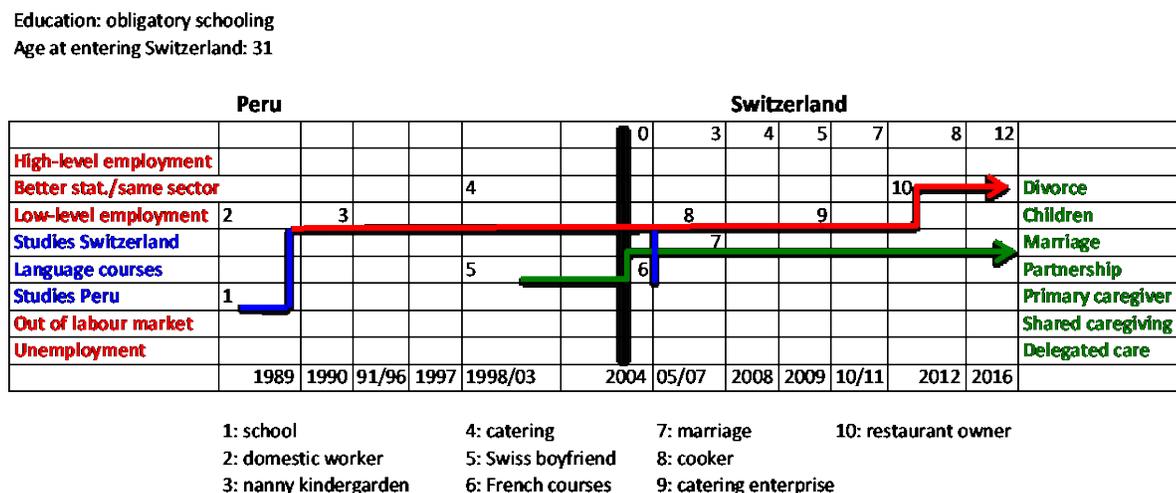
Figure 17. Lifelines of Margarita

After finishing high school in her provincial town, Margarita migrated to Lima to earn money and help out her mother and siblings. She found a job as a domestic worker (2) and then in a kindergarten (3). Her grandmother and mother worked as cooks during her childhood, and she aspired to becoming a chef, but the training was too expensive in Lima. Thanks to her employers in the kindergarten, she eventually started a successful catering business (4). After years working in Lima, she fell in love with a Swiss citizen, the cousin of one of her employers (5). She arrived in a French-speaking city in Switzerland and started language courses (6). They married (7) and she started working as a cook for several Peruvian restaurants in the city (8). But she complained about the employment conditions and conflicts with co-nationals. When her husband lost his job, they decided to start a catering business (9). Thanks to her husband's network of family and friends, they eventually amassed enough money to buy a place to set up a Peruvian restaurant (10). With no children, they work together in the restaurant and share domestic tasks.

The narrative of upward mobility illustrates social class-based femininities. Without questioning the gendered family model completely, these Peruvian women aim to improve their career opportunities. They did not necessarily question the unequal distribution of domestic labour, but they developed other tactics to continue their careers; by using paid care services and asking other family members for help. As Andrea stated:

> "I have often heard people in Switzerland say 'Oh, I spend all my salary on the crèche…'. People say: 'Oh, that's terrible'. However, I think that a woman must have a foot in the labour market, and if you have a family, you cannot work at 200% since you won't be able to handle your family and work. But a foot, yes. From the moment you know you must leave the house, you have to dress up, prepare yourself. It is a change. Another change is the things you say and hear […] I think it is important that women aren't labelled […] Employment is extremely important to integrate in society" (Andrea, secretary, aged 56)

For these women, the importance given to employment doesn't necessarily foster equality at home, but rather class privilege. The narratives of upward mobility indicate a relatively privileged social background in Peru that enabled them to counteract any risk of precariousness abroad. As Pilar explained:

> "I had never had [exploitative] employers like other migrants. Jobs aren't easy. I met good people who accepted me and supported me […] with them you can develop easily because of the training you have… Thank God, I did university studies in Peru… So, I can engage in conversations [with employers,] I have improved my French… So, [training] opens other doors, other opportunities… I think if you don't enquire about the Swiss system and

353

don't have a level [of education], people will mistreat you. Because there is racism here […]" (Pilar, skilled care worker, aged 54).

In this sense, the upward mobility narratives create a form of social class positioning across borders. The skills earned back home (e.g. educational credentials) are mobilised to explain the tactics that lead to transitions out of precarious jobs at the host country.

III.7.4.2.1. Gendered configurations of upward mobility

This female-dominated pattern shows the ways in which family formation at the host country affects occupational mobility. On arrival, these people were single without children. In contrast with the first type, less family caregiving responsibilities back home diminish the speed of entry into the Swiss labour market and the urgency to remit. For instance, this group show spells of language training right after arrival. Partnering provides not only legal resources by means of bi-national marriages, but also access to networks and information for occupational endeavours. Swiss spouses' support also prevents accumulation of caregiving. Moreover, family support involves siblings. For instance, Elena and Federico, who are siblings, already had a joint business in Peru, where she worked as an accountant and he worked as an architect. Due to the political and economic crisis there, they decided to migrate to Switzerland and join their older siblings. Although their siblings helped them with accommodation and language learning, they overstayed their visas and did not have authorisation to work. Since they struggled to find jobs commensurate with their skills in Switzerland, the idea of opening a Peruvian restaurant seemed a good option. The parents were restaurant owners in Peru and the elder siblings already imported Peruvian products to sell in Switzerland. Federico earned legal authorisation to work through bi-national marriage and Elena obtained an independent worker/investor permit. Both have successful restaurants, and siblings and spouses became business partners. They did not accumulated caregiving. Family support is thus of great value to career advancement. It seems that joint business ventures amongst spouses and siblings foster shared family caregiving (Roth et al., 2012). Peruvian woman who create their own job opportunities and/or achieve higher-responsibility positions appear to better negotiate their family-work balance.

Beside length of residence (Chiswick et al., 2005), the family ties were helpful to handle the unpredictability of migration and its consequences on occupational trajectories (Massey, 1990). They provided valuable information, legal and financial resources to cope with travel planning and settlement. Whereas migration was less perceived as unforeseeable in comparison with the first

pattern, migration represented a career milestone since they eventually achieved socio-economic rewards and recreate to some extent social class prestige (amongst compatriots) .

This pattern is characterised by stronger support at the host country and weak responsibilities back home. This combination meant more time to invest on language courses and job-hunting on arrival. However, spells of low-status jobs were a condition for subsequently achieving better job positions. This transition pattern out of low-status jobs happens in migrant-dominated sectors such as ethnic business and care. Job-hopping within the same sector and on-the-job training was necessary. In this sense, they accumulated networking and knowledge in specific employment sectors. Thanks to spouse support and citizenship status, they secured advantages to achieve higher-responsibility positions. In contrast with the first type, where quick entry into the labour market left sustainable imprints, accumulation of resources during years of residence made upward mobility possible in the second pattern. However, the capitalisation of accumulation based on years of residence depends strongly on citizenship status (e.g. access to long-term residence authorisation) and family support (e.g. non-accumulation of family responsibilities). For instance, shared family caregiving was linked to family entrepreneurship (Roth et al., 2012), which in turn favoured migrant women's positions in the labour market.

Upward mobility happened in migrant-based sectors where it is also possible to gain recognition for qualifications informally. In this sense, ethnic business and care are not homogeneous sectors and internal stratification might provide opportunities of better jobs for a group of migrants. Although Peruvian university degrees are not recognised, other occupational experiences back home are valued, and accumulation of experiences at the host country might be rewarded in these employment sectors. As in the case of Elena and Federico, their degrees in accounting and architecture were not recognised but their expertise was exercised as managers and interior designers of Peruvian restaurants in Switzerland.

Although this group of migrants did not attain highly skilled jobs despite their university education, they seem to handle contradictions in class belongings by achieving more prestigious positions in migrant-based employment sectors. Instead of the entrapment in precarious jobs (Lagana, 2011), they emphasised the higher responsibilities, earnings and prestige in their current jobs instead of the spells of low-status jobs right after migration. In relation to other migrant (women), they highlight career-driven femininities and higher educational credentials earned back home. The narratives of upward mobility thus shed light on social class-based forms of gender self-positioning.

In a nutshell, the accumulation of legal resources and family support at the host country provided conditions to better plan migration, envisage long-term goals and eventually achieve better socio-economic positions.

III.7.4.3. Transitions out of the (Swiss) labour market

In contrast with the two previous types, the final one shows more frequent transitions in and out of employment and is characterised by longer non-employment spells. Like the first type, transitions out of precarious jobs never happened in Switzerland. However, length of residence in Switzerland is quite heterogeneous. This type represents those who have recently arrived from Spain or Peru and those who have been living more than 20 years. Like the second type, they show longer spells of training before arrival in Switzerland. Given this mixed socio-economic and mobility background, they show pathways into lower occupation rates and longer non-employment spells along citizenship and gender lines. In other words, noncitizenship experiences and accumulation of family caregiving at the host country neutralise the effects of length of residence. Unsurprisingly, the lack of authorisation shows long-term effects on occupational mobility abroad (Goldring & Landolt, 2011). Likewise, the accumulation of family caregiving also shows long-term effects, when the unequal care arrangements resist change. The case of Blanca can be used to exemplify this model (see Figure 18).
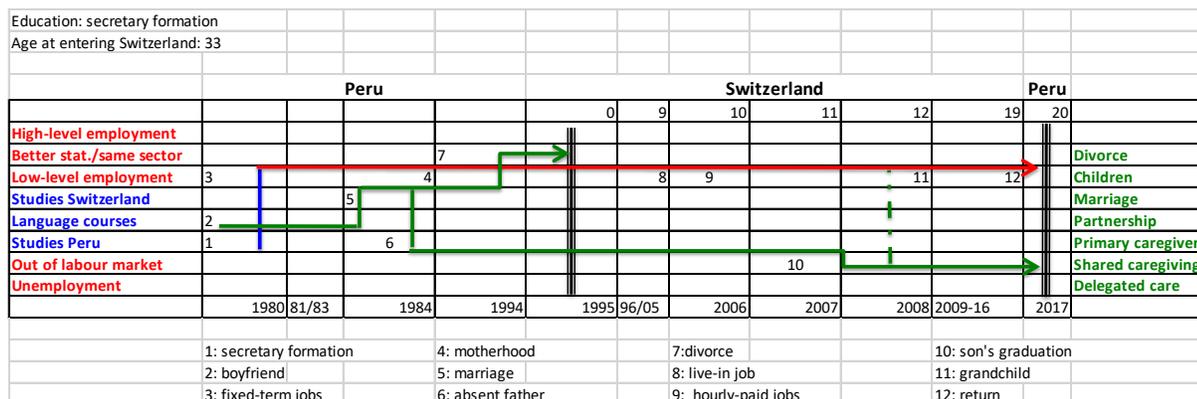
Figure 18. Lifelines of Blanca

Blanca is one of the oldest siblings of an urban lower-middle-class family in Lima. After finishing a short course to become a secretary (1), she became pregnant by her boyfriend (2). They were forced to marry (5), but they never lived together. After childbirth (4), the father become absent and she and her family become responsible for the child (6). She struggled to find stable jobs, so she accepted sporadic fixed-term jobs (3). A friend of the family living in Switzerland offered her a job

opportunity. She accepted, and the friend lent her the money for travel expenses. Before leaving, she divorced (7). She arrived in Germany where Peruvians did not then need a visa; then she crossed the German-Swiss border and arrived in a big French-speaking city. The job offer was to work as a live-in carer and cleaner for an employer in a big mansion (8). Since the friend had performed the job previously, she introduced her to the employer and taught her the tasks. She stayed for ten years and remitted back to Peru every month to pay for the living and education expenses of her son. However, the employment conditions were precarious: employer's mistreatment, long working schedules, no social insurance, undeclared job, no vacations, etc. When the employer became bankrupt, she had to find another job. She found jobs as an hourly-paid cleaner (9). At the beginning, she struggled to find enough paid hours to make ends meet; but she eventually managed to have a list of regular clients. When her son graduated from university, her family back home asked her to return. She wanted to work some more years to save up money for retirement. She did not want to become a burden for her family. She worked as a cleaner for ten more years. Then she had a grandchild (11). And she decided to return. She did not want to miss her grandchild's childhood.

Although the first and third type show the strong influence of the first steps into the labour market, the differences lie in the discontinuity between pre- and post-migration. This third type show downgrading from pre-migration positions. In contrast with the second type, downgrading was not eventually counteracted. Instead of speedy entry as in the first type, this third type shows the long-term effects of first steps into migrant-dominated employment sectors that lead to the persistence of lower-status jobs. noncitizenship experiences also leave their durable imprints (Kogan & Weißmann, 2013). In this pattern, the accumulation of experience based on length of stay showed negative outcomes in comparison with the second pattern. An example is the accumulation of long-distance and hands-on caregiving.

On the one hand, entry into these precarious jobs is strongly linked to noncitizenship status after arrival. However, access to long-term residence authorisation did not change occupational mobility regardless of length of stay. In this sense, noncitizenship status seem to have long-term effects. For instance, Pepe, a former restaurant owner, managed to arrive without a visa in Switzerland and started to work immediately without authorisation. He found more paid hours in construction and has worked for the same employer until recently (more than ten years). However, he had conflictual relations with him. In the meantime, he met a Swiss woman. Although the relationship did not work out, she agreed to marry him, and he obtained the legal authorisation to work. After obtaining the

settlement permit (permit C), he divorced and decided to quit his job. At the moment of the interview, he was registered with the unemployment agency, but he struggled to find jobs outside the construction sector. Although he was tired of working in that sector, he stills did informally hourly-paid jobs to pay the bills. In this third pattern, Peruvian men and women did not capitalise on citizenship status for occupational mobility like the second type.

On the other hand, employment and family relations explain these results. Years of experience in the same employment sector did not lead to informal recognition of qualifications: relations with employers are conflictual, and entrepreneurship is not perceived as an option. First, the negotiations with employers did not secure constant occupation rates, formal contracts or higher-responsibility positions despite years of working together. In this sense, this pattern shows involuntary part-time and non-employment spells. Secondly, these Peruvian men and women lack the financial resources and family support to embark on (ethnic) entrepreneurship. If family formation happens at the host country, this group accumulates family caregiving that prevent them from participating in the labour market and might lead to full-time homemaking.

One common result is the aspiration to exit from the Swiss labour market to go back home or return to prior destinations according to biographical moments and transnational families' cycles. Although their length of stay is unequal, the Peruvian men ans women inbthis pattern plan to leave Switzerland. After 25 years of residence in Switzerland without a Swiss permit, Pamela decided to stay a few more years working as a computer repairwoman to build up a retirement fund to return to Argentina where all her family had migrated. In contrast, Carla, who only holds a Spanish passport, planned to stay in Switzerland working as a cleaner until Spain's situation improved, to resume her job as a public-sector worker there. Consequently, this type represents the group that perceived migration as a reversible event in their biographies. Although travelling circumstances and consequences of migration were unpredictable, they plan for leave the destination after unequal lengths of stays.

Although these migrants seem stuck in precarious jobs, they also develop tactics to counteract feelings of downgrading and exploitation in the workplace. Based on aspirations to leave Switzerland, their homecoming and re-emigration projects represent cross-border mobility tactics against powerlessness (Alberti, 2014). Regardless of years in Switzerland, this transition pattern might lead them to geographically leave the Swiss labour market for better job positions or retirement elsewhere. Interestingly, Peru is not automatically the return destination; rather, they

head for prior destinations (Spain) or other countries (Argentina), which in turn displays the geographically scattered ties of migrants. In combination with geographical movement out of the Swiss labour market, other tactics involve job-hopping in migrant-dominated sectors. For instance, Pamela, Sandra and Carla provide hourly-paid cleaning and caring services in Switzerland. All of them practise job-hopping to avoid exploitation and find better employers. The precariousness of employment sectors in terms of formality, occupation rate and duration might provide faster and more accessible job-hopping opportunities (Alberti, 2014). In other words, short-term and hourly jobs enable them to quit when a better option comes up or adjust their working hours to evolving needs. Given re-emigration and homecoming, this pattern shows the ways in which job-hopping and cross-border mobility are combined by migrants to counteract feelings of downgrading and seek better opportunities.

III.7.4.3.1. Gendered temporalities in labour market exit trajectories

Contrary to the other types, the employment outcomes of these Peruvian men and women show the progressive exit from the Swiss labour market in terms of involuntary diminution of occupation rates, increasing length of non-employment spells and plans to leave this destination. Beside the lack of authorisation to work that showed long-term effects on occupation mobility abroad, the accumulation of family caregiving showed long-term effects that prevent better job prospects. For instance, the transnational lone motherhood of Blanca discouraged her from quitting exploitative jobs until the family life's cycle (e.g. son's graduation) reduced her family responsibilities.

In contrast to the second type, the positive effects of citizenship achieved by bi-national marriage are neutralised by unequal care arrangements within the couple. For example, Domingo earned a degree in psychology and worked as a therapist and researcher in Peru before travelling to Chile to obtain a Master's degree. Afterwards, he started to work as a university teacher and won a scholarship as a guest researcher in a Swiss university. He met a Swiss man, and they went back together to Chile and got "married" right after. Domingo obtained a Swiss permit to sign a partnership agreement with his Swiss boyfriend and then earned a family reunification permit. When he arrived in Switzerland, his Swiss spouse, who was in the *assurance invalidité* (AI) several years ago, became seriously ill. While taking care of his spouse, he struggled to dedicate time to validating his degrees and enrolling in language courses. Although he is economically and legally dependent on his spouse, he sporadically does volunteering to enlarge his network, informally provide paid counselling services and currently invest on a business venture with his siblings in

Peru. Likewise, Peruvian women who entered legally by means of bi-national marriages progressively exit the labour market for homemaking. The Swiss spouse had better employment opportunities while the Peruvian spouse accumulated family caregiving responsibilities. The occupational career of the former is privileged at the expense of the career of the latter. In this sense, the couple's negotiation also mediated the recognition and return on educational credentials on the labour market. The scarcity and high cost of health and care services as well as laws for non-EU foreigners reinforce inequalities within couples along gender and nationality divides (Giraud & Lucas, 2009; Giudici & Widmer, 2015; Riaño, 2011). Once an unequal care arrangement is installed in the couple, the capacity to change the family-work balance is quite meagre even after the children have grown up. Although labour market participation is limited, these migrants invest in other valued but unpaid activities: language courses and volunteering. However, the return from these activities on occupational mobility does not counteract the low rates of labour market participation in the long run.

This group of migrants show tactics to counteract feelings of downgrading. They nonetheless show differences along gender lines. Whereas Peruvian men mobilised discourses of failed breadwinners, Peruvian women not only mobilised the rewards of adhering to homemaking femininity but also actively sought alternative sources of prestige such as volunteering. The statements of Edgardo and Alejandra are good examples:

> "[My daughter] had lived with her mother [his ex Swiss spouse]. I lived with them for only five years […] I enjoyed only a small part of her childhood. Not as much as I would have liked. Sincerely, I feel bad because I would have liked to have more time […] When you're young, you don't make good decisions […] My mother always told me to stay with her [the mother of my daughter]" (Edgardo, out of employment, aged 57)

> "[While job-hunting] people offer you cleaning jobs. I don't think it is degrading. If you want to work, you go and do cleaning jobs. But my husband and I have planned another type of life. We don't have children. So, our world is different" (Alejandra, out of employment, aged 54)

This pattern shows the long-term effects of noncitizenship status and accumulation of family caregiving on occupational mobility. Higher levels of education and job status in pre-migration phases in combination with citizenship after arrival are neutralised by the unequal care arrangements within the couple. Progressive reduction of occupation rate and increasing non-employment spells characterise this mobility pattern. The quick entry into migrant-dominated sectors left durable imprints and the accumulation of resources was not enough for transitions out of precarious jobs (Kogan & Weißmann, 2013). However, these migrants develop tactics to cope with downgrading

which involve job-hopping and cross-border mobility. In this sense, occupational mobility shows geographically scattered ties and consecutive moves. These long-term effects also follow gender lines. Peruvian women accumulate family caregiving more frequently than their male counterparts. However, they seem to counteract feelings of downgrading based on middle-class femininities (homemaking and volunteering) more effectively than Peruvian men, who mobilise failed breadwinner discourses in contrast with their first-type counterparts.

III.7.5. Summary

To date, few studies have analysed patterns of transitions and sequences of migrants' labour market access or have considered differences along gender and citizenship lines. Here I have attempted to show that Peruvian men's and women's occupational trajectories are highly dynamic in terms of transition into and out of precarious jobs and non-employment. In fact, the three patterns of transitions show pre- and post-migration continuity in low-status jobs for Peruvian men, sector-bounded upward mobility for Peruvian women, and progressive exit from the (Swiss) labour market for both. Whereas the first pattern shows the role of socio-economic background in labour market access after migration, the second pattern also shows the accumulation of legal and social resources that lead to higher-status job positions in migrant-dominated sectors. The third type shows the long-term effects of noncitizenship status and accumulation of family caregiving on occupational mobility. The results show the heterogeneity of time mechanisms in migrants' labour market participation that range from the long-term impacts of first steps (Kogan & Weißmann, 2013), to the entrapment in precarious jobs (Lagana, 2011) and the frequent risk of non-employment (Reyneri & Fullin, 2011). This chapter has proposed to consider the broad range of time mechanisms to explain occupational mobility amongst Peruvian men and women along gender and citizenship lines.

Due to the interdependence of family and occupational trajectories, these Peruvian men and women fare very differently in their migration careers. Male-dominated patterns if transitions show the important role of socio-economic background to understand occupational continuity, whereas female-dominated patterns of transitions out of low-status jobs show the role of accumulation of legal and social resources. However, both patterns show the difficulties of overcoming labour market segregation for a sector of the migrant population regardless of length of residence and pre-migration qualifications (Chiswick et al., 2005). These individual features proposed by human capital theory (see Chapter 1 for the debate) seems highly ambiguous to explain unequal employment

outcomes while the role of social networks in pre- and post-migration phases (e.g. spouses, parents and siblings) might represent a resource as well as a handicap (Vidal-Coso & Miret-Gamundi, 2014).

Moreover, this approach analyses occupational mobility according to migrants' narratives about migration and its consequences. Given the degrees of predictability (Grossetti, 2006) of travel and the conditions of arrival, migrants perceived and reacted upon first steps and subsequent transitions in the host country's labour market differently. The moment and conditions of departure in terms of socio-economic crisis and/or higher family responsibility were important to understand the speed of entry into the labour market after arrival. Social support on arrival was important to plan accumulation of resources for upward mobility. Moreover, socio-economic background also evokes social class belongings (P. F. Kelly, 2012) and different ways to deal with the feeling of downgrading. Given these elements, Peruvian men and women develop different tactics for occupational mobility. In addition, I proposed to assess the sense given to migration as a turning point or not in migrants' narratives. Patterns of continuity have been less visible in longitudinal studies (Vidal-Coso & Miret-Gamundi, 2014). Nevertheless, the pattern of continuity does not represent transitions where migrants are passive. It represents an important tactic against feelings of downgrading.

The three patterns thus shed light on migrants' tactics to cope with powerlessness. Continuity in terms of job status and employment sector represents male-dominated patterns based on fulfilment of breadwinner roles and delegation of family caregiving. Higher family responsibilities back home lead to a quick entry into migrant-dominated employment sectors. However, monthly remittances represent an important feature of transnational fathering and a source of desired masculinity (Pribilsky, 2012; Salazar Parreñas, 2008). In contrast, the third type shows the ways in which Peruvian men mobilise failed breadwinner discourses. Given class and gender, the more privileged socio-economic background in the third type influences perceptions about occupational mobility. Whereas studies of masculinities in migration are less frequent, these norms are part of occupational mobility practices and perceptions. While the first type shows tactics to maintain job status in migrant-dominated employment sectors, the third type shows tactics to counteract this position in the labour market.

The second – female-dominated – pattern shows sector-bounded upward mobility. This pattern displays the role of legal and social resource accumulation. Family support made the difference between these Peruvian women and their counterparts in the third pattern. Access to citizenship status might be neutralised by accumulation of family caregiving in occupational mobility. Beside

the spouse's support for work-family balance, the role of siblings in business ventures and shared family caregiving is important. Self-employment might help migrant women to better negotiate gender norms (Erel, 2015). Against the link between ethnic business and precariousness, recent research has concluded that this form of employment shows advantages for migrant women (Roth et al., 2012).

In combination with family caregiving, citizenship also influences occupational mobility. Unsurprisingly, noncitizenship statuses mediated the first steps in the labour market at the host country and shows long-term effects on occupational mobility. While citizenship represents a condition for transitions out of precarious jobs, it is not sufficient to prevent non-employment spells. Two mechanisms affect occupational mobility: the dual labour market and the care regime. Peruvian men and women might be bloc in lower segments of the labour market such as construction and services solely by the absence of authorisation to work: as research in Europe, the USA and Switzerland has concluded, dependent legal situations such as bi-national marriages might reinforce accumulation of family caregiving and hinder Global South female migrants' employment access (Donato et al., 2014; Riaño et al., 2015; Vickstrom & Gonzalez-Ferrer, 2016). Consequently, longitudinal studies on patterns of migrants' labour market participation should consider interactions between legal and family trajectories along gender and nationality lines.

Following these findings, the next chapter focuses on the employment transitions of Peruvian graduates from Swiss HE institutions and the links to partnership and parenthood at the host country.

Part III - Chapter 8

The role of bi-national marriage in education to employment transitions

Introduction

This chapter analyses the interactions between the occupational and family trajectories of Peruvian graduates from Swiss HE institutions[49]. As mentioned in Chapter 4, bi-national marriages play an ambivalent mediation role in education-to-employment transitions. As seen in the previous chapter, domestic care arrangements have long-term effects on occupational mobility regardless of levels and origin of skills. Here, I present the three patterns of employment and family transitions. In Chapter 9, I present the narratives about occupational mobility and family caregiving amongst Peruvian male and female graduates.

The aim of this Chapter is to show the diversity of occupational and family outcomes that are associated with Peruvians' access to the Swiss HE system. It will be seen that obtaining a Swiss HE qualification is rarely enough to guarantee access to the upper reaches of the Swiss labour market. In most cases, domestic qualifications need to be combined with marriage to a Swiss (or EU) citizen before these highly qualified migrants are able to find a job that is congruent with their educational credentials and to settle legally in the host country. However, the family reunification route into legal residency is not without its own hazards. For women in particular, it may cancel out some of the advantages associated with having a Swiss qualification and lead to precarious or under-qualified positions on the labour market.

Thus, whilst investigating under what circumstances partnership and parenthood influence the educational and employment trajectories of Peruvian migrants, I am also interested in exploring the ways in which access to Swiss HE institutions and qualifications in turn influences the family-formation patterns and gender arrangements within foreign and bi-national households. I show that holding a Swiss HE qualification does not lead to identical labour market outcomes for all the

---

Peruvian migrants I met. Not only are their employment opportunities influenced by the type of qualification and the demographic characteristics of particular employment sectors, they also depend to a large extent on the gendered division of care and domestic labour that is adopted within households. Overall, it appears that the gender configurations in the family sphere have a greater influence on the employment opportunities of these highly qualified migrants than the level or origin of their educational credentials *per se*.

When analysing the effects of the Swiss migration regime on the family-formation patterns developed by Peruvian graduates from Swiss HE institutions, it is important to stress the relatively differentiated gender regime that prevails in the Swiss context (Giraud & Lucas, 2009). The scarcity and cost of public childcare services hinder women's full-time, continuous labour market participation, particularly after the birth of a first child (Giudici & Gauthier, 2009). It has been argued that the access of foreign spouses to settlement authorisation in Switzerland is conditional on scrupulous conformity to the dominant family model of the Swiss gender regime (Levy & Widmer, 2013b; Riaño, 2011; Riaño & Baghdadi, 2007b).

After briefly reviewing the internationalisation of family-formation patterns (1), notably in the form of bi-national marriages (2), I then go on to present the methodology (3). Then, I describe the three ideal-type patterns of transition out of HE institutions into the Swiss labour market for Peruvian graduates (4). Finally, I discuss concluding remarks (5).

III.8.1. The internationalisation of university education and family-formation patterns in the Swiss context

As mentioned previously, Switzerland shows a trend towards internationalisation of the student population (see Chapter 4). Until 2011, non-EU foreign graduates were required to leave the country immediately after graduation. Since that date, partly in response to the recurrent labour shortages identified in particular sectors of the Swiss labour market (ManpowerGroup, 2015), a six-month "job search extension" to student permits has been introduced (State Secretariat for Migration, 2011). However, in order to recruit a foreign graduate, employers are required to attest that the person in question is better qualified than any available Swiss or EU citizen (The Federal Council, 2005), under a so-called "essential employment" clause. Foreign graduates with Swiss qualifications need to find an employer who is willing to "sponsor" their work permit application, by attesting a shortage of equally qualified Swiss or EU candidates in the field.

Several authors have noted that this type of procedure tends to create a "gendered global hierarchy of professions", which considers male-dominated sectors such as finance and technology to be of "greater national interest for global competitiveness" than female-dominated sectors such as care work and welfare services (Kofman & Raghuram, 2006, pp. 282–303). The Peruvian and Swiss HE systems show a similar pattern of gender segregation. In Peruvian universities, 27.8% of male students are concentrated in engineering, whereas 20% of female students are concentrated in education studies (INEI, 2015b). In Switzerland, women represent only 29.1% of engineering graduates, whereas they make up 67.5% of social sciences and humanities students (SSH). The proportion of foreigners is higher in the male-dominated disciplines (42.7% in engineering) than in the female-dominated ones (24.8% in SSH) (SFSO, 2017p). In Switzerland, research on the employment outcomes of graduates shows that jobs commensurate with skills are found sooner in STEM than SSH. However, graduates from all disciplines achieved adequate employment after five years after graduation (Dubach, 2015; Gfeller & Weiss, 2015).

Given the uncertainties surrounding the transition from Swiss HE institutions to the labour market, graduates from non-EU countries who wish to remain in Switzerland are likely to consider "family reunification" measures, which are often seen as more immediately accessible than those involving the "essential employment" clause. Family reunification procedures have frequently been identified as an important route into legal settlement for poorly qualified foreign women, particularly in the care sector (Banfi & Boccagni, 2011; Bonizzoni, 2015). Only recently has the importance of these procedures for the education to employment transition of highly qualified migrants started to be recognised (Fleischer, 2011).

As with the student permit, work and family reunification permits allow conditional residence in Switzerland (permit B) for non-EU citizens. They have to renew their permits B each year by proving the fulfilment of the purpose of stay. However, the number of B permits allocated is subject to quotas. In contrast, the male and female spouses of Swiss citizens can apply for Swiss nationality after five years of marriage, or even after three years if they choose to use the "fast-track" option, subject to proving "successful integration".

The categories used to describe the internationalisation of family formation patterns are often rather fuzzy. The distinctions made between mixed marriages, bi-national marriages, transnational marriages, arranged marriages, sham marriages, etc. are not always clear in practice (Beck-Gernsheim, 2007). Other studies on the migration patterns of non-EU citizens to Switzerland

emphasise the differentiation operated among transnational families due to the increasing fragmentation of the right to family reunification in Europe (Bonizzoni, 2011). I use the concept of bi-national marriages as it "best captures the inter-linkage of issues related to the different cultural background of the spouses with issues related to citizenship and residence" (Kraler et al., 2011, pp. 26–27).

Given the legal barriers and temporal boundaries surrounding the transition from Swiss HE institutions to the labour market, graduates from non-EU countries who wish to remain in Switzerland are likely to consider family reunification measures. In Switzerland, the percentage of couples composed of people of different nationalities has increased from 20% in the 1970s to 40% in the 2000s (Mosimann, 2016). In 2015, 36% of marriages were composed of a foreign spouse and a Swiss citizen, 59.5% of these marriages involved a foreigner from outside Europe and 62.5% involved a female foreigner from non-EU countries (FSO, 2017a). In 2014, family reunification represented the second largest source of migration flow into Switzerland after EU free movement permits (OECD, 2016, p. 307). In 2010, approximately 11% of foreigners married to a Swiss citizen were from South America, and Peruvians ranked in third place – 70% of these marriages are between a Peruvian woman and a Swiss man (FSO, 2016a). Although the increase in bi-national marriages has undoubtedly contributed to the increase in the immigrant population in Switzerland, little is known about the employment outcomes of high-skilled migrant spouses.

III.8.2. Making the link between international student mobility, bi-national marriage and labour market participation patterns

The literature on international student mobility and bi-national marriages is rather ambivalent as to the long-term implications of access to qualifications from host country institutions on the careers of the high-skilled migrant spouses. However, results from different types of literature reveal some common features. Studies on international student migration analyse the issues of labour market participation after graduation in the host country (Csedő, 2008; Mosneaga & Winther, 2013; Suter & Jandl, 2008) or the role of spouses during the completion of the academic programme abroad (Bordoloi, 2015; Schaer et al., 2016b; S. Scott & Cartledge, 2009). Studies of bi-national marriages emphasise legal-based inequalities within couples composed of EU and non-EU citizens (Fleischer, 2011), as well as skills-based inequalities within couples where non-EU spouses are more highly qualified than their EU partners (Guetto & Azzolini, 2015; Maffioli et al., 2014). A limited number

of studies have identified marriage as a national as a prime route for (female) high-skilled foreigners into host country labour markets (Fresnoza-Flot, 2017; Kofman & Raghuram, 2006).

Drawing on a life-course perspective, this chapter proposes to analyse events that demonstrate the interdependence of educational, occupational and family trajectories in the transition of Peruvian graduates to the Swiss labour market. I argue that the ability of migrants with Swiss qualifications to translate their educational credentials into occupational capital is strongly dependent on the negotiation of each spouse's career opportunities and caregiving responsibilities within their own household arrangements and extended family networks (Creese et al., 2011; Phan et al., 2015). Thus, rather than presuming a binary pattern of the higher education to employment transition for migrant men and women in the Swiss context, I propose to focus on the heterogeneity of the experiences of highly skilled Peruvian migrants, which partly reproduce and partly transcend the gender divide.

III.8.3. Methodological precisions

The results reveal that access to host country qualifications does not automatically improve the labour market outcomes of the Peruvian men and women I encountered. As could be expected, the type of qualification and field of studies appear to play a major role in ensuring not only that Peruvian graduates from a Swiss HE institution find a job, but also that they are employed at a level that is commensurate with their educational credentials. However, perhaps more surprisingly, the interviews indicate the vital importance of family reunification measures in ensuring that Peruvian migrants with Swiss qualifications are able to access the local labour market. Nevertheless, when the right to work is achieved through marriage to a Swiss or EU national, rather than through "essential employment" criteria, migrants face a potential risk of disqualification. They are much less likely to experience direct access to jobs that are commensurate with their educational credentials than their colleagues who benefit from the "essential employment" clause and who are sponsored by prospective employers. We can thus affirm that marriage to a Swiss or EU national has a potentially variable effect on the employment outcomes of Peruvian graduates from host country HE institutions. In some cases, marriage acts as an additional resource, helping graduates get a first foot in the labour market and subsequently helping them to move up the career ladder in their chosen field of employment. In other cases, marriage to a Swiss or EU national appears to cancel out the advantages of possessing a Swiss degree, sending the respondents down a slippery

slope into precarious and part-time jobs, sometimes even full-time domesticity, implying long-term financial dependency on their (Swiss or European) spouse.

The list of participants is shown in (See in Table D in pages 27 - 18). Although the study sample is not representative of the Peruvian migrant population as a whole, it is interesting to note that over half of the interviewees (11) were employed in highly skilled, full-time, permanent jobs at the time of the interview. The other half had been unsuccessful in finding jobs that were commensurate with their Swiss qualifications and were either working in jobs that were below their skill levels or desired working time (7) or had dedicated themselves to (almost) full-time homemaking (1).

In the summary graphs presented below (Figure 19), I outline three distinct patterns of the education to employment transition for Peruvian migrants with Swiss tertiary qualifications. The horizontal x-axis depicts both historical time and the number of years since immigration to Switzerland; it thus enables me to contextualise individual trajectories within historical events, such as political violence and the economic crisis that took place in Peru between 1980 and 2000, or the Foreign Nationals Act that was introduced in Switzerland in 2008. Consequently, intersections between two central temporalities – historical time and lifetime – varied across the interviewees.

The vertical y-axis represents respondents' positions and movement through social space. The left-hand side of the graph depicts educational events and occupational status. The blue arrow refers to periods of study in Peruvian or Swiss HE institutions, including any language courses. Time spent in employment figures at the upper left part of the graph, placing stable, full-time employment commensurate with skills, as the most desirable outcome. Other employment outcomes are graded according to the resources they bring to the respondents. The category "involuntary part-time" refers to jobs that are also commensurate with the educational credentials but are occupied on a part-time basis (below 50%), usually involuntarily. Finally, the category "low-level employment" refers to jobs that do not require high levels of qualification and are often precarious and unstable.

The category "out of the labour market" refers to those respondents who were not in employment at the time of the interview (including those in voluntary work or full-time homemaking), but who were not officially registered as unemployed either. On the right-hand side of the graph, the green arrow depicts different family events: partnership, marriage, birth of children and degree of care responsibilities, which is divided into three distinct categories: the "delegated care" case corresponds to situations where the respondent delegates almost all caregiving responsibilities to their spouse. The category "shared care" depicts situations where care activities are equally shared

370

between both partners and the category "primary caregiver" designates situations where the respondent has personal responsibility for the domestic and care arrangements of the household.

As shown in Figure 19, the first path into high-level employment represents situations where respondents immediately found a qualified job after receiving a Swiss degree. In this case, they received a work permit on the basis of "essential employment" criteria and did not have to mobilise any family reunification measures in order to remain in the country after their student permit expired.[50] This explains why the red and green arrows do not converge at any point. This direct route into qualified employment is associated with the delegation of most care responsibilities to a spouse.

The second path into employment represents situations where the transition between graduation from a Swiss HE institution and access to a qualified job was mediated by marriage to a Swiss or EU citizen. In this case, despite having Swiss HE qualifications, respondents were dependent on family reunification measures to gain access to the upper reaches of the Swiss labour market (all the arrows converge at a particular point). In this case, care is either shared equally between partners or is delegated to one spouse.

In contrast, a third and final ideal-type model represents those respondents for whom marriage to a Swiss or EU national after graduation does not open up opportunities for access to the upper reaches of the labour market but acts rather as a precondition to labour market exit or, at most, part-time and discontinuous labour market participation, combined with primary responsibility for domestic and care activities.

---

[50] It is nevertheless important to note that some of these respondents had been able to come to study in Switzerland in the first place due to family connections in the country, which entitled them to a family reunification permit prior to commencing their studies.
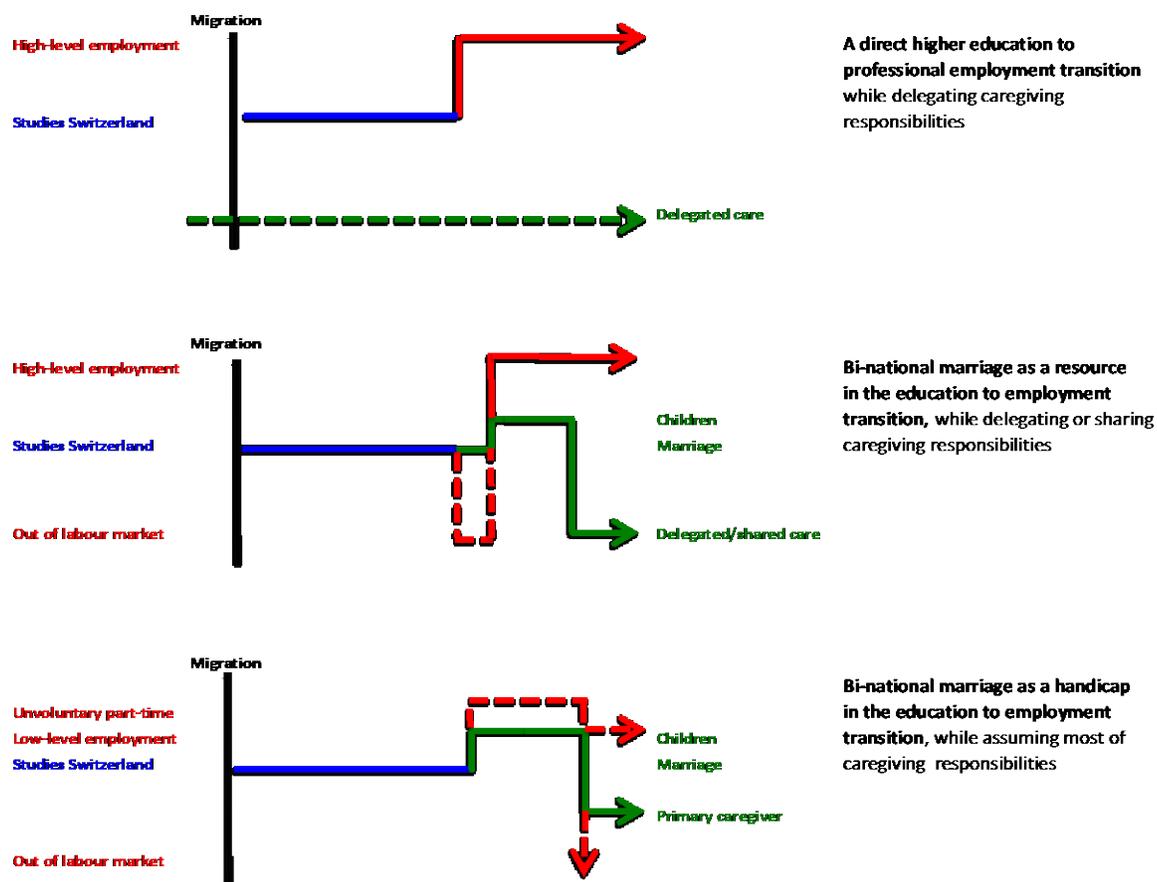
Figure 19. Labour market outcomes for Peruvians with Swiss HE qualifications

III.8.4. Labour market outcomes for Peruvians with Swiss HE qualifications

III.8.4.1. Direct transitions to desirable jobs in highly masculinised fields

This path refers to Peruvians who had obtained a Swiss degree in the expected time and entered high-level employment almost immediately after graduation. This pattern of transition is male-dominated. One example is Samuel who started training to be an architect in Peru before travelling to Europe during a "gap year" funded by his parents (see Figure 20). He decided to go to Germany and while he was there he met a Swiss woman, the daughter of his German language teacher (1). At the end of his stay, Samuel returned to Peru to finish his degree (5). His Swiss girlfriend joined him there; they married in Peru (2) and had two children (3). Whilst in Peru, his wife worked part-time as a German language teacher in a private school and looked after the children, with the help of her mother-in-law (4). After working as an independent architect for some years (6), Samuel was recommended by one of his former teachers for an 18-month scholarship to one of the Federal

engineering schools in Switzerland. His wife and children moved back with him (7). After obtaining his Master's degree, he was awarded an additional grant to continue to a PhD (8). At the end of his first three years at the engineering school, he made a successful fast-track application for Swiss citizenship. Immediately he had defended his doctorate, his wife asked for a divorce on the grounds that he was not spending enough time with his family (9) and she moved back to her home city with their children. Samuel has always worked full-time as an architect in the French-speaking part of Switzerland (10).

Education: Architect/Engineer
Age at entering Switzerland: 38 years

	Peru					Switzerland										
	-3	-2	-1		0	2	3	4	5	6	7	8		9	
Highly level employment											10				
Involuntary part-time	6													9	Divorce
Low level employment	3														Children
Studies Switzerland	2				7							8			Marriage
Language courses	1														Partnership
Studies Peru		5													Primary caregiver
"OUT"															Shared caregiving
Unemployment		4													Delegated care
	1993-1998	1999	2000		2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008		2009	

1: Swiss girlfriend   4: Delegates caregiving to wife   7: Master/PhD in engineering + scholarship
2: Marriage   5: Bachelor in Architecture   8: PhD diploma
3: Children   6: independent architect   09: Divorce
                                                                  10: Employment as an architect

Figure 20. Lifelines of Samuel

III.8.4.1.1 Gendered configurations of the direct transition to desirable jobs

This ideal-type of transition to the labour market is associated with particular types of HE qualifications and depends on a normative gender division of labour. It is particularly visible amongst male engineering students, who are actively sought after by prospective employers, sometimes even before graduation. For example, Augusto was awarded the same type Federal scholarship as Samuel and obtained an MA degree in computer science. Even before he graduated, he was contacted by a head-hunter working for a global company looking for a software specialist to be based in Switzerland. The company provided Augusto with all the administrative paperwork required to obtain a work permit, whilst offering him a permanent employment contract. After three years, he obtained a settlement authorisation (permit C) and changed employer. This smooth

transition into high-level employment would seem to be restricted to very masculine fields of expertise.[51]

In this case, marriage to a Swiss national is of no consequence for the successful transition to professional jobs. However, the successful completion of an engineering degree and the subsequent career path of these migrant men are dependent on their ability to delegate domestic and care responsibilities – usually to their mothers in the home country and to their spouses in the host country. Here, the decision to give priority to the male career is taken irrespective of the nationality of the spouses. It is based on an evaluation of the respective employment opportunities available to men and women in the Swiss context. Since the jobs available to women are usually less well paid than those open to men, the adoption of a "male breadwinner" family configuration appears all the more rational. The non-participation of these men in family caregiving is consolidated by the long hours work culture that prevails in many male-dominated areas of the Swiss labour market (Le Feuvre, 2015, pp. 8-9).

III.8.4.2. Bi-national marriage as a stepping-stone to the labour market

Marriage to a Swiss or EU citizen offers an alternative route to settlement in Switzerland for foreign graduates, although the positive labour market outcomes often take longer to achieve than those associated with the previous ideal-type transition. If a person is unable to immediately enter the Swiss labour market after graduation from Swiss HE, marriage to a Swiss or EU national provides an alternative route to legal settlement and often allows the acquisition of additional skills in order to maximise employment opportunities in the Swiss labour market. For example, learning the regional language, such as French or German, doing volunteer work in associations related to the occupational domain or accepting less skilled jobs to be trained in specific qualifications are all strategies that depend on the prior acquisition of long-term residence authorisation. This second ideal-type transition can be illustrated by the case of Nuria, an SSH specialist and a professor in Swiss HE (see Figure 21).

---

[51] However, not all male engineers experience this direct form of transition from Swiss HE institutions into professional employment.

Education: Social worker
Age at entering Switzerland: 27 years

	-1		0	1	2		3	4	5		6	7	8		9	10	15	
																10		
High-level employment																		
Involuntary part-time	2				8													
Low-level employment															11		13	Children
Studies Switzerland			4		7					9								Marriage
Language courses			3 5															Partnership
Studies Peru	1																	
Maternity leave													12		14	Primary caregiver
Out of labour market			6														Shared caregiving
Unemployment																	Delegated care
	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2012					

Peru — Switzerland

1: Bachelor in Social Work
2: Jobs as a social worker
3 + 4: Scholarship: PhD + lang. courses
5: German boyfriend

6: Volunteer work
7: Marriage
8: Part-time jobs in associations
9: PhD diploma

10: Full time professorship
11: 1st child
12: Maternity leave
13: 2nd child
14: Maternity leave

Figure 21. Lifelines of Nuria

After obtaining her Bachelor's degree (1), Nuria worked for several NGOs involved in women's health issues in Peru (2). She won a Federal scholarship to do a PhD in social work and was able to take some French language courses before the start of the course (3+4). During her PhD about migrants' health issues, she started to do volunteer work with local NGOs (6). Although she took more time than expected to finish her doctoral dissertation (9), one of the NGOs she had been volunteering for offered her a part-time research job (50%), which enabled her to fund the last months of her doctoral studies (8). However, she did not have much time left on her student permit and her future employer was not able to mobilise the "essential employment" clause. She solved this problem by marrying her German partner (7). The experience Nuria gained in working for the NGO, along with the topic of her PhD dissertation, helped her get a fixed-term post-doc position at a Swiss HE, where she was eventually recruited to a professorship and where she has been working ever since (10). On the birth of her first child (11), Nuria was employed on two fixed-term, part-time (50%) research contracts and was entitled to 4 months statutory maternity leave (12). After the birth of her second child (13), she had a permanent position and was able to reduce her working time quite drastically (down to 1 day a week) for a year, but then increased it progressively up to 80% of a full-time position once she had secured a place at the University crèche (14). She argues that her domestic arrangements are fairly egalitarian, notably because her husband takes on an equal share of the domestic and care arrangements. She believes that this is because her husband's own occupational career, as an independent advisor to research labs, is less secure and less well paid than her own.

375

III.8.4.2.1. Gendered configurations of the bi-national marriage transition to employment

In contrast to the previous case, this path does not seem to be tied to specific occupations and transition from the Swiss HE institution to the labour market depends heavily on the ability to enter into a bi-national marriage. Marriage to a Swiss or EU citizen provides the stability required to make the transition to employment over a longer period of time. Taking a "step back" in order to achieve the desired employment status is an important feature of this ideal-type transition. Accepting jobs that are clearly below the educational credentials of the respondents and/or periods of time spent in unpaid activities such as voluntary work are seen as strategic stepping-stones towards more stable and prestigious jobs. However, in order to adopt such strategies, the migrants need to be married to a Swiss or EU citizen to access long-term residence. Thus, Miguel, a Peruvian lawyer who graduated with an MBA in Switzerland, explained how he had accepted a relatively poorly paid job in a small insurance company in order to enhance his knowledge of the Swiss insurance sector. He described this as his "tiger strategy": "Have you seen a tiger? The tiger always takes a few steps back before jumping higher". In Nuria's case, the combination of a part-time, fixed-term job in an NGO and a post-doc position provided her with the specialist knowledge and personal contacts that would prove essential to her successful application for a professorship. Many of the cases that correspond to this ideal-type pattern of transition also include considerable investment – of both time and money – in language courses in order to enhance employment opportunities in particular parts of Switzerland, a multilingual country. Ernesto, a graduate in engineering, invested his savings after graduation to learn German. When he was sending candidatures to several jobs, he had realised that the local language was an important barrier. The marriage with her Swiss girlfriend enabled him to invest a whole year in learning German without worrying about permit renewal. Then, he embarked on job-hunting again with better outcomes. He was hired for a transnational engineering company.

The access to long-term residence provided by marriage to a Swiss or EU citizen thus proves to be vital for the successful completion of this rather more prolonged path of transition from a Swiss HE institution to the labour market. Since the qualifications gained by the foreign respondents were not as clearly in demand as the engineering degrees that enabled a direct transition to the labour market, via the "essential employment" clause, a bi-national marriage enables the respondents to remain in the country long enough to consolidate their potential career opportunities, by a more meandering route.

The care configurations associated with this second transition were not systematically aligned with the "male breadwinner/female part-time carer" model. The fact that these respondents passed through various precarious and unstable jobs led to more inventive solutions for the organisation of domestic and care arrangements. Although the more promising career opportunities that were generally available to men did lead to some delegation of care activities to their spouses, this was less systematic than in the previous case. When the employment opportunities of the female spouse were better than those of her partner, more egalitarian care arrangements were established, irrespective of the nationality or citizenship status of the spouses.

III.8.4.3. The "care trap" of bi-national marriage for highly-skilled Peruvian women

While the previous patterns of transition eventually lead to stable positions in the upper reaches of the Swiss labour market, the third and final model reflects the risk of disqualification that some Peruvian graduates face. This is a female-dominated path, which is particularly associated with studies in SSH. Once again, marriage to a Swiss or EU citizen provides these respondents with the opportunity to remain legally in the country after the expiration of their student permits. However, contrary to the previous case, the care configurations adopted in these bi-national households tend to hamper the employment and career opportunities of the Peruvian respondents, who end up assuming the larger share of domestic and care activities and renouncing any occupational ambition they had on arrival.

Across the interview sample, eight respondents had failed to achieve employment outcomes that were congruent with their educational credentials. In other words, having a Swiss degree was not enough to secure them access to the upper reaches of the host labour market. Although bi-national marriage may have provided the legal right to remain in Switzerland, it was also associated with downwardly mobile career trajectories that were particularly sensitive to the gendered partnership and/or parental effect. The case of Lola can be used to exemplify this model (Figure 22).

	Peru	Switzerland		USA			Switzerland								
	-1	0	5	0		2	0	1	5	9	10	11	12	13	
High-level employment	2									12					
Involuntary part-time							10					15			Children
Low-level employment			7					11							Marriage
Studies Switzerland		3	5						13				16		Partnership
Language courses		4				9									Primary caregiver
Studies Peru	1		6												Shared caregiving
Out of labour market					8								17		Delegated care
Unemployment										14					
	1990	1991-1995	1996	1997-1998	1999	2000	2001-2004	2005-2009	2010	2011	2012	2012			

1: Diploma bilingual secretary	5: Licence in Sociology + Marriage
2: Professional secretary	6: Assumes most of caregiving
3: Enrolled in Swiss university	7: Job in a library
4: Swiss boyfriend	8: Job hunting

9: German courses	13: Master degree
10: Job as sociologist	14: Unemployed
11: Jobs library and bookshop	15: Part-time job as a sociologist
12: Job as sociologist	16-17: Continous formation

Figure 22: Lifelines of Lola

Lola worked as a bilingual secretary (French and English) in Peru (1-2), before coming to Switzerland to study sociology (3). Her move to Europe was made possible by the fact that her sister had been living in Switzerland for many years. Lola married her Swiss boyfriend, an engineer (4), after graduation (5). Immediately after their marriage, her husband took up a post-doctoral position in the USA. Lola moved with him and took sole responsibility for organising their daily life in this unfamiliar context (6). After taking some English language classes, Lola found a part-time job in a library (7). At the end of his two-year post-doc, her husband found a job in the German-speaking part of Switzerland. Lola followed him there and enrolled for German language courses (9) whilst job-hunting (8). She found a short-term job in an NGO for migrants (10), before taking up a permanent position in a private bookshop and then in a public library (11). Feeling frustration at the lack of career opportunities in both of these positions, she successfully applied for a job as project manager in an international development agency (12). For her, this was a clear improvement in her career prospects, particularly as her employer encouraged her to enrol for a Master's degree in intercultural communication (13). Unfortunately, just after she graduated from this course, she was made redundant under a downsizing exercise (14). After six months on unemployment benefit, she was extremely depressed and applied for a very short-term, part-time (30%) position in a public-sector organisation (15). After re-training at her own expense as an adult educator (16-17), she now works part-time (under 50%) for a migrant integration office and as an independent coach and adult educator. In addition, she continues to do voluntary work for a number of NGOs, and to assume almost all the domestic and household duties.

III.8.4.3.1. Gendered temporalities in the impeded transition from education to employment

378

Contrary to the other paths, the occupational trajectories of these Peruvian graduates are often involuntarily part-time and their employment status remains well below their qualification levels over long periods of time. Almost all the cases observed here concern SSH graduates who experience stiffer competition for jobs in Switzerland than their STEM counterparts (Gfeller & Weiss, 2015). The risk of deskilling is particularly high for those graduates who aspire to jobs in the academic or research sectors, where permanent positions are in particularly short supply (Dubach, 2015). For example, Mercedes earned a PhD in linguistics in Switzerland and started an academic career, but she never managed to obtain a tenured position, due to financial cutbacks in her field of specialisation.

The fact that the Peruvian partner's career is considered secondary to that of their Swiss or EU spouse is once again based on an assessment of their respective employment opportunities – a process that often takes the form of a self-fulfilling prophecy. Since the Peruvian partner is considered to face a number of "objective" handicaps in the transition to the labour market (qualifications in a highly competitive field, poor language skills in relation to the place of residence, etc.), the partners' career takes precedence and the domestic division of labour is progressively consolidated according to a "male breadwinner/female part-time carer" model. Once the Peruvian partner has "opted out" of the labour market or has reduced their occupational ambitions in this way, it is extremely difficult to renegotiate a more egalitarian share of domestic duties and care responsibilities, even when the couple remains childless, as in the case of Lola.

The arrival of children tends to reinforce this family model, particularly given the scarcity and extremely high cost of childcare services in Switzerland (Baghdadi, 2010). For example, Juana and Rosa both obtained a social sciences degree from a Swiss HE institution and married their respective Swiss boyfriends in order to stay in the host country. However, neither of them managed to find a job in their field of qualification and they both accumulated a series of short-term, part-time jobs that were manifestly below their level of qualification (one in secretarial work, the other as a French teacher in an association). Neither has ever succeeded in working more than 50%. Due to this fragile employment profile, both ended up taking the lion's share of care responsibilities at home and soon felt overwhelmed by the time-consuming character of their daily family lives. Although marriage to a Swiss national provided them with a form of residential and financial stability, it also led them to renounce their own occupational ambitions and, ultimately, to lose the potential value of their Swiss qualifications.

III.8.5. Summary

To date, few studies have compared the employment outcomes of migrants who have graduated from a Swiss HE institution or have considered the influence of legal restrictions on the residential permissions of foreigners after graduation on their transition to employment. However, I have attempted to show that individuals with similar objective characteristics – Peruvian origin and a Swiss HE qualification – can end up in very different positions on the Swiss labour market. It would appear that "essential employment" criteria are harder to access than family reunification measures for most of the non-EU graduates who want to remain in the host country.

Due to the interdependence of family and occupational trajectories, these foreign graduates fare very differently in their migration careers. Due to their rarity and desirability for Swiss employers, (male) engineering graduates experience a linear, rapid and upwardly mobile transition to the upper reaches of the labour market, irrespective of their marital or family status. They do not need to negotiate any extension to the time officially allocated to the transition period (e.g. six-month permit for job-hunting). However, not all foreign graduates are able to negotiate this transition to the labour market within the duration of their student visa. In order to undertake additional training or to accumulate the required work experience, a second group of graduates are dependent on family reunification measures to ensure their successful transition to jobs that are commensurate with their Swiss qualifications. To a certain extent, bi-national marriage provides a pathway to desired jobs that their qualifications alone do not guarantee (at least, not within a six-month permit for job-hunting). However, according to the gender division of domestic labour and care configurations that are adopted within these bi-national couples, family reunification measures can also represent a potential source of occupational precariousness and disqualification for a number of (female) migrants. Unable to mobilise the "essential employment" clause on the basis of their HE qualifications, these women often find themselves at risk of sliding down the socio-occupational hierarchy. The more unequal the organisation of domestic and care work within their households, the less likely they are to benefit from the stability and extended time-scale provided by family reunification measures to consolidate their transition to the upper reaches of the Swiss labour market.

While recognising the interactions between care, career and partnering, highly skilled female and male migrants aspire to career advancement as well as to family formation in the host country. In identifying three potential patterns of transition from Swiss HE institutions to the labour market,

we are able to better understand the conditions under which these highly qualified migrants accumulate advantages and disadvantages across time (Schafer, Shippee, & Ferraro, 2009). According to their field of study and family configurations, not all Peruvian migrant men and women are able to respond to the opportunities and challenges of the post-educational transition to the labour market in the same way.

Furthermore, understanding of occupational trajectories must include disruption as a constitutive part instead of an abnormal exception (J. Maher, 2013). Career advancement is not exclusively experienced as progressive upwardly mobility. Not only for women but also increasingly for men, occupational trajectories show an elasticity of rhythms as well as processes of repair and reintegration between career and care. Employment breaks and the use of part-time are not only signs of weakening careers but also practices of adaptation and resilience (J. Maher, 2013). As the lifelines of Juana and Rosa show, highly skilled women's decision to opt out after motherhood is not definitive but changes their career aspirations towards the caring professions and volunteering at the expense of salary and status (Lovejoy & Stone, 2012). In this sense, occupational trajectories are far from being unilinear but rather are fragmented. Peruvian men and women had to cope with spells of part-time jobs below their qualifications and long spells out of employment, and deploy tactics for reintegration in the labour market. Therefore, the "opting out" of the labour market might not represent a permanent situation for Peruvian women. Moreover, the career aspirations during those moments might change and lead to different forms of reintegration than the full-time high-skilled employment norm.

Comparison with Swiss graduates shows the long-lasting effect of nationality during transitions to the Swiss labour market. After one year of graduation, Swiss SHS graduates show higher rates of unemployment and underemployment than engineering graduates. However, this gap is totally closed five years after graduation (Gfeller & Weiss, 2015). But for some Peruvian female graduates the gap seems to never be closed.

Previous research has brought attention to the pervasive effects of the Swiss gender regime for high-skilled migrants – without Swiss qualifications – from EU countries with less traditional family models (Riaño et al., 2015). Recognising the combined influence of gender and migration regimes on the ability of qualified migrants to capitalise on their educational credentials opens up interesting avenues for further research on the complex interactions between education, employment and family-formation patterns.

Following these findings, the next chapter explores gender normativity in migration careers, using a narrative approach. Given the three ideal types of education to employment transition for Peruvian holders of Swiss degrees, I question the idea that South-North migration automatically implies a step towards more gender equality (Moujoud, 2008; Riaño & Baghdadi, 2007a). I do this by analysing their narratives about the transitions in employment and family trajectories. The conceptualisation of cultural distance in the Swiss migration regime emphasises gender equality as part of Western / Swiss values rather than of oriental / Southern countries (C. Fischer & Dahinden, 2016). However, gender dynamics in the migration of high-skilled Peruvians show that traditional family models in Switzerland have neutralised the career-oriented femininities already present amongst the Peruvian urban middle classes to which these migrants belonged.

Part III - Chapter 9

Narratives of employment transitions and bi-national marriages in Switzerland

Introduction

Peruvian migration represents an example of the feminisation of highly skilled migration[52]. Among the 2.8 million Peruvians (9% of the population in 2015) who left the country between 1990 and 2015, a large number were women. Peruvian women's share of international migration grew from 31% between 1932 and 1950 to 57% in the period 1991-2000, and then decreased to 53% in 2015 (INEI, 2010, 2016b; Sanchez, 2012). Peruvians who migrated between 1990 and 2015 were highly educated, with 21% and 9% declaring themselves being university students and professionals respectively. During the same period, women represented 53% of professionals and 49% of students (INEI, 2016b). In the literature, although women's migration has been recently researched in relation to specific jobs and skills, such as care workers, the feminisation of highly skilled migration has remained unexplored (Dumitru & Marfouk, 2015). Drawing on a biographical approach, this chapter aims to fill this gap, with a special focus on the experiences of highly skilled Peruvian men and women in Switzerland. Highly skilled migration includes qualified foreigners who obtain Higher Education (HE) degrees in the host country, and subsequently embark on job-hunting (Hawthorne, 2014). Aside from work-related legal paths, international student migration might be followed by bi-national marriage in order to settle in the host country for family formation (Fleischer, 2011). Foreign graduates' employment outcomes thus intertwine with family transitions such as partnership and parenthood (Geddie, 2013). Given the gendered division of family caregiving, bi-national marriages can mediate highly skilled female and male migrants' labour market participation differently (Fleischer, 2011; Fresnoza-Flot, 2017). Researchers have paid little attention to occupational and family-related masculinities and femininities amongst highly skilled migrants (Hibbins, 2005; Varrel, 2011). Here, I explore how Peruvian graduates from Swiss universities evoke gender norms while narrating their employment transitions, their partnership and childcare arrangements in Switzerland. Peruvian women's access to university education and the labour market in the Peruvian urban middle class have an impact on the dissociation between

---

[52] This chapter has been published in the Journal "Migration Letters" (Seminario, 2018).

femininity and maternity, on the growing importance given to occupational projects (N. Fuller, 2001), and on the practice of delaying family formation (Cieza, 2016). When abroad, these women's career aspirations might clash with Swiss restrictive migration (Riaño, 2011) and neomaternalistic care regimes (Giraud & Lucas, 2009). In contrast with a binary vision that views home countries as sites of women's oppression and host countries as sites of women's emancipation, I found that the male breadwinner/female caregiver model persists in these highly skilled women's and men's transnational experiences between Peru and Switzerland.

The chapter is structured into five main sections. First, I briefly present my framework for studying gender norms in this context (1). I then present the gendered employment and migration characteristics of Peru, and the Swiss care and migration regimes for non-EU foreigners (2). After describing my research methods (3), I analyse the meanings of femininities/masculinities in Peruvian graduates' narratives (4). Finally, I present some concluding remarks (5).

III.9.1. Gender Norms in Bi-national Marriage

Previous research has focused on the spouse's role in academic mobility and international student migration (Bordoloi, 2015; Schaer et al., 2016a), and on the impact of bi-national marriages on highly skilled non-EU women's careers (Raghuram, 2004b; Riaño, 2011). International student migration has also received increased attention from various scholars (King & Raghuram, 2013; Teichler, 2015), for instance regarding the legal situations and employment of foreign graduates (Hawthorne & To, 2014; Mosneaga & Winther, 2013; Suter & Jandl, 2008). While interdependencies of family and occupational trajectories for highly skilled migrants have been increasingly analysed (Geddie, 2013; Varrel, 2011), research on the role of bi-national marriages in foreign graduates' employment transitions in the host country is rather scarce (Fleischer, 2011). One reason is that family reunification procedures have usually been identified as an important route into legal settlement, especially for low-qualified foreign women, particularly in the care sector (Banfi & Boccagni, 2011; Bonizzoni, 2015). Additionally, the theory of status exchange is used to explain unequal qualifications between native and foreign spouses (Guetto & Azzolini, 2015; Maffioli et al., 2014). Although research on bi-national marriage has highlighted its ambivalence in terms of constraints and resources (Fleischer, 2011; Fresnoza-Flot, 2017), issues of femininities and masculinities for highly skilled migrants have not been sufficiently explored (Adhikari, 2013; Batnitzky, McDowell, & Dyer, 2009; Hibbins, 2005).

To explore femininities and masculinities in highly skilled migration, I compare the ways in which Peruvian graduates from Swiss universities narrate their transition to the labour market and their family experiences after graduation in Switzerland. Given that gender norms can represent the symbolic dimensions (languages, discourses, representations) at the core of family and employment relations, I decided to focus on hierarchies within each gender, namely non/hegemonic masculinities and un/desirable femininities (Pearse & Connell, 2015). Other sociocultural categories such as class and ethnicity intersect with gender norms to create dynamic and context-specific forms of categorisations (Umut Erel, 2015). I therefore consider not only the class background of research participants, but also the effects of migration. Ecological (Alcalde, 2010), geometrical (Batnitzky et al., 2009), and inter-scalar (McIlwaine, 2010) perspectives on gender norms in migration can explain how particular notions of gender from countries of origin interact with local gender practices in the destination country. Furthermore, rather than considering "home" and "host countries" as opposed to each other, I view "there" and "here" as informing the decisions and practices of migrants synchronically (Grillo, 2007). Through this transnational approach, I consider the simultaneity and multi-locality of migrants' experiences and focus on transformation and reinforcement of gender norms and their intersections with other categorisations (Batnitzky et al., 2009; Mahler & Pessar, 2001; Pribilsky, 2012). In order to understand the temporality and spatiality of migrant women's and men's intersecting experiences, I propose to use a biographical approach (Giele, 2009). This approach focus on identities as processes of self/other positioning at the narrative level (Lykke, 2010b). This approach also helps understand the meanings attributed to events such as turning points and transitions. Beside considering migration as a turning point, I also analyse here employment and family transitions as critical biographical moments that can have an impact on gender relations (Levy & Widmer, 2013b). My focus on migrants' narratives in transitional moments thus aims to understand how highly skilled Peruvian men and women might transgress hegemonic gender categories at times and participate in creating alternative ones.

III.9.2. Access to Education, Employment and Migration Opportunities

Peruvian women's access to university education has increased in the last decades, from 26% in 1960 to 45% in 2002 and 49% in 2010[53] (Garavito & Carrillo, 2004; INEI, 2011). Although Peruvian women's participation in formal labour also increased from 59% in 2000 to 63% in 2015 (INEI, 2016a), women's employment conditions have not improved homogeneously.[54] Peruvian women earned 70% of their male counterparts' salaries regardless of education level in 2015 (INEI, 2016a). As shown before, Peruvian migration is an example the feminisation of highly skilled. Unsurprisingly, this trend in Peruvian migration also shows important urban and upper social class concentration (Sanchez, 2012, p. 85). Consequently, Peruvian women's access to education and migration predominantly affects gender norms in urban middle classes. Although urban middle-class women declare the importance of occupational success before motherhood and plan to delay childbirth until graduation, they also intend to opt out of employment during the first years of motherhood (Cieza, 2016; N. Fuller, 2001). Although fatherhood is still a central feature of masculinity, urban middle-class men value not only the breadwinner role but also a caregiving one (N. Fuller, 2000a). Peruvian university students and occupational migrants adapt these gender normativity changes in Peru to the gender and migration dynamics in the destination country.

As mentioned previously (Chapter 2), Peruvian women delegate family caregiving to paid domestic workers. Beside delegation to female members of the extended family, Peruvian women in privileged social classes hire domestic workers. These workers are young women who come from rural areas of the country to live and work in the capital. Given the social class and ethnic divisions within the group of Peruvian women, those in the urban middle classes can exercise full-time employment commensurate with their skills. In this sense, the dual career household is widespread in Peru.

The Swiss care and migration regimes particularly influence the feminisation of highly skilled migration from Peru.[55] First, the Swiss care regime has been labelled neo-maternalist, being based

---

[53] However, in Peru, there are more women in private (65%) than in public universities (35%) in 2010 (INEI, 2011). Annual fees can be as much as 3,000 USD (Rodríguez, 2009).

[54] The Peruvian labour market is predominantly informal: 75% of jobs are undeclared, 70% for women in urban areas and 97% for those in rural areas (INEI, 2016a).

[55] Although Switzerland hosted only 0.8% of Peruvians abroad in 2015 (INEI, 2016b), Peru's National Office of Electoral Processes reported 6,482 registered voters in Switzerland, while the Swiss National Office of Statistics counted only 2,898 Peruvian citizens (SFSO, 2016b).

on a male breadwinner/female caregiver family model (Baghdadi, 2010; Giraud & Lucas, 2009; Giudici & Gauthier, 2009). When considering the presence of small children, it is possible to observe the increase of gender differences: only 9.6% of couples had both spouses working full-time in 2015 (FSO, 2017b). Secondly, the Swiss migration regime, delineated by the Federal Act on Foreign Nationals of 2008, strongly inhibits the entrance and settlement of citizens from non-EU countries. Moreover, student permits[56] are an expensive and time-consuming route into the country for non-EU citizens (Guissé & Bolzman, 2015). Until 2011, non-EU foreign students were required to leave the country immediately after graduation. Since then, a six-month "job search extension" permit for students has been introduced (State Secretariat for Migration, 2011). However, to recruit a non-EU foreign graduate, employers are required to attest that there is no Swiss or EU citizen available for the job (The Federal Council, 2005). Given the uncertainties surrounding the transition from Swiss HE institutions to the labour market, graduates from non-EU countries who wish to remain in Switzerland are likely to consider family reunification measures such as bi-national marriages,[57] which are often seen as more immediately accessible. However, it has been argued that the access of foreign spouses to settlement authorisation is conditional on conformity to the family model in the Swiss care regime (Riaño & Baghdadi, 2007).

III.9.3. Methodological precisions

The data presented here are based on a group of 19 Peruvians (9 women and 10 men) who had studied at a Swiss HE institution and were living in Switzerland at the time of the interview[58] (See in Table D in pages 27 - 18).

I adopted a multi-dimensional and narrative analysis of life histories (Fischer-Rosenthal, 2000; Levy & Widmer, 2013b). I considered interactions between parallel trajectories and processes of self-representation. Although I used NVivo software to analyse all interviews thematically, I present only extracts of the main narrative patterns found in after-graduation accounts. In particular, bi-national marriage as a legal outlet was omnipresent in Peruvian graduates' narrations of education

---

[56] In 2015-2016, 24.9% of Swiss HE students were "foreigners" in the sense that they had obtained their secondary school diploma outside Switzerland, as compared with just 13.1% of students in 1990-1991 (FSO, 2017b).
[57] In 2014, 36% of marriages were composed of one foreign spouse, and approximately 11% of foreigners married to Swiss citizens were from South America (FSO, 2016b).
[58] Twelve interviewees (5 men and 7 women) had a Swiss spouse, one woman had a European Union spouse, and two men had a Peruvian spouse. Four interviewees (3 men and 1 woman) were single with no children at the time of the interview.

to employment transitions in Switzerland, as exemplified by the following extract from the interview with Nuria, a female graduate in social sciences: "I didn't even think about that [switching from student to work permit]. It was not even imaginable. I got married and that changed everything." Family formation in the host country thus triggered negotiations about care and career with ambivalent results: bi-national marriage either enables or constrains the search for employment commensurate with one's skills.

III.9.4. Femininities and Masculinities in Narratives of Post-Graduation Transitions

These highly skilled men and women narrated their after-graduation experiences by criticising, adapting, and transforming gender norms between Peru and Switzerland. Peruvian male graduates emphasised processes of racialisation (e.g., restrictive laws and stereotypes against Latin Americans) that hindered employment and breadwinner roles. Peruvian female graduates described dissonance between caregiver roles reinforced in Switzerland and career advancement goals already established in Peru. In what follows, I illustrate the multiple ways in which aspects of femininities and masculinities are mobilised, by discussing the three most common features characterising the participant's narratives of employment and family transitions: "super scientist women," "unbalanced femininities," and "non-hegemonic masculinities."

III.9.4.1. Women Excelling in Care and Career

When Peruvian women narrated their struggles to achieve career advancement after graduation and marriage, perceptions and practices about family caregiving emerged in two forms: balance or imbalance. Instead of replacing the woman's caregiver role with occupational goals, the first one reflects the "superwoman" image of excelling in career and care simultaneously. The narratives included perceptions and practices of a having-it-all femininity. Concha, an MD/PhD doing a post-doc, explained it as follows:

> "I never thought that I would have a strong maternal side. For me, it was important to spend quality time with my daughter…. While working on my PhD research, I didn't sleep in order to feed her timely and always play with her…. Unlike Switzerland, academia in the USA is highly competitive: I had to work 12-13 hours a day to publish high-quality articles. My husband had already left to do his post-doc in Switzerland…. It was a terrible year but the most productive one. When my post-doc supervisor asked how I did it, I told him that it was teamwork thanks to my former supervisor's flexibility and my brother's help. But I got an ulcer. So, I told him that there isn't a perfect recipe

388

or super woman because something always ends up paying. I published excellent papers but I got sick…. In Switzerland, the problem was [my daughter's] transition from nursery to school due to the schedule…. Thanks to my supervisor's flexibility, unlike the strict one my husband had, my daughter enjoyed her mother 100%. I was like a stay-at-home mom. I went to work at 5 a.m., picked her up in the afternoon and took her to different courses, and my publications were also excellent."

Ideals of career advancement for Peruvian women with a middle-class background are perceived as feasible but contingent on host countries' expectations about traditional gender roles. This new validation has contradictions. When also taking into account employment conditions, cultural norms, as well as national care regimes, rewards of super femininity come at the expense of other life domains (e.g., health). Instead of giving up career for motherhood, this resolution of the care/career conundrum transgresses oppositional femininities – family or work – in favour of more encompassing ones. Other forms of resolution put forward the imbalance between care and career.

III.9.4.2. Opting Out of the Labour Market or Outperforming a Spouse

For other Peruvian female graduates, imbalances between care and career were expressed in two ways: opting out of the labour market to focus on family caregiving or doing better than the spouse in the labour market and agreeing on shared family caregiving. While reinforcing a female caregiver role, the former way highlights particular family and institutional limitations for migrant women's career/care projects without questioning a couple's gendered distribution. In contrast, the latter way does not transgress the female caregiver role but promotes an exceptional distribution within the couple. For instance, Juana, who graduated in social sciences and does volunteering, struggled to define herself as a wife who did not work but invested her time in "hobbies"; also Nuria, who graduated in social sciences and works in an HE institution, highlighted the "peculiar" caregiving arrangement with her husband:

"Let's say that not working would have been less annoying if people didn't see you in a special way. Because you are always categorised based on what you do instead of what you are. Of course, work is a mode of valorisation but it is also a way of not talking about you…. A woman once even asked me: 'What can you talk about with your husband?' Excuse me! If you knew that I could talk about a million things: the book I just read, the play I just saw…."

"Our family is rather peculiar because my husband has an irregular job and I have a stable one. I have always worked at least 80% and he has jobs of 20% or 50% sporadically. He is a chemist and works by projects. Consequently, this [situation] allows him to stay at home and take care of the children more than me. When I was doing my PhD, he worked more hours. But this changed since I started [to work] at the university and our children were born. Despite an interesting job offer for him in Spain, we decided to stay in Switzerland. I

389

had a permanent job with good prospects. My qualifications are valorised, and salaries are higher here."

Career advancement becomes ambivalent as a troubling void or exceptional achievement in these narratives. However, narratives about opting out of the labour market not only accentuated family caregiving but also created validation for women beyond the family: volunteering and hobbies. Those alternatives also correspond to femininities within the privileged classes (R. F. Taylor, 2005). In contrast with an unquestionable profession-oriented masculinity, women's narratives of successful careers go together with explanations for family caregiving delegation. Indeed, the main reason is to do better than the husband in the labour market.

Also, narratives of career advancement highlight its contingency on the actual amount of family caregiving. Peruvian female graduates without children feel compelled to succeed in their careers. As stated by Clotilde:

> "At one moment in my life, I knew that I had to take this direction and regain all the time I spent on other things, for instance family. I thought about planning a family, but it never happened [...]. I separated from my partner in 2008, got an assistant professor position in 2010 and finally a permanent position in 2015. I rose up the career ladder in five years; that's very fast for academia. But I froze my life for seven years [...]. I was teaching eight hours a week while finishing my habilitation thesis and publishing many articles. I don't know how I did it. But I think it was the fear of knowing that it is now or never and the fierce desire to show that I was as good as any Swiss citizen to succeed in academia. Women [in academia] achieve PhD degrees but end up in part-time jobs because they have a husband who enables this. Having a full-time job isn't an aspiration. Switzerland is a comfortable and rich country, so women don't need to provide a second salary." (SSH university professor, single without children, aged 47)

Transgressions of family caregiving femininity show how occupational success represents not only a goal but also a supplement for family-related ideals. Ironically, this might reinforce caregiving and/or super scientist femininities as superior forms. Instead of accepting traditional femininities encountered at the host country, when ideals of career advancement from Peru do not seem to fit into family caregiving in Switzerland, Peruvian women's identity work displays alternatives based on social class-based femininities: compensatory volunteering and outstanding occupational status.

III.9.4.3. Failing Breadwinners, Caring Fathers and Workaholic Ex-Husbands

Peruvian male graduates' narratives of transitions from university education to employment emphasised success or failure in accessing the Swiss labour market. Career advancement remains the most important source of validation of their identity work. Positioning themselves as migrants,

Peruvian male graduates narrated processes of racialisation that hindered their employment outcomes. However, they also emphasised gendered occupational advantages for overcoming these barriers. For instance, Ernesto explained the advantage of being an engineer:

> "I wouldn't say [finding a job after graduation] is easy. I would say that it is possible in 70%-80% [of cases] when you have a university degree in technical fields of study. Those fields have more demands and language is less important. I met a Chilean female lawyer who had to leave the country after graduation because she couldn't find a job…. I have never seen a Peruvian in an engineering career who had to leave due to unsuccessful job-hunting. They find a [paid] PhD position or employment. It might take some time, but they settled here finally." (Ernesto, aged 32, PhD in engineering, full-time employed and married with one small child).

Family caregiving is also described as supplementing breadwinner shortcomings. Transgression of the male breadwinner/female caregiver family model fosters recognition of caregiving masculinities. Ivan, a law graduate, hesitantly explained his pride in being more involved than his Swiss wife in caregiving, due to nationality-based disadvantages:

> "I couldn't work due to my permit. I said to the police officers: 'I have studied here and have a Bachelor's degree, and I can't even deliver newspapers? You are sabotaging me, but I am married to a woman and I have a child, both are Swiss citizens'… At that moment, full-time childcare was expensive, and I told my wife that I would take care of our child and study part-time to get my Master's degree. My wife was working 100%, so she provided the main household income…. Swiss people have good jobs and earn adequate salaries. I assumed domestic chores that represented a new experience for me because in Lima I didn't even see my child. I worked and travelled a lot and the maid did everything. So, I came here and started to change diapers, take him to kindergarten, sport and music lessons. I don't regret it. I sacrificed a lot professionally." (Ivan, aged 58, Master in Law, on-call legal translator, married with one adult child).

Although career advancement is central, it might not guarantee an unquestionable masculinity. Indeed, other dimensions of manhood are important, such as partnership. Overemphasis on employment at the expense of couples' well-being represented a failure. For instance, Miguel, a law and business graduate, regretted the ways in which work cultures in finance are at odds with partnership:

> "I love my work and my family, but I am divorcing. It is a 'failure' … [The cause of my divorce] was work. She constantly complained that my work took too much time of my time. It is true that I returned home at night and ate with the children and then I started to work… I was reading for an article or book to write. I might have done something wrong, but I don't think so… When you go higher, you have less time for your partner." (Miguel, aged 55, Master in Law and Economy, Bank CEO, divorced with two adult children).

Bi-national marriages after graduation are also ambivalent in terms of masculinities in employment transition stories. At intersections with racialisation, caregiving masculinity implies a lack of occupational success but also illustrates new validations for Peruvian male graduates. In addition, excelling breadwinner masculinities challenge wife/husband relations as another important aspect of male identities.

III.9.5. Summary

The focus on the feminisation of highly skilled migration proposed in this chapter has shown that transnational gender and family dynamics for these migrants can involve multiple and contradictory trends (Umut Erel, 2015). Taking into account other categorisations (e.g., class), trends of normativity change do not follow one direction (e.g., from home to host countries) but multiple ones. Indeed, simultaneity and multi-locality of references influence intersectional experiences in migration (Fresnoza-Flot & Shinozaki, 2017). Against the tradition/modernity dichotomy between home and host country, Peruvian graduates' narratives evoke continuities and changes in femininities and masculinities from Peru to Switzerland. Bi-national marriage mediates employment transition after graduation as a legal outlet for job-hunting, but also as a site of caregiving negotiations. For these highly skilled migrants, it thus plays an ambivalent role in occupational advancement. Career, partner and care are key elements of transgressing and reinforcing non/hegemonic masculinities and un/desirable femininities. Whereas Peruvian men's narratives stressed contradictions between career, partner, and care, Peruvian women predominantly constructed an ideal of integration of these.

Thanks to a biographical approach, this chapter suggests that the feminisation of highly skilled migration from Peru is linked to urban middle-class femininities based on career advancement increasingly. However, these profession-oriented femininities might be neutralised in favour of care-oriented femininities from family models in Switzerland. In addition, growing barriers to achieve a male breadwinner role transnationally do not necessarily translate into widespread caregiving masculinity. However, migrant women and men do not automatically convert to traditional gender norms, but evoke alternative femininities and masculinities in relation to class and nationality: from super scientist women to caring fathers.

These findings encourage broadening the analytical focus of intersectional experiences in migration. This paper, in particular, invites for further analytical comparisons between experiences of migrant

men and women with different skill levels, and their experiences of family relations and gender roles transnationally.

Conclusions to Part III

Each chapter of this Part of the thesis has contributed to the current debate on the differences and similarities between low- and high-skilled migration by showing the advantages of using theoretical frameworks commonly used to study the former in order to understand the experiences of the latter (e.g. transnational families). The discussion of transitions into/out of employment and precarious jobs in combination with the meaning of migration as a turning point in occupational mobility yield plural patterns of social mobility. Interestingly, upward mobility patterns were possible independently of the levels and origin of skills: not only did Peruvian graduates from Swiss HE eventually achieve better jobs positions in the Swiss labour market but also less skilled Peruvian migrants exercised high-responsibility positions albeit in migrant-dominated sectors. Downgrading abroad also happened for the former and the latter and represented the pathways of precarious jobs (e.g. fixed-term jobs below qualifications). The patterns showed the limitations and opportunities encountered abroad, the tactics developed by Peruvian men and women and the subjective assessments of social im/mobility. The self-positioning and positioning of others in terms of social class mobilised transnational frames of reference to give meaning to migration as a turning point or not n occupational mobility. Interestingly, the occupational immobility of low-skilled jobs in pre- and post-migration phases evokes self-positioning in terms of gendered family roles to counteract feelings of downgrading (e.g. male breadwinner roles). In this sense, the life-course perspective enabled me to analyse the relations of family trajectories with occupational mobility. Beside the role of bi-national marriages in legal trajectories, the care arrangements amongst family members played an important role in employment attainment abroad. The couple's negotiations in bi-national marriages showed the interaction of citizenship, gender and ethno-national inequalities.

This part of the thesis has analysed Peruvians' occupational mobility in terms of gender and social class. The combination of life-course and narrative approach was useful to understand transitions into/out of employment and precarious jobs as well as mobility assessments and identity work in relation to other co-nationals. A group of Peruvian women seem to fare relatively better in the labour market. From those who obtained legal authorisation to work, Peruvian women working in highly feminised sectors such as restaurants and care embarked on upward mobility to higher-responsibility jobs in the same sectors. Peruvian men seem to remain in similar low-skilled employment sectors between home/host countries. Citizenship remains a life-altering dimension after migration. Depending on the non/citizenship dynamics, a group of Peruvians might fall into precarious jobs and progressively exit the Swiss labour market. Women, however, capitalised better

on citizenship in the labour market. In addition, family caregiving seemed to mediate those employment outcomes in terms of delegation, accumulation or sharing caregiving. Peruvian men and women develop tactics to circumvent obstacles and capitalise on opportunities. Job-hopping, re-emigration and homecoming show ways to counteract feelings of downgrading abroad.

Peruvian female and male graduates develop practices to cope with restrictive immigration controls that lead to family-formation patterns in the host country. Since bi-national marriage can be a resource or a handicap in the employment transition, gender inequalities are not straightforward. Beside the gendered hierarchy of occupations that favour STEM qualifications, achieving a job that is commensurate with qualifications is strongly dependent on caregiving arrangements at home. Under the Swiss care regime, the opportunity to delegate caring responsibilities is very limited for women, regardless of nationality. Consequently, the question of South to North migration as a source of women's empowerment needs to be addressed. In particular, it appears that the career-oriented femininities that have become increasingly common amongst urban, middle-class groups in Peru tend to be neutralised in Switzerland. A closer examination of the gender and ethno-national-based discrimination faced by these qualified Peruvian migrants suggests that they might have a lot in common with their less skilled counterparts: the challenge of strict temporal boundaries on employment trajectories, risks of irregularisation in the host country, and employment-family time strains.

In relation to these findings, the narratives of migration as a turning point differ according to the urgency of remitting back home as well as the contacts, information and resources available . Perceptions of migration as a turning point in occupational mobility are not straightforward and depend on social class-based gender identities: the un/successful male breadwinner as well as the female super-professional and volunteer.

Given the findings about the role of transnational family and compatriot networks in occupational mobility, the following part addresses the impact of co-national networks in the social and physical mobility of Peruvian men and women.

Part IV

The influence of transnational networks on migration experiences

"Even those who propose transnationalism as an alternative to integration still recognise that transnationalism, properly understood, is a two-sided coin. To be transnational means that migrants develop some significant social and symbolic ties to the receiving country as well as to co-ethnics elsewhere, in the diaspora or in the sending country (…). The continuing confusion over the meaning of integration is the remaining stumbling block to a greater acceptance of the pragmatic position that there is no either/or between transnationalism and integration (…). Migrant integration refers to adaptation in a new locality, set within its particular territorial and political context. Transnationalism refers to an adaptation to changed circumstances resulting from migration across spatial distances (…). Migrant integration and transnationalism are both about interactions and negotiations between migrants and non-migrants, individuals, groups and societies, and both are multifaceted. Individuals' integration processes and transnational ties develop in multiple and varying ways, according to particular life stories (…). We argue that the nature of interactions between integration and transnationalism, when viewed from an actor-centred point of view, can be described as migrants' balancing acts as migrants straddle societies of settlement and origin, living their everyday lives locally, but also connected within a transnational social field. As actors, migrants and the populations of the societies they live in locally and transnationally, relate and respond to the structural constraints and opportunities provided by these societies, including the legal, political and socio-economic dimensions (…). Yet these 'objects of study' are also human beings, who act according to their feelings of security and self-esteem which are usually linked with human relationships, locally or transnationally" (Erdal & Oeppen, 2013, pp. 874–877).

"I have never been one of those who made friends with someone because of being Peruvians. I am a bad nationalist. When people are proud about Machu Picchu, I do not share those feelings. I am shameful about Machu Picchu. The reason is that people are proud of Machu Picchu but at the same time despise the Andean culture that created Machu Picchu. For me, Peru is an open wound (…). I do not share that way of living Peruvianness (…). If I meet a person, the fact of being Peruvian does not create anything in me. If I meet someone who is nice and is Chilean, Ecuadorian or Spanish, I will become friends. Peruvianness is actually a problem for me (…). If I had said simply: 'Fuck Peru!', left it behind and made my life in Switzerland, everything would have been easier. But it is more complicated than that because I have the desire to, and probably will, return to Peru (…). I want to raise my children there but it generates an internal conflict. If I had children there, I would send them to good schools where they can acquire intellectual capacities to later have a good training, but I despise the people who send their children to good schools. I won't generalise about this group since I have been able to experience it since childhood (…). I would want my kids to go to those schools that provide good tools, but I wouldn't want them to learn from them that you are worthy because you can afford the most expensive school. For me, everything about Peru is a big problem and not a source of identity and pride. That's why I am

sad about places like the Casona Latina: instead of being a place where people might feel proud of their identities, provided that your identity as immigrant might be considered more a disadvantage than an advantage (…) the person who runs it only wants to sell your identity as Peruvian to the foreigners (…). I went only a couple of times and he told me: I don't want Peruvians or Latinos to come. (Those) like you are good. He sees me as an educated Latino. He told me: 'the Latinos don't consume enough, and I am interested in Swiss people coming' (…). He wants to sell Latinidad to Swiss people, but at the same time he doesn't want Latinos to come" (Felipe, 35, dual citizenship).

IV.1.Theoretical debates on transnationalism and integration

Both quotations evoke an important debate in Migration Studies: integration and transnationalism. Previous chapters have already addressed both topics: structural aspects such as access to training, employment and citizenship in the host country and subjective aspects such as transnational frames for gender and class in migration experiences. Drawing on the first quotation, this chapter proposes a global approach to understanding interactions between integration and transnationalism from the migrants' perspectives. The second quotation shows the ways in which migrants' *balancing acts* between the two phenomena demonstrate complex practices and feelings. Although sharing the same nationality might create and foster relations, Peruvian migrants do not mobilise and valorise co-national ties equally. In fact, unpacking ethnicity in networking and identification processes reveals migrants' multiple and multi-local memberships. Felipe's narrative about distancing practices from co-nationals and fellow Latin American migrants in Switzerland complements his conflicting desire to raise his children back in Peru. Although distinctions based on educational credentials circulate, migrants' levels of skills do not predict the ethnic composition of their networks. This section therefore compares Peruvian men's and women's balancing acts, emphasising diversity in terms of socio-economic background, level of skills, migratory trajectories, family-employment transitions and citizenship status. The consciousness of local hierarchies and intersecting experiences "here" and "there" inform, prevent and encourage different forms of networking and belonging.

Just as shared ethnicity should not be taken for granted in migrants' networks, the emergence of transnational networks from pre-migration ties should not be assumed. This part therefore shows Peruvian men's and women's different balancing acts in Switzerland using social network analysis (SNA) and life-course and biographical perspectives. The former enables us to assess the composition and distribution of migrants' ties in social and geographical spaces (Herz & Olivier, 2012). There has been much excellent work in social sciences concerned with migrants' social networks: from the self-perpetuating effect of chain migration (Massey, 1990) and the long-distance

practices of transnational families (Boccagni, 2015; Pribilsky, 2004; Ryan, Von Koppenfels, & Mulholland, 2014) to the roles played by host and co-ethnic actors in migrants' personal networks (M. J. Lubbers et al., 2007). Authors have often studied bonding with compatriots and bridging with host-country nationals as a means of assessing migrants' degree of integration and transnationalism. While the former has often been negatively judged as reproducing closed ethnic enclaves amongst disadvantaged migrants, the latter has usually been associated with integration and social mobility of highly skilled migrants. Instead of assuming mutually exclusive concepts, the focus on the structure and meaning of migrants' networks sheds light on embedding patterns (Ryan, Umut, et al., 2015). Processes of embedding in multiple networks also influence migrants' identification processes, where institutional labels and alternative categories emerge and interact (de Federico de la Rua, 2007; Umut Erel, 2015; M. J. Lubbers et al., 2007). There are two boundary-making processes, discursive and practical, that do not necessarily coincide (Dahinden, 2013; Wimmer, 2014): discourses on social categorisations of contacts, where migrants perform self-positioning and positioning of others; and the evolving practices of contact-making or distance-keeping during pre-migration, after arrival and settlement phases. Migrants do not necessarily divide themselves and others into groups based on ethnicity, but in accordance with perceived proximity or distance in transnational social orders. Other social divides might be pertinent, such as gender, social class and/or length of residence in certain contexts of interaction.

Based on national origin and place of residence, Peruvians' embedding practices follow two main patterns: toward ties with Peruvians in Peru and Switzerland, or ties with Peruvians elsewhere and with other foreigners in Switzerland. Individual and collective local ties within Swiss cantons (the the sub-national level) seem as important as cross-border individual ties within Europe and South America – including Peru. Interestingly, Peruvians' ties with Swiss nationals seem scarcer and more transitory, regardless of their geographical location. However, the absence of ties with host-country nationals does not necessarily imply limited to access valuable resources, contacts and information (Ryan, 2011). There are forms of intra-ethnic ties with Peruvians in advantageous positions in the global labour market that can be favouable to occupational mobility, for exanple. In addition, Peruvians mobilise ties with other migrants who have similar social positions in Switzerland to access jobs in migrant-dominated segments. However, these networking patterns change over time.

Consequently, the life-course perspective emphasises the influence of political-economic contexts and biographical transitions in the formation and longevity of relations in migration. Transnational social networks are not static: pre-migration contacts might vanish; the first years of arrival might

foster transient but useful contacts, and settlement conditions can change contact-making processes (Dahinden, 2005; Waters, 2011). Although Peruvians develop varied embedding patterns, some individuals undergo changes from one extreme to the other in terms of network composition and feelings of belonging. Not only length of stay but also legal, family and employment transitions and turning points influence migrants' embedding patterns (Caponio, 2015; McIlwaine, 2015; Ryan, 2007). Because integration processes have been predominantly analysed during times of economic prosperity in destination countries (Ponzo, 2017), research on migrants' transnational networks have not consistently considered the evolving nature of reception contexts (Collyer, 2005; de Haas, 2010). This chapter analyses transnational network dynamics and integration practices in critical moments of Peruvians' life-courses: onward migration from Spain to Switzerland, tactics of keeping distance from co-nationals in competitive contexts and reverse remittances, fom Peru to Switzerland. Avoiding and fostering ties show the ambiguity of social networks and their dynamics linked to contexts and trajectories.

Post-migration mobility shows the mobilisation and transformation of migrants' networks to cope with disadvantaged situations : onward migration, pendulum mobility and visits back home (Moret, 2016; Ramos, 2017). Remittance practices show how migrants' networks change according to the transnational family lifecycle: from taking care of children's education to ageing parents' health (Lianos & Pseiridis, 2014). However, remittances and post-migration mobility also show internal hierarchies of citizenship, based on gender and class. From a class perspective, reverse remittances can be sent (Singh & Cabraal, 2014) by Peru's middle-class parents to their adult children studying in Switzerland. Access to post-migration mobility depends on citizenship (Pereira Esteves et al., 2017). Alternatively, onward migration and business ventures use ethnic-based networks to succeed (Molina et al., 2015). In contrast, non-citizenship might restrain mobilisation of co-ethnic networks due to competition and distrust in migrant-dominated employment sectors (Hellermann, 2006; Marchetti, 2016). I develop the time-sensitive and stratification dimensions of migrants' embedding strategies more thoroughly in the next chapters.

IV.2. Geographical scope and dual-nationality dynamics

To understand Peruvians' transnationalism and integration, I briefly present the geographical scope and dual-nationality dynamics in Peruvian migration.

Peruvian migration is geographically dispersed and socially selective (see Chapter 2). Although Latin American migration is characterised by diverse destinations, Peruvian migrants have a large number of destinations and gender- and class-based selectivity (Durand, 2010; Durand & Massey, 2010; Takenaka et al., 2010). In this sense, Peruvian migration is an interesting case study, since it displays traditional and new patterns of Latin American migration.

Although South-North migration is a mainly Central American and Caribbean affair, Peruvians, like other South Americans, have also migrated to the United States and Canada. Inequalities in socio-economic background are important: the former originated from rural and disadvantaged groups while the latter come from the urban middle classes (Takenaka & Pren, 2010b, 2010a). The same inequalities between Central and South Americans appears in transoceanic migration to Europe and Asia. This pattern of migration is predominantly South American, where Peruvians and Brazilians represent that largest flows towards both regions. Beside post/colonial ties with Europe, Peru was also an important destination country for European political and economic refugees as well as Japanese and Chinese workers in the nineteenth century. Nowadays a new pattern of trans-generational migration has emerged, where the Latin American descendants of these 19th and 20th century migrants use genealogies to benefit from ethnic citizenship in European and Asian countries (Durand & Massey, 2010; Harpaz, 2018). For instance, some of my interviewees had obtained their Swiss or Spanish passports before leaving Peru. Peruvian migration also displays intra-regional mobility to Chile and Argentina. In contrast with other patterns, these Peruvian migrants come from less privileged backgrounds (Paerregaard, 2015). Migration to neighbouring countries with no visa requirements diminishes the costs for prospective migrants.

New patterns of migrant heterogeneity such as multi-stepped and onward migration can now be observed. Relay or multi-stepped migration depicts the ways in which migrants change from one destination to another, seeking better employment and living conditions (Durand & Massey, 2010; A. M. Paul, 2011). Networks between employers, intermediaries and employees might enable this type of mobility. Thus, Peruvian women who started as live-in domestic helpers in Chile or Argentina subsequently found similar jobs in Spain or Italy and contacted recruitment agencies there to find work in Switzerland afterwards. Onward migration represents a post-migration

mobility triggered by negative experiences, such as economic downturn, at first destination (Mas Giralt, 2017; Ramos, 2017). For instance, Peruvians who arrived in Spain in the 1990s and eventually obtained citizenship sought alternative destinations such as Switzerland in order to cope with the post-2008 economic crisis that hit Spain.

Although 4.29 million Latin American and Caribbean (LAC) citizens resided in EU countries in 2010, South American citizens predominantly resided in Spain, Italy and Portugal. Inflows particularly increased from 1998 until 2007, and 2009 marked a downward trend (Córdova Alcaraz, 2012). Fluctuations are related to the 1990s economic peak and the 2008-onward economic downturn in Spain. Latin-Americanisation of Spanish migration started in the 1990s when labour demand increased in the construction and service sectors, and immigration laws showed opportunities for legal regularisations and fast-track naturalisation for LAC former colonies. For instance, LAC citizens progressively acquired citizenship from EU countries between 1998 and 2009: they represented 72% of naturalisations in Spain and 21% of naturalisations in Portugal, and in Spain six out of ten were Ecuadorians, Colombians, Peruvians and Argentinians (Córdova Alcaraz, 2012, p. 42).

In Spain, the 2008 economic crisis particularly affected foreign-based sectors such as construction and hospitality, and social rights suffered from serious cutbacks (Mas Giralt, 2017). In 2014, the unemployment rate was 24% for nationals and 36% for foreigners. Beside joblessness, a high number of LAC migrants were encouraged to buy houses through easy mortgage credit and low interest rates, and could not pay back their mortgage debts after 2008 (Mas Giralt, 2017). Although in 2008 the Spanish government launched a return migration programme for unemployed foreigners, only 10% of potential beneficiaries participated in 2009 (Córdova Alcaraz, 2012, p. 44). Migrants' decision to stay in Spain, return to home countries or re-emigrate to EU countries depended on citizenship, financial situations (savings and debt), and employment opportunities back home and in other EU countries. For instance, an estimated 300,000 Spanish citizens left the country between 2009 and 2010, and the majority were immigrants who had acquired citizenship and undertook return or onward migration (Mas Giralt, 2017, p. 5).

While the most popular destinations are the UK, France and Germany, research on the former is greater than that on the latter two. In 2008, one-fifth of Latin Americans in London who reported having lived in a prior EU country held EU passports (McIlwaine, Cock, & Brian, 2011). Between 2012-2013, around 15,600 Latin American dual citizens arrived in the UK with Spanish passports

(Ramos, 2017). In contrast with previous waves of LAC migrants, post-2008 onward migrants show a longer residency in Spain (between 10 and 15 years) and their reasons are predominantly joblessness and mortgage debt in Spain (Ramos, 2017). While co-national contacts in the UK help with onward migration, the two groups seem to compete for the same precarious jobs in the labour market. Social entitlement restrictions for EU citizens and "Brexit" might diminish the UK's desirability as a secondary movement destination. Other neighbouring countries that benefit from a stable economy might become attractive: in 2016, Switzerland was the fourth European country for Spanish migrants (after the UK, France and Germany) (Instituto Nacional de Estadística, 2017a). While inflows of Spanish citizens have increased since 2009, the available statistics do not distinguish country of birth and nationality used to enter Switzerland.

Peruvian migrants in Switzerland thus show trans-generational migration thanks to EU citizenship earned by ancestry as well as multi-stepped migration thanks to naturalisation abroad.

Despite this dynamic context, Latin Americans do not appear as an important national group in Switzerland. While specific groups of foreigners receive greater attention because of their (lack of) "integration potential" (Muslims Africans and Eastern Europeans), Latin Americans represent a relatively invisible minority in Switzerland, despite more than thirty years of presence (Bolzman et al., 2007; Carbajal & Ljuslin, 2010). Statistically, they represent a minority. There are several reasons for this: irregular legal situations, entrance with an EU passport and/or naturalisation. Latin Americans appear only sporadically in public debates about undocumented migration and undeclared jobs. In this way, the analysis of Peruvians' embedding practices and mobility patterns contributes to understanding integration and transnationalism from the perspective of an invisible minority in Switzerland.

IV.3. Contributions from a social network analysis and life-course perspective

To understand migrants' balancing acts between integration and transnationalism, I present a brief literature review of theoretical advances on both of these topics (for more details see Chapter 1). Integration and transnationalism have commonly been addressed separately. The former is predominantly addressed through a macro-level analysis of nation-states' (normative) programmes towards migrants, whereas the latter is usually studied through micro- and meso-level analysis of individual, families and collectivities of migrants. Conceptual and spatial frameworks are also different: studies of transnationalism tend to focus on centrifugal networks, flows and transit zones for transnationalism, while studies of integration focus on centripetal flows within a bounded

territory (Erdal & Oeppen, 2013). Integration is a politically loaded idea that represents an identifiable endpoint of social policy implementation (Yeung, 2016) and transnationalism can mobilise normative aspects such as nationalist (Margheritis, 2007) and developmental (R. Kunz, 2008) discourses. However, the analysis of the two phenomena also has similar dimensions: both evoke socio-cultural aspects such as emotional, cultural and religious feelings, as well as structural ones like economic, political and legal conditions (Erdal & Oeppen, 2013, p. 876). A global framework that considers integration and transnationalism as simultaneous social processes in migrants' daily lives needs to theorise their specific interactions.

Interactions between integration and transnationalism have been widely corroborated (Jørgen Carling & Pettersen, 2014; Grzymala-Kazlowska & Phillimore, 2017; Morawska, 2004). Based on the negative or positive connotation, four types of relations have been discussed in Migration Studies: the alarmist approach (transnationalism prevents integration), the pessimist approach (transnationalism compensates for problematic integration), the positive approach (the two processes are mutually supportive) and the pragmatic approach: "the likely reality for the majority of migrants is more nuanced than an either/or choice between transnational and integration" (Erdal & Oeppen, 2013, pp. 872–873). Only the last approach avoids an "either/or" analytical standpoint. Drawing on the pragmatic view, the focus on the nature of these simultaneous interactions aims to theorise migrants' affiliations and relationship patterns.

SNA and the life-course and biographical approach are useful for understand the nature of integration and transnationalism from an actor-centred perspective. Transnationalism and integration are shaped by the dynamics of continuing (or not) pre-migration relations and the emergence of new, post-migration ties based on local and cross-border networking practices and discourses. In addition, the ways in which transnationalism has an impact on integration depends on the perceptions and practices of transnational ties as significant markers of difference. Instead of assuming ethno-national markers as primordial, it is important to acknowledge differences as social constructions in migrants' diverse networks characterised by transnational frames of reference. The (re)creation of intersecting markers from "here" and "there" influences the forms of self-positioning and positioning of others (Umut Erel, 2015; Fresnoza-Flot & Shinozaki, 2017). At the interactions of local, national and global scales, migrants perceive differences and pursue tactics of group formation in their everyday lives (Wimmer, 2004).

SNA provides the analytical tools that enable us to disentangle migrants' multiple self-positioning and socio-spatial mobility practices. Beside the assessment of network compositions, the narratives about contact-making and distance-keeping tactics allow us to understand the identity work and the purposes of networking from coping against precarity to achieving upward mobility. A life-course approach addresses the interdependence of trajectories, transition effects and upward mobility/downgrading patterns, whereas a biographical approach focuses on the meanings given to events and narratives of self/other positioning.

IV.3.1. Embedding patterns as a time-sensitive conceptual tool

> "In focussing our attention on the nature of the relational processes by which embedding takes place, we are better able to understand the nature and causes of the contingency that frames migrants' engagement with their social world, and the partialities that often characterise such settlement-related engagement (…) By examining spatial and temporal dynamism through multi-layered processes of building and maintaining social networks in different contexts, we consider how mobility but also patterns of settlement and attachment may shape and be shaped by processes of embedding" (Ryan & Mulholland, 2015, p. 136)

In order to better understand transnationalism, SNA proposes specific ways of thinking about relationships, the collection of relational data and the visualisation of relational patterns (Herz & Olivier, 2012). Instead of individual attributes and categories, analysis focuses on relations between ego and alters, and between alters in personal networks. Moreover, SNA has focused on the purposes of ties in socio-economic mobility. In this sense, it is important to distinguish social relations from the availability, accessibility and value of resources in them – the capitalisation process (Ryan, Umut, et al., 2015). SNA can provide tools to understand the influence of stratified positions on the capitalising of relations and the value given to resources in specific networking contexts (Anthias, 2007; U. Erel, 2010).

This part proposes the concept of embedding to understand the intersectional stratification and meaning making processes in migrants' practices and discourses of networking (for more discussion see Chapter 3). A multi-spatial and multi-layered notion that addresses "migrants' complex relationship to diverse social networks and engagement with the people and places that make up their social world" (Ryan & Mulholland, 2015, p. 136). Here, "social world" means that social relations also involve processes of categorisation and feelings of belonging towards people and places (Dahinden, 2009; Wimmer, 2004). Processes of building and maintaining relations, the simultaneity of ties and the interaction of geographical scales shape embedding. This happens in

specific but interdependent life spheres – family, occupational, neighbourhood and wider community – that show different degrees of attachment, trust and reciprocity (Ryan & Mulholland, 2015, pp. 140–141). Instead of using the bonding/bridging dichotomy, the analysis of embedding focuses on the meaning of relationships, the relative social location of the actors and the flow of resources between ties. Dis/similarity in terms of ethno-national markers is not an automatic sign of the nature of ties but rather one of the markers – alongside gender and social class – for migrants to construct and mobilise differences. This section shows different patterns of embedding based on alter's geographical and social distance in stratified global and local spaces.

The concept of embedding practices represents the operationalisation of a time-sensitive and intersectional approach to networking practices and discourses. It is not a dichotomy but rather a continuum. The explanation of being embedded or not says little about the nature, the extent of resources or the dynamics of social networks. The analysis of embedding shed light on the features of embedding: the time-sensitive mechanisms, the social location of contacts and the subjectivities of actors.

The life-course approach analyses the dynamics of transnational networks, and the biographical approach addresses migrants' identification processes in specific relational contexts. There are two processes of boundary-making that contrast practices with discourses in relation to self-positioning and the positioning of others (Dahinden, 2009; Wimmer, 2004). Whilst also studying the emergence and longevity of transnational networks according to transitions, the life-course approach analyses the impact of the succession of home and destination contexts on migrants' embedding practices and feelings of belonging (Collyer, 2005; de Haas, 2010; Ponzo, 2017). In this sense, migrants' networks influence mobility patterns such as onward migration and challenges the limited bifocal focus to integrate other destinations. In addition, the biographical approach contributes to understanding the construction of transnational ties as significant difference markers. Beyond ethno-national markers, there are different dimensions in which migrants may be alike, unalike or unequal. The intersecting differences are constructed and contested in specific networks and the narratives about social categorisations reinforce or challenge networking (de Federico de la Rua, 2007; Wimmer, 2004).

IV.3.2. Unpacking the ethnic black box: migrants' networks and biographies

Personal networks represent the environments where concrete identifications from interpersonal dynamics and meanings of labels proposed by institutions interact (Anthias, 2007; de Federico de

la Rua, 2007; U. Erel, 2010; M. J. Lubbers et al., 2007). Drawing on transnational frames of reference, the (re)creation of dis/similarity shows the struggles to reinforce or create social orders between "here" and "there". According to their position in the network, actors are confronted with self-positioning and positioning by and of others. Biographical narratives of positionality represent specific re-enactments – in a given place and moment in time – of complex belongings and intersecting experiences (Umut Erel, 2015; Ryan, Umut, et al., 2015). The actor-centred approach to personal networks and the focus on positionality narratives contribute to unpack ethnicity as a situationally constructed reality, according to migrants' evolving relationships. Social class and gender intersect with ethno-national markers and might influence to a greater extent the networking practices and discourses of migrants (Dahinden, 2013; Umut Erel, 2015; Ryan, 2011; Wimmer, 2004).

Furthermore, ethnic dis/similarity is not an adequate proxy for understanding the availability, access and value of resources in social networks. Ties with actors in better social positions do not necessarily depend on ethno-national differences (migrants and host-country nationals) but rather on social class (compatriots in upper segments of the global labour market) (Ryan, 2011). Access to new and valuable resources might happen amongst compatriots: intra-ethnic bridging. In addition, access to redundant resources might happen across ethno-national divides, such as the ties with host-country nationals and migrants from other countries in the same position in the labour market: horizontal bridges (Ryan, 2011). Beyond ethno-national markers, the analysis should focus on the social location of interactions in stratified local and global settings.

Beyond bonding and bridging, SNA focuses on the composition of personal networks in order to understand migrants' personal relations and involvement in wider society. The empirical operationalisation of this approach mainly focuses on the number, frequency and purpose of ties with host country nationals, co-nationals and other foreigners in the home and destination countries (de Miguel Luken & Tranmer, 2010; Domínguez & Maya-Jariego, 2008; Molina et al., 2015). Past studies have identified a range of patterns, ranging from cosmopolitan to ethnocentric networks according to legal form of entry into the host country, level of skills and length of stay (Dahinden, 2009; Domínguez & Maya-Jariego, 2008; M. J. Lubbers et al., 2007; Patulny, 2015). Integration has been related to strong, diverse and leverage-oriented ties, as opposed to weak, homogeneous and survival-oriented ones. However, recent studies have questioned the predominance of ethnically homogenous networks amongst disadvantaged migrants (e.g. refugees) in comparison with highly

407

skilled foreigners. Authors have also questioned the systematically positive evaluation of ethnically heterogeneous networks (Patulny, 2015).

Beside the nature of transnational networks, migrants' subjectivity has been analysed (M. J. Lubbers et al., 2007). Transnational subjectivity involves the "cognitive classifications of a person's membership and belonging in transnational space" (Dahinden, 2009, p. 1367). Perceptions of difference do not mobilise the same markers. The conceptualisations of ethnicity and nationality are not homogeneously linked to feelings of attachment and territoriality. Ethnicity might be perceived in terms of unitary, plural or universal forms that influence ways of being transnational (Dahinden, 2009; Grillo, 2007). Nationality has an instrumental dimension that enables migrants to have access to mobility rights more than to consolidate feelings of belonging to nation-states (Harpaz, 2018; Harpaz & Mateos, 2018). Furthermore, recent studies have pointed out the growing in-group diversification and stratification of migrants in terms of citizenship status, nationality, religion, length of stay, etc. (Vervotec, 2007). Drawing on the idea of super-diversity, the majority/minority divide between migrant and non-migrant population also seems to vanish in urban contexts (Crul, 2015). Consequently, the forms of self-positioning and positioning of others are diverse rather than focused on ethno-national markers.

Although patterns of interaction between host-country nationals and migrants have been widely analysed, relationships between co-nationals elsewhere and migrants from other countries are less discussed, as are the evolutions of these relationships over time. Based on the idea of ethnic-based solidarity, research has emphasised migrants' consolidation of co-national enclaves. Independently of their relationship with host-country individuals, highly heterogeneous networks might also contain significant ties with migrants from multiple nationalities . The idea of super-diversity highlights the presence of multiple socio-cultural markers to understand network heterogeneity and social categorisations. Cultural similarities such as language, religion and other practices might create different degrees of solidarity within the migrant population and with the non-migrant one. However, ethnicity in migration also involves the circulation and translation of racism within and between migrants based on historical meanings of race in home/host countries and current practices of racialisation at destination, (Zamora, 2016). Along gender and social class lines, transnational forms of othering and social discrimination display migrants' own racial awareness and mundane racialised/racialisation practices (Bonfanti, 2017).

Another way in which migrants' ethnic-based relations are ambiguous as sources of resources and constrains depends on settlement conditions. Expansion of employment sectors such as care work might promote the influx of ethnic-based groups of migrants and their access to specific jobs; but moments of economic crisis might reverse the embedding practices towards competition and conflict within the same group (Marchetti, 2016). Consequently, migrants also develop "distance-keeping" tactics towards co-nationals and other migrants such as the long-settled and newcomers divide. Also, women migrating alone might not rely on ethnic-based networks. Considered an undesired expression of femininity, compatriots exercise discrimination (e.g. gossip, fraud, etc.) that may hinder the settlement process of this group of migrant women, through becoming gatekeepers of the labour market, for example (Umut Erel, 2015; Hellermann, 2006). Migrants' embedding practices not only change but also develop alternatives for contact-making such as the commodification of relationships to access information, housing and jobs (Collyer, 2005; Hellermann, 2006). Migrants' embedding practices might also reverse from ethnic-based solidarity to conflict (Grzymała-Kazłowska, 2005). Consequently, a time-sensitive analysis of the emergence, disruption and sustainability of interaction patterns is needed.

IV.3.3. Socio-historical processes and life stories

A life-course approach contributes to understanding changes in migrants' embedding patterns, with a focus on the composition, duration and function of networks. Time-sensitive approaches to transnational networks and migrants' integration are still rare (Ponzo, 2017; Waters, 2011). When studies have considered the unfolding nature of networks, it has been on the following topics: the explanation of causes and sustainability of migration based on networks (Collyer, 2005; de Haas, 2010). The focus on the self-reinforcing mechanisms of migration does not consider the undermining mechanisms. The inflows towards a country might diminish due to economic and political crisis as well as the exclusionary dynamics in networks. However, research on integration has focused on moments of economic prosperity at the host country and assumed that upward occupational trajectories are a condition for successful integration (Ponzo, 2017). Instead of continuous growth, however, migrants' embedding patterns show multiple directions. Migrants' integration might regress or change meaning in times of economic downturn (Ponzo, 2017). Drawing on the exclusionary mechanisms of networks, migrants do not always represent "bridgeheads" but can become restrictive "gatekeepers" (de Haas, 2010). In this sense, the case of Peruvians in Switzerland is interesting: migrants' networks have not achieved the massive inflows towards neighbouring countries such as Spain and Italy, but the current economic downturn in the

two popular destinations have triggered new inflows to economically stable Switzerland. This case sheds light on the current impact of the EU economic crisis on migrants' transnational networks and integration meanings.

Analysis of the composition and evolution of transnational networks sheds light on the undermining and facilitating mechanisms of migration. Migrants' transnational networks do not promote migration of any compatriots at all times. Of course, chain migration happens when a member of the family, the neighbourhood and/or community helps a potential migrant to travel. However, migration involves diffusion and stratification processes in which networks are "neither a necessary nor a sufficient condition" (de Haas, 2010, p. 1603). From the beginning, migration is not always a family strategy that triggers chain migration and subsequently transforms into community-wide migration networks to finally fuel a migration system (Massey, 1990). For instance, half of the Peruvians I interviewed in Switzerland have not been followed by any family member or friend from Peru. Explanations of migration sustainability must consider changes in national settings such as economic crisis and legal restrictions (Collyer, 2005; Marchetti, 2016; Ponzo, 2017) as well as network mechanisms such as restricted access to necessary resources, for example, through migrants' unwillingness to help prospective migrants (Hellermann, 2006). For instance, the increase of post-entry restrictions changes the use of transnational networks by undocumented migrants. Instead of simply following the steps of pioneers, prospective/new migrants might prefer weak ties rather than strong ones to avoid becoming burdensome or encountering refusal from family and friends at the host country. They may even prefer to pay smugglers to look for alternative destinations (Collyer, 2005).

The transitions, turning points and plans of migrants also shape migration dynamics. Beside length of stay, past research has focused on the influence of pre-migration contacts and future plans on the composition and evolution of migrants' networks (Bolíbar et al., 2015). Surprisingly, migrants' networks seem rather stable over time, with pre-migration contacts remaining largely intact, regardless of the duration of settlement abroad. In addition, longer stays do not automatically lead to greater diversity in the composition of migrants' networks (Bolíbar et al., 2015; Miranda J. Lubbers et al., 2010). Ethnic-based networks persist over time according to arrival arrangements, the place given to the family and the homeland after arrival and plans in the host country (Bolíbar et al., 2015). In contrast with assimilation theories, the life-course approach sheds light on non-linear integration processes, such as ethnically homogeneous relations regardless of time. In addition, the advent of an economic crisis at the host country may represent a turning point in

migrants' life-courses. Using transnational networks, migrants might consider re-emigration and redefine their integration practices and feelings. Indeed, onward migration does not necessarily imply material and subjective detachment from prior destinations, but may involve practices to sustain integration differently (Pereira Esteves et al., 2017). Integration might be constructed in several places and with multiple actors. For instance, Peruvians' post-migration mobility redefines rather than cancels their integration practices and feelings in relation to prior destinations and Switzerland.

The dynamics of transnational networks and integration interact with migrants' family and employment trajectories. Previous research has shown the influence of family and occupational transitions on the dynamics of migrant networks (del Rey Poveda & De Vilhena, 2014; Ryan, 2007; Salaff & Greve, 2004). In view of gender differences, marriage, parenthood, training and employment depend on and transform migrants' networks. While some migrant women might develop diverse ties at the host country thanks to childcare activities (Ryan & Mulholland, 2013), others maintain locally-based family networks (Bolíbar et al., 2015). In addition, migrants' upwardly mobile occupational trajectories have often been equated with integration. In this way, economic growth would be necessary for migrants to achieve successful integration. If integration measures the extent to which migrants show the same socio-economic characteristics as host nationals, the reasoning would imply that host-country nationals are a homogeneous group. Migrants and non-migrants represent heterogeneous, dynamic and stratified groups. When widespread downward mobility happens during a period of economic crisis, the lack of socio-economic opportunities may affect both: host-country nationals and migrants. Time-sensitive study of integration thus enables us to envisage different meanings and dynamics such as reversible integration or downward integration (Morawska, 2004; Ponzo, 2017; Portes & Zhou, 1993). Time-sensitive approaches enable us to disentangle the multi-directionality of transnationalism and integration as socio-historical processes and individual life stories.

This analytical framework considers migrants' balancing acts between transnationalism and migration as dynamic and diverse processes. SNA, life-course and biographical approaches shed light on multiple and dynamic identifications and practices. Two transnational activities such as post-migration mobility and remittances exemplify these patterns of embedding. The former analyses the roles of ethnic-based networks and identification processes where ethnicity enables cross-border practices, resistance to the risk of downgrading and integration during times of economic downturn. The latter analyses the role of family-employment trajectories and social class-

and gender-based effects where host-to-home country financial flows are reversed. To address these patterns of embedding, this part is divided into four chapters:

First, in order to study migrants' embedding patterns, I compare Peruvian men's and women's transnational networks and feelings of belonging. I found three embedding patterns: two of them show stability and the third represents changes. The first pattern refers to the classical ethnic-centred network of ties with compatriots at home and destination. In contrast, the second pattern show more ethnic heterogeneity including ties with host-country nationals and migrants from other countries . In addition, this pattern shows contact-making that includes ties with geographically scattered Peruvians for occupational mobility. The last pattern shows the changes from ties with host-country nationals to contact-making tactics to reach out to compatriots across borders after a turning point in the family or occupational domain. Beyond ethno-national markers, the forms of self-positioning and positioning of others do not coincide with the networks in each pattern of embedding.

Secondly, I analyse the multiple directions and purposes of remittances used by Peruvians, according to family lifecycle stage and stratification processes. Beside host-to-home-country remittances, Peruvians in Switzerland also receive money from their parents and siblings in Peru, notably in order to help them embark on occupational advancement and business ventures. Given the non/citizenship statuses, stratification between members such as mixed-status families and bi-national marriages show class- and gender- based remittance patterns.

To grasp the role of ethnic-based networks and evolving socio-economic conditions, I analyse the post-migration mobility patterns of the Peruvian men and women interviewed in Switzerland. Onward migration and systematic visits back home shed light on socio-spatial mobility tactics where ethnicity is a resource not only for transnational networks but also for different forms of economic integration (e.g. upward mobility). Interestingly, the mobilisation of Peruvianness for ethnic business contrasts with the instrumental use of Swiss nationality to gain mobility rights.

Finally, to understand the multiple combinations of integration and transnationalism amongst Peruvian men and women, I propose the concept of balancing acts (Erdal & Oeppen, 2013) between both phenomena. In other words, I embark on the analysis of the connections with people and places across border and locally complements the results about citizenship and occupational outcomes. Inspired by the work of Morawska (2004), I classify the different forms of integration

and transnationalism found amongst Peruvian migrants in Switzerland along gender, citizenship status and social class divides.

Part IV - Chapter 10

Timing and networks: beyond ethno-national markers

Introduction

In this chapter, I analyse the tensions between transnationalism and integration as dynamic embedding practices. Using SNA and life-course perspectives enables me to address the multiple domains, timing and sequences as well as the composition of migrants' networks. To elucidate patterns of embedding, I compare the life stories and networking accounts of highly and low skilled Peruvians with different social mobility outcomes. Thus, I show that middle-aged Peruvian women informally employed as care workers share embedding features with young Peruvian engineers employed in transnational enterprises in Switzerland. Despite length of stay, both embedding practices show scarce and inconstant ties with host-country nationals, whereas Peruvians and other migrants represent persistent and close ties with members of this group. Foreign-based upper and lower segments of the Swiss labour market influence their network composition. While Peruvians in the latter might develop a "distance-keeping" tactic (oriented to fellow migrants) due to a highly competitive context, the former might develop an on-line reaching-out tactic oriented towards "expats". However, the two embedding patterns do not involve ties with members of the host society equally. While the quantity and quality of ties with members of the host society have been predominantly analysed, most research has only focused on co-nationals in home/host countries ("originals" and "destination" respectively) and a broad category of "transnationals" for other ties (Bolíbar et al., 2015; Miranda J. Lubbers et al., 2010; Molina et al., 2015; Patulny, 2015). Thus, migrants of other nationalities and co-nationals at alternative destinations are subsumed under the last category. However, the analysis of Peruvian migrants' embedding practices in Switzerland reveals stable and close ties with Peruvians in other destinations, but also with Latin American and European citizens in Switzerland. The diversity of Peruvians' experiences in Switzerland, a less popular but growing destination, represents an interesting case study. Consequently, transnationalism and integration as simultaneous and evolving processes cannot be predicted by a focus on individual features, career results or through a host-country-centred approach.

In view of turning points, family-employment interdependence, legal trajectories and plans , I present three embedding patterns. Half of the participants represent pioneers without followers and the other half are inserted in family chain migration patterns. The first pattern concerns

transnational families who are involved in chain migration and who maintain an orientation towards co-nationals in home and host countries, irrespective of the duration of settlement in Switzerland. The second pattern covers those Peruvian migrants who remain pioneers without followers and do not automatically develop networks with host-country nationals. The majority maintain cross-border ties with Peruvians elsewhere and local ties with fellow Latin American and European migrants. The third pattern illustrates the impact of path-changing events on embedding practices and subjectivity. While most research has focused on partnering and parenting effects (Ryan, 2007; Ryan & Mulholland, 2013; Salaff & Greve, 2004) and prosperous economic contexts (Ponzo, 2017), I focus on the effects of economic crisis and divorce as triggers of change from host- to home-oriented ties and feelings of attachment. These results regarding embedding patterns provide a dynamic framework for understanding remittance practices and post-migration mobility.

This chapter is divided into four sub-sections. After briefly presenting how the analysis of embedding patterns sheds light on the tensions between transnationalism and integration (1), I present the research methods and data visualisation techniques used here (2). Then, I go on to present the three embedding patterns (3), and, finally, I present the concluding remarks (4)

IV.10.1. Embedding practices: tensions between transnationalism and integration

Although transnationalism and integration are simultaneous social processes, they each have conceptual particularities. A focus on transnationalism enables us to observe "the multiple activities of common people across national borders, seeking to adapt and overcome the constraints imposed upon them by an expanding capitalist economy" (Portes et al., 2017, p. 1489). Without neglecting the role of nation-states, this mid-range concept emphasises a "bottom-up" perspective to address networks and subjectivity (Dahinden, 2009). The actor-centred approach allows us to understand different and unequal experiences of transnationalism (Faist et al., 2013; Grillo, 2007). Not all migrants entertain the same transnational relations and subjectivities at all moments (Dahinden, 2009). In other words, mobile and non-mobile people entertain different degrees and scopes of cross-border relations and forms of belonging.

The conceptualisation of integration addresses the parity of life chances between the native majority group and migrants as well as issues of attachment and recognition within national territories (Erdal & Oeppen, 2013; Ponzo, 2017). Since both are heterogeneous groups and subject to socio-historical

processes, integration is unequal and multi-directional (Crul, 2015; Ponzo, 2017; Roos & Zaun, 2016). The majority/minority divide is not static or clearly defined. In cities around the world, scholars have observed the differentiation and stratification processes between the migrant and non-migrant population beyond ethno-national markers (Crul, 2015; Dahinden, 2013; Meissner, 2015; Wimmer, 2004). Against normative conditions such as upward mobility and long-term settlement, integration shows downward mobility (when nationals and foreigners suffer economic downturn) and onward migration (international exit tactic) in critical moments (Pereira Esteves et al., 2017; Ponzo, 2017; Portes & Zhou, 1993). The aim is to understand the dynamic relational patterns within and between the two processes of transnationalism and integration.

IV.10.1.1. Embedding practices as a conceptual tool

> "We respond to those calls by suggesting a multi-layered and multi-spatial notion of embedding. In so doing, we propose its usefulness in understanding migrants' complex relationship to diverse social networks, but in the sense that embedding is taken to refer to a process rather than a definitive condition. Embedding offers ways of thinking about the nuanced details of migrants' experiences of engagement with the people and places that make up their social world, and in a way that may mitigate often fixed and narrow concepts such as integration" (Ryan & Mulholland, 2015, p. 136)

The analysis of each of these processes demands a multi-layered, time-sensitive and intersectional concept such as embedding. First, integration and transnationalism have socio-cultural, economic, political and legal dimensions (Caponio, 2015; Erdal & Oeppen, 2013; Ponzo, 2017). Concerned with local and cross-border ties, embedding involves life spheres such as family, occupation, citizenship and community and addresses the unequal positions of actors (Ryan & Mulholland, 2015). Secondly, this multi-layered concept adapts to a life-course perspective that considers interdependent trajectories across life domains, and the interaction between socio-historical processes and biographies. In this way, embedding shows different directions while adapting to turning points, transitions and migration phases (Caponio, 2015; Heering, van der Erf, & van Wissen, 2004; Waters, 2011). Additionally, migrants' biographical and networking accounts display intersecting experiences based on gender, ethnicity and class that simultaneously consider the "here" and "there" as transnational frames of reference (Akkaymak, 2016; Umut Erel, 2015). Beyond ethno-national markers, there are two mechanisms of boundary-making: the social categories mobilised by migrants to self-position and position others, and the everyday relations of migrants with people and places (Dahinden, 2013; Wimmer, 2014). Finally, stratification processes

are central to embedding and evoke the unequal capitalisation of resources thanks to relations and group membership (Domínguez & Watkins, 2003; Umut Erel, 2015).

Relative social locations and plural affiliations of actors in migrants' networks have been addressed as combinations of national origin and place of residence (Bolíbar et al., 2015; Miranda J. Lubbers et al., 2010; Molina et al., 2015; Patulny, 2015). The presence of "hosts" (actors born and living in the destination country) have been used to assess degrees of integration, the presence of "originals" and "destination" (actors born in the home country still living there or at the host country) has been used to measure degrees of transnationalism. However, other combinations have been less researched, such as actors born in the same home country but living in alternative destinations or those born elsewhere but living in the destination country. The analysis of migrants' networks needs to expand these ethnic categorisations. Ethnicity is associated with class and gender differences within migrant groups and with majority groups (Akkaymak, 2016; Umut Erel, 2015; Salaff & Greve, 2004). Beyond ethno-national markers, national groups show internal differences due to time of migration, age and non/citizenship statuses (Caponio, 2015; Crul, 2015; Grzymała-Kazłowska, 2005; Marchetti, 2016; McIlwaine, 2015; Meissner, 2017; Ramos, 2017; Vervotec, 2007). The differences influence and are products of everyday interactions and forms of (self-)positioning.

An ego-centred network approach is well suited to understanding the dynamics and nuances of migrants' embedding practices, (Domínguez & Maya-Jariego, 2008; Herz & Olivier, 2012). Transnationalism and integration involve structural and subjective dimensions: migrants' networking practices and feelings about significant places and people. While SNA commonly addresses degrees of closeness (contact frequency and emotional support between ego and alters), it has rarely been used to study the case of migrants (Herz, 2015). Important exceptions are the studies of boundary-making to test the relevance of ethno-national markers and transnationalism amongst the migrant and non-migrant population (Dahinden, 2005, 2009, 2013, Wimmer, 2004, 2013) as well as recent quantitative and qualitative research on migrant network dynamics (Bolíbar et al., 2015; Miranda J. Lubbers et al., 2010; Ryan, Erel, et al., 2015). This chapter is a contribution to this burgeoning debate.

Research on closeness in migrants' networks has emphasised urban agglomerations (Britton, 2013; Molina et al., 2015). Geographical distance between ego and alter is assumed to dissolve the intimacy and affection of the relationship. However, cross-border ties seem to remain important sources of emotional support for migrants (Baldassar & Merla, 2014a; Herz, 2015). In this way, the analysis of

migrants' social network sheds light on the interactions between geographical and social distances. In addition, feelings of attachment depend on stratification processes. While relational contexts of distrust and competition hinder close ties between co-nationals and fellow migrants, class inequalities within a migrant group may limit friendship amongst compatriots and influence ties with host-country residents (Akkaymak, 2016; Grzymała-Kazłowska, 2005; Hellermann, 2006; Marchetti, 2016). The opposition of weak and strong ties has been strongly inspired by ethnic dis/similarity in network analysis (see Chapter 3 for a discussion) (Putnam, 1993b, 1995). Instead of opposing weak and strong ties, this approach considers the multiple ways through which migrants perceive and maintain forms of closeness at multiple levels and in several life domains.

The few existing longitudinal network studies have corroborated the stability of the network composition of migrants, irrespective of ego's length of stay and level of skills (Bolíbar et al., 2015; Miranda J. Lubbers et al., 2010; Martinovic, van Tubergen, & Maas, 2014). In other words, the composition of and feelings about relationships "here" and "there" are not a matter of residence time or upwardly mobile migration. To understand migrants' embedding practices over time, individual characteristics are not sufficient. Socio-historical processes and relational contexts must also be considered (Crul, 2015). The organisation of arrival, the motivations for migration and plans afterwards seem to have a great impact on network formation patterns (Bolíbar et al., 2015; Dahinden, 2005; Hellermann, 2006). According to pre-migration contacts, lone or chain migration conditions influence contact-making practices – from avoiding contact with co-nationals due to competitive economic sectors to enclosure in family co-national ties at the host country (Bolíbar et al., 2015; Marchetti, 2016). Likewise, pendulum migration or settlement prioritise places and people differently (Bolíbar et al., 2015). Ethnic entrepreneurship can maintain frequent visits and ties back home whereas long-time settlement shows the vanishing of cross-border ties (Dahinden, 2005, 2009; Moret, 2016).

While the simultaneous importance of co-nationals in host and home countries (also known as dual networks) seems possible, the bridgehead role of compatriots at the host country shows the formation and longevity of "ethnic enclaves" and a less frequent evolution towards networks with more hosts (Bolíbar et al., 2015). Beside geographical concentration , timing of migration at moments of open vs. restricted laws or economic prosperity vs. downturn might also change migrants' networks (Caponio, 2015; Grzymała-Kazłowska, 2005; Hellermann, 2006; Marchetti, 2016). In addition, the predominance of ethnically diverse, cross-border and ties with host country nationals in migrants' networks is not synonymous with privilege or a guarantee of integration. For

instance, highly skilled migrants might have strong co-national ties, migrant women in transnational families have cross-border ties and asylum seekers are predominantly in touch with host officials (Akkaymak, 2016; Bolíbar et al., 2015; Patulny, 2015; Ryan & Mulholland, 2013).

Peruvians in Switzerland demonstrate embedding practices that question an automatic host-oriented network based on years of residence and skill levels. While cross-border ties between home and host countries remain important, Peruvians' geographically dispersed migration illustrates the importance of co-national ties elsewhere. Although ties with host country nationals might be important for organising arrival in the destination country, they remain short-term and transient (Akkaymak, 2016). In fact, Peruvians employed at higher and lower segments of the Swiss labour market are equally likely to lack stable ties with host-country nationals, but these groups entertain close and permanent ties with migrants from other nationalities differently. To understand the dynamics of embedding according to socio-historical processes and relational contexts, I present the methodology to grasp embedding amongst Peruvian men and women in Switzerland.

IV.10.2. Methodological clarifications

The analysis of Peruvians' embedding practices is based on life stories and ego-centred networks. First, I conducted 55 biographical interviews using the LIVES-calendar (Morselli et al., 2013). I transcribed and analysed those interviews before choosing 25 participants to revisit and carry out a network interview them (See Table C in Annexes page 26).. I tried to re-interview a diverse range of Peruvians: men (15) and women (10) as well as high (13) and low (12) skilled workers them (See Table C in Annexes page 26). In the following sub-section, I explain the combination of life-story and ego-centred network analysis.

IV.10.2.1 Network analysis data collection

Before carrying out the network interviews, I identified any missing information from the life-calendars and/or important topics that had been neglected during the first round of interviews. After those questions, the network interview used guidelines to collect data about ego-alter and alter-alter relations related to migration, family, employment and civil society activities. While doing the interview, I filled in two types of matrix (see Chapter 3): personal characteristics of all alters mentioned (gender, age, nationality, residence, type and duration of relationship as well as frequency and medium of contact) and ego-alter relations about hands-on and distant caregiving and job-hunting assistance (who helps you in…?) and alter-alter relations (who else is an acquaintance or

good friends with…?) (Bernardi, 2011). Finally, each participant filled in a chart of concentric circles (Ryan & Mulholland, 2015) to assess the degree of closeness of every alter mentioned (How close is your relationship with…? Do you have any conflictual relationships?) (see Figures 6-7). The definition of closeness was left to the participants to define and they were invited to explain the reasons for placing the alters in each category. If any of the alters mentioned in the course of the life-story interview were not spontaneously recalled, I asked for details about them. However, the main purpose of the network interview was to grasp the most important persons and places in the participants' life domains.

Figure 23. Pamela's network chart

I began by transcribing the network interviews and analysing them thematically. Using Excel, I completed both matrices with more detailed information. When information about the participants' network was completed, I used the life-story interviews to add information about relationship formation and longevity – the ways in which ego meet and interacted with alters and the duration of the relationship. However, as already identified in previous research (Bolíbar et al., 2015; Miranda J. Lubbers et al., 2010; Martinovic et al., 2014), the networks of migrants seem rather stable over time. In other words, few participants failed to mention relationships that had already been discussed during the life-story interviews.

IV.10.2.2 Visualisation of embedding patterns

Using the Vennmaker program (www.vennmaker.de), I decided to add a diachronic dimension to the concentric circles of closeness. Instead of using pseudonyms to designate each alter, I combined place of residence and national origin to define them as hosts (H), originals (O), destination (D) and transnationals (T) (Peruvians living elsewhere and fellow migrants in Switzerland). I used this terminology to create groups of alters. I use the size of the circle that represents the groups to show the quantity of alters subsumed under one label. Beside distinguishing between institutions/associations and individual actors (circles and squares), I distinguished between family (blood relatives), intimate (partner and/or spouse), friendship and occupational (met during training and/or employment) relationships using colours. Based on participants' accounts in both interviews, closeness was also reassessed in terms of contact frequency, alter's role in transitions and migration phases, and ego's perceptions about the tie.

Inspired by Ryan et. al.'s work (2017; 2015), I chose four life dimensions – family, occupational, legal and migration (the four quadrants) – to analyse the embedding practices. The group of alters in each quadrant are placed in concentric circles according to degrees of closeness as well as the role played during transitions and migration phases. The first dimension, called "family", includes actors involved in hands-on and distant caregiving. The second dimension, called "occupational", includes individual and institutional actors involved in school-to-employment transition, job-hunting and employment. The third dimension, called "migration", includes individual and collective actors who were/are important to arrival configurations, settlement or post-migration mobility. The fourth dimension, called "legal", includes individual and institutional actors that help/hinder participants' visa, permit and passports issues. Inspired by Bolíbar et. al.'s work, actors are given numbers for pre- and post-migration contacts (1 and 2 respectively) to assess the emergence and longevity of ties (2015).

To illustrate the visualisation of embedding patterns, I take Pamela's embedding practices as an example (see Figure 24). While relations between ego and alter are depicted in green (positive) or red (negative), alter-alter relations are depicted in black. Being one of the oldest siblings, Pamela was planning to migrate to Italy after graduation from university in Peru. She met a Swiss man through a friend working in a travel agency in Lima. This acquaintance (H1) offered her help (information and housing) on arrival in Switzerland, but the tie vanished afterwards. Using her savings and family loans (O1), she arrived at age 25 in a big French-speaking city in 1991 and started

looking for jobs. She published newspaper ads and quickly found live-in care jobs. Although she was happy to have shelter and food, she got depressed by being alone all day. She quit these jobs and went to a women's shelter. Once there she met other Peruvian women (D1). One of them helped her to find a part-time job in a restaurant. She also worked part-time as a babysitter. Reading newspaper ads, she also joined a club for computer boffs (H1) and decided to register for a course in computer maintenance. Meanwhile, in 2004, along with a Peruvian female friend (D1), Pamela decided to hire a Peruvian lawyer in Spain (T1) to apply for a Spanish passport. They started the legal-administrative process without leaving Switzerland, although they frequently travelled to Spain for paperwork. After obtaining the first Spanish work permit, they decided to continue doing the paperwork without the lawyer. After five years, she got the Spanish passport. She immediately visited her family in Argentina. Her mother and siblings migrated a couple of years after her (T2). However, Pamela was not successful in obtaining a Swiss work permit and decided to informally provide computer repair services. Thanks to ads, she has stable clients (H2) but none of them has agreed to file a permit request for her. She stills performs hourly-paid cleaning services to earn extra money. Currently, she thinks over changes in her Peruvian female friends: before, all of them were single and childless and organised various activities together. Right now, most of them have re-emigrated to Spain or Canada or have returned to Peru (T2). Those still in Switzerland are predominantly married with children and have less time to meet (D2). Consequently, she felt closer to her family in Argentina and plans to join them in the future (T2).
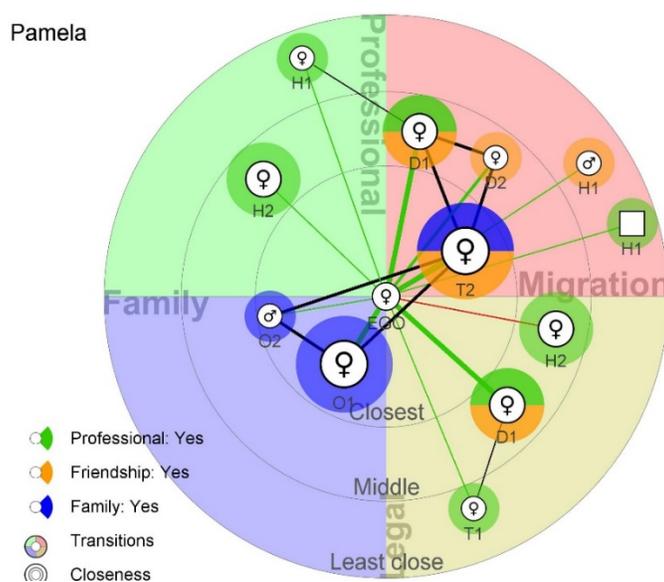
Figure 24. Pamela's embedding practices (produced using VennMaker)

423

Using this form of visualisation, I analysed the 25 participants' embedding practices and identified three relational patterns (see Figure 25).
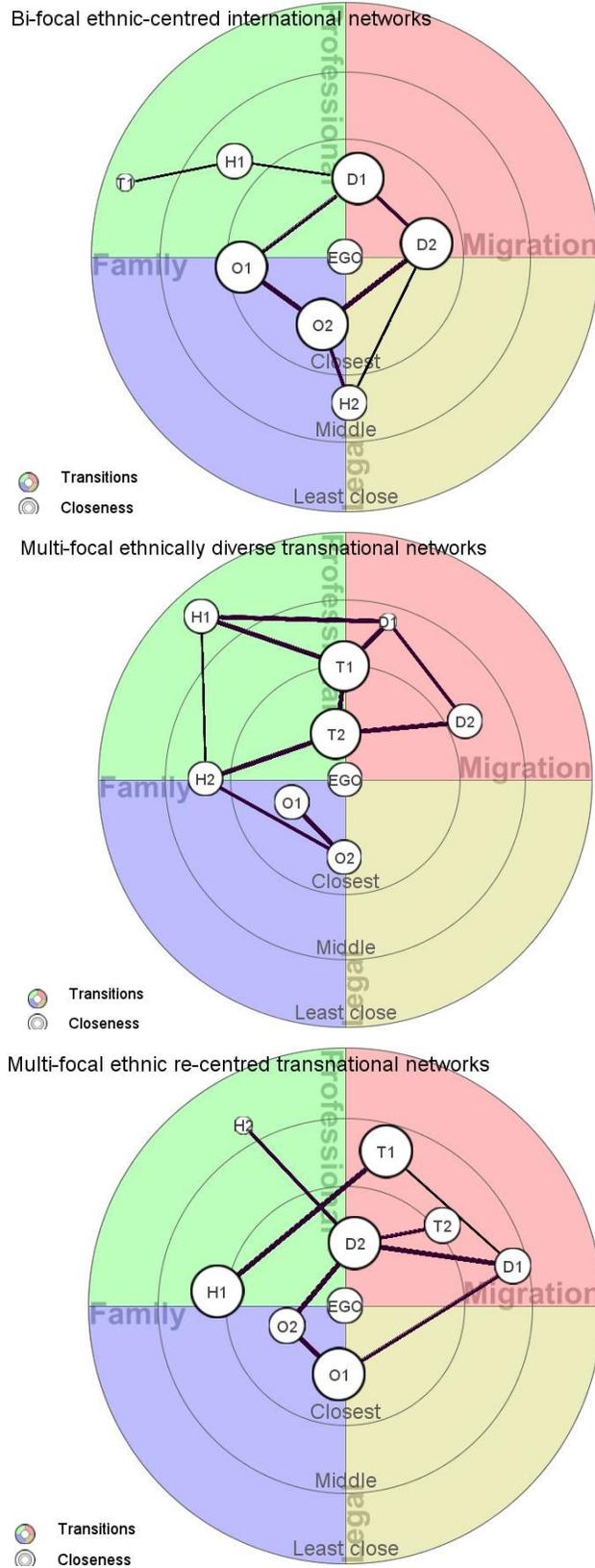
Figure 25. Three embedding patterns

The first pattern (see 1-10 in Table C in Annexes page 26) shows bifocal ethnic-centred international networks. They are bifocal and ethnic-centred because the ties are the most ethnically homogeneous and are oriented towards the home and host countries. This means that the embedding practices show co-national networks between Peru and Switzerland (O2/D2). So, the cross-border dimension links two countries. The larger number of co-national ties are family members in Peru (O1) and Switzerland (D1). The family members helped each other to migrate by performing chain migration (O1/D1). Furthermore, the co-national networks are stable in time. They are important in the pre-migration, arrival and post-migration phases. They introduced ego to other co-nationals in Switzerland (e.g. friends and Peruvian migrant associations). Consequently, the co-nationals represent the role of bridges. Beside stability through time, the co-national networks are important in terms of closeness (e.g. the feelings about and the frequency of encounters) and the role played during transitions. The co-national ties helped ego out in the family- and migration-related transitions such as reorganisation of caregiving after migration and the welcoming to the host country. In contrast, the relationship with hosts is less important in terms of closeness and transitions. Host-country nationals appeared in the occupational domain as employers predominantly (H1). Then, host helped ego during legal and family transitions (H2) such as regularisation processes by means of family reunification: bi-national marriages. However, both types of host groups are not considered as close as co-national networks. The composition of the embedding practices contrasts with the perceptions about co-nationals. Despite the importance of co-national networks, Peruvian men and women evoked practices of "distance-making" with (certain) co-nationals. The newcomer/long-settled lines are important: the Peruvian men and women in this type have resided in Switzerland for 20 years and predominantly work in migrant-dominated employment sectors: cleaning, caring and construction. So, long-settled Peruvians show mistrust against newcomers such as Peruvians arriving from Spain. The competitive employment sectors where they encounter them might be an explanation.

The second pattern (see 11-19 in Table C in Annexes page 26) shows multi-focal ethnically diverse transnational networks. The embedding practices are oriented to other countries than Peru and Switzerland. They have ties with compatriots in other European, North American and Asian countries, and, in Switzerland, they entertained relationships with migrants from multiple countries (e.g. Latin America and Europe). In contrast with the first type, the network composition shows predominantly transnational ties with Peruvians in other countries and, to a lesser extent, ties with

host-country nationals. While the latter represent distant and short-term ties (H1/H2), the former display closer and stable ties (T1/T2). The network composition is more ethnically diverse than the first type. Transnational ties are more important in terms of closeness and role played in transitions than the other relations. They represent the help of colleagues for job-hunting in upper and lower segments of the Swiss labour market. For instance, former university colleagues from Peru who now work in European countries provide ego with information and contacts to find funded PhD positions in Swiss universities. In the same sense, migrants from Latin America who met in French courses can help ego to find jobs in restaurants and/or construction. Peruvians in other countries make up transnational occupational networks and fellow migrants from Latin America and Europe are co-workers and bosses. The former represents forms of intra-ethnic bridging that mean ego capitalises on resources from ties with co-nationals in better positions whereas the latter represents horizontal bridging that means ego capitalises on inter-ethnic ties with foreigners in similar positions (Ryan, 2011). So, the transnational ties are important in the occupational and migration domains. Transnational ties introduced ego to host contacts in Switzerland and subsequently to Peruvians in Switzerland (T1/H1 and T2/D2). The relations with hosts are activated during occupational or family transitions, but they vanish with time (H1/H2). The organisation of arrival depends on institutional or individual hosts: Swiss scholarship programmes or Swiss spouses. While the former ties are goal-oriented and end after graduation, the latter ones are closer but potentially unstable (e.g. divorce). Here, co-national networks at home and destination are not as important as the first pattern. Ego represents pioneers without family members who followed (e.g. no chain migration) and family caregiving responsibilities are lower than in the first pattern (O1/O2). The composition of the network coincides with the perceptions of groups: identification with transnationals and dis-identification with co-nationals at home and destination. Social class might be an explanation: transnational ties represent processes of identification with professions and occupations (e.g. a transnational network of Peruvian male engineers or a local network of Latin American restaurant workers).

The third pattern (see 20-25 in Table C in Annexes page 26). represents the impact of family and employment transitions on embedding practices. Economic hardship and family conflicts lead to changes in embedding patterns over time. In other words, migrants develop contact-making tactics to avoid certain actors and actively seek out relationships with other people. Consequently, the embedding practices change from networks oriented towards destination to orientation to other countries (the home country and new destinations). Moreover, the changes in the composition

show the reactivation of co-national ties to replace ties with host-country nationals (from H1 to D2). The pre-migration and right-after-arrival phases were characterised by the importance of ties with host-country nationals (H1), and to a lesser extent, with compatriots in Switzerland (D1). The turning points changed the embedding practices towards compatriots (D2/O2). Like the second pattern, the co-national networks represent intra-ethnic bridging: ego might capitalise on ties with compatriots in better positions to embark on ethnic business (e.g. sponsors and clients). They also engaged in migrant associations. In addition, co-national friends and family help for onward migration to Switzerland. The co-national networks gain importance at turning points in the family and occupational sphere: they help ego to develop tactics to cope with crises such as joblessness or divorce. Although family in the home country remains stable in closeness (O1/O2), the role of co-nationals abroad represents new sources of resources, information and contacts. The composition of the network also shows changes in the perceptions of groups. Although co-national ties play an important role in the occupational sphere, not all ties are valued equally. Co-national ties in Switzerland (e.g. sponsors and clients) seem to be still under suspicion in comparison with family back home.

Although the sample is not representative, 10 participants (4 women and 6 men) belong to the first pattern. The second pattern is made up of 9 participants (3 women and 6 men), whereas the third one is made up of 6 (3 women and 3 men). In the following sections, I discuss each of the embedding patterns.

IV.10.3. Peruvian embedding practices in Switzerland

IV.10.3.1. Bifocal ethnic-centred international networks

The first pattern of embedding practices illustrates the role of co-national ties at home and destination that jointly compose ethnically homogeneous networks, independently of distance and time. The absence of family ties in Switzerland did not lead to the development of ties with host-country nationals but rather to the maintaining of cross-border close ties with family and/or to the development of family-like, activity-based relations with Peruvian compatriots located in Switzerland. To cope with loneliness, those without family ties in Switzerland develop relationships with other compatriots whom they met in a range of formal or informal locations; from cultural festivities and associations to public transport. However, they declare a deeper sense of closeness towards family members in Peru than to compatriots in Switzerland.

427

Most of the respondents who develop this pattern of embedding practices are pioneer migrants. In other words, they are the first member of the family who migrated. Unsurprisingly, family chain migration is common amongst Peruvians who develop this pattern of embedding, but family reunion in Switzerland does not automatically follow. Nationality- and family-based networks are highly important but their role changes over time. Instead of children or parents, siblings are usually the first links of chain migration. In the case of siblings, pioneers played the role of bridges by helping in the pre-migration, arrival and post-migration phases, and subsequently introduced more compatriots than host-country nationals to the newly arrived family members. On the other hand, the pioneers decided to stop being the bridgeheads for family members back home. Some of the pioneers did not initiate a family chain of migration. None of their family followed them . The conditions for the arrival of other family members include the evolution of care arrangements and the gender and/or age composition of the family members left behind. I take the embedding practices of Clara as an example of this pattern (see Figure 26).

Being one of the youngest siblings of a large under-privileged family, Clara was cared for by her older sisters (O1). They provided hands-on care during her childhood and financial aid to pay for her university studies, which she did not manage to complete. She quit engineering studies to enrol in music lessons. Later she found out she had a hearing disorder and decided to migrate. In 1996, at age 22, Clara arrived in a big French-speaking city in Switzerland thanks to a Peruvian female friend (D1) who offered her information for arrival without visa, contacts for job-hunting and temporary housing in exchange for travelling with the young cousin of the Peruvian friend. After arriving in Germany to cross the border, she started working right away as an hourly-paid cleaner and care worker in Switzerland. Thanks to the help of an employer (H1), she was admitted to a School of Arts (H1) after two years. After unauthorised residence, she obtained a student permit (permit B) and moved in with her Swiss boyfriend (H1). Before graduating, she got pregnant and married her partner. While her husband worked full-time, she fell ill and needed help. She then invited one of her sisters from Peru to come to Switzerland (D1). Once she recovered, Clara introduced her sister to her former employers and she "inherited" the cleaning and care jobs for three years. Her sister returned home. While she had a second child and stopped working, she co-founded a cultural association (D2) with other Peruvian friends. She invited her father (O1) and one younger sister to visit Switzerland. Her younger sister overstayed (D2) and "inherited" the same caring and cleaning jobs before marrying her Swiss boyfriend of Spanish origin. Then, her sister embarked on training and become a nurse. Before the death of her father in 2008, Clara frequently

talked with her sisters in Peru (O1) and regularly sent remittances. She remarks that her sisters in Peru and Switzerland are currently not in touch as frequently as before (O2). Indeed, she helped one of her nieces to get a visa but claimed not to be responsible for her settlement (O2). Since her children are older, she went back to work and re-engaged in voluntary activities (D2). As an *auxiliaire de santé*, she was trained (H2) and worked with migrants from other countries (T1). Recently she met a Peruvian female neighbour and friends, and they go out after work (D2). Her husband has always worked full-time and she feels distant from him and from her in-laws (H2), with whom relationships are described as conflictual.
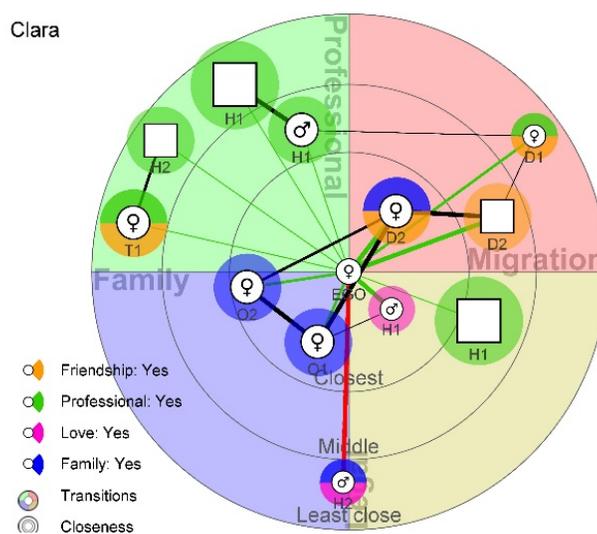
Figure 26. Clara's embedding practices

Clara's embedding practices show the increase in co-national ties in Switzerland (D2) over time and the persistent feelings of closeness with co-national family members rather than with host-country residents (H1/H2). While contacts with host-country nationals appear at critical moments of the life-course, closeness is mostly expressed in relations to co-national ties at home and destination. On the one hand, the help of one host-country national, the employer, was relevant to Clara's access to training and regularisation in Switzerland. On the other hand, the moments of changes in care arrangements activate and deactivate family networks in both countries, for example: Clara's invitation to her sister after pregnancy and the "cooling off" of the communication with her siblings after her father's death. In this sense, Clara's embedding practices became more oriented towards Peruvians in Switzerland than to those in Peru. Nevertheless, the degree of closeness is always higher for co-nationals in both countries than for host family members, including her spouse. Although bi-national marriage enabled the sibling migration chain to begin, host family members remain distant in these transnational families.

The family migration chain is composed of siblings. This chain appears to be initially very dynamic, but the momentum diminishes over time and duties towards recent migrants also change with the arrival of younger generations. Commonly assumed as a self-perpetuating mechanism, the family migration chain ends when pioneers start acting as gatekeepers rather than bridgeheads. Clara did not assume responsibility for the settlement of her niece. Likewise, other Peruvian migrants who are pioneers did not want their relatives to follow. Married to a Swiss woman, Rodrigo has never arranged for his younger sister to come to Switzerland, allegedly because she takes care of their ageing mother in Peru. Ignacio benefited from the help of his sister and Swiss brother-in-law on arrival, but ties with the latter became looser once he announced his plan to settle in Switzerland. Although he stills get financial help from his sister in Switzerland, the brother-in-law has cut off the relationship.

Other forms of family chain migration emerge. Thanks to the sponsorship of Peruvian friends in Switzerland, Elsa and Blanca, unauthorised migrants who work as cleaners, organised short-term visits for their children to Switzerland but were prevented from visiting them in Peru due to their lack of Swiss permits. Thus, family chain migration involves not only settlement but also circulation between home and host country locations.

The first pattern of embedding practices seems to be oriented to co-national ties at home and destination. Friendship with compatriots in the same city can be institutionalised through shared cultural and sporting activities. Participation in cultural and sports migrant associations represents settings to contact more compatriots in Switzerland. The sustained and frequent encounters reinforce the degrees of closeness with compatriots and create family-like relations. Some egos created symbolic kinship ties with compatriots in Switzerland, such as choosing them as the godfather/godmother of their children. However, power relations make it difficult for unauthorised migrants to develop symbolic kinship or close friendship relations with compatriots in Switzerland, thus reinforcing their family ties in Peru.

Peruvians in Switzerland are often active in the establishment of ties with host-country members as employers. It is an important way to secure jobs for oneself and even "transmit" the jobs to friends and family . However, under this first pattern of embedding, there is no sign of closeness with employers or colleagues developing over time. The ties with host-country nationals are only important at specific moments.

A similar distance is maintained with migrants from other countries and even compatriots who are predominantly co-workers. One possible explanation for the absence of close links through employment could lie in the competitive nature of some employment sectors, such as care, cleaning and construction (Hellermann, 2006; Marchetti, 2016). While job-hunting, Ignacio complained about the lack of honesty amongst Latin Americans and decided to only "trust himself". He was frequently told about job offers that were rarely true. In the same way, Elsa and Pilar, who worked as hourly-paid cleaning ladies, purposely avoided any contact with other migrants. Unauthorised status fuels mistrust between colleagues, particularly in sectors where competition for jobs is high. They are afraid of being denounced to the police by co-workers who want their jobs. Elsa and Pilar claimed that avoiding becoming friends with their colleagues was required to "live peacefully" (Elsa, aged 58, cleaner, and Pilar, 55, care worker). Consequently, there are also embedding practices related to distance-keeping in relation to specific groups of contacts: compatriots and other migrants working in the same employment sectors.

In line with distance-keeping practices, the network composition of the embedding practices does not match the perceptions of groups of contacts. Although the ties with co-nationals are central, the perceptions about them are ambiguous. The division between long-settled and newcomers is enacted. The long-settled unauthorised migrants were aware of the newcomers with Spanish passports regardless of being Peruvians. As Elsa stated:

> "A lot of people obtained the Swiss permit with a job contract... but they arrived with the Spanish passport and they got it easily... Sometimes I am very sad... so many years here and I still don't have the Swiss permit" (Elsa, 58, cleaner).

Although the respondents who develop this pattern of embedding have an average of 20 years of residence in Switzerland, their orientation towards co-nationals in both countries appears to be relatively stable over time. Since cross-border ties are key for family chain migration and caregiving, these respondents display a high degree of transnationalism. In addition, participation in associations shows a form of socio-political integration.

IV.10.3.2. Multi-focal ethnically diverse transnational networks

The second pattern of embedding practices shows the importance of transnational ties and, to a lesser extent, ties with host-country nationals in the personal networks of Peruvian migrants to Switzerland. The transnational ties refer to Peruvians living in other countries rather than Switzerland and Peru, and the migrants from other countries encountered . For this reason, this

second embedding pattern shows more ethnic diversity than the first one. In addition, the transnational ties cross multiple borders of nation-states and are focused on several countries in Europe, North America and Asia. Previous research has tended to overlook transnational actors as co-nationals living neither in the home nor the host countries as well as migrants born elsewhere and encountered . Here, I highlight the fact that transnational ties are important in degree of closeness and roles played during transitions. During the pre-migration, arrival and post-migration phases, Peruvians resident in other countries played a bridge role. They helped ego to arrive to Switzerland by providing information and contacts and then maintained communication after arrival. They might even help to find jobs . For the latter, migrants from other countries are also helpful ties. After arrival, these respondents develop other transnational contacts, particularly at times of occupational transition, but they are mainly migrants from other countries. Whatever their level of qualification, these Peruvians interact daily with European and Latin American co-workers. All these contacts represented key actors in the migration and occupational spheres.

In contrast with the first pattern, the contacts with host-country citizens are more numerous, but these relationships are described as distant and transient. The degree of closeness is higher in the transnational ties with geographically scattered Peruvians than host-country nationals. Host-country nationals are important actors in the legal and migration spheres. They also represent institutional and individual actors that help with the arrival in Switzerland – access to residence permits. In addition, the ties with compatriots at home and destination are not as important as the first pattern. The Peruvians abroad introduced to ego not only host-country nationals but also Peruvians in Switzerland. Surprisingly, the degree of closeness is not the same for compatriots abroad and in Switzerland. It seems to be more about social closeness (e.g. duration of the tie and frequency of interactions) than geographical distance. The ties with geographically scattered Peruvians dated from several years earlier and remained active for professional reasons (e.g. university studies in Peru). Moreover, the respondents who adopt this pattern generally have fewer years of residence than in the previous case. In this sense, they might not have developed closeness with Peruvians recently met in Switzerland. To illustrate this pattern, I present the embedding practices of Denis (see Figure 27).
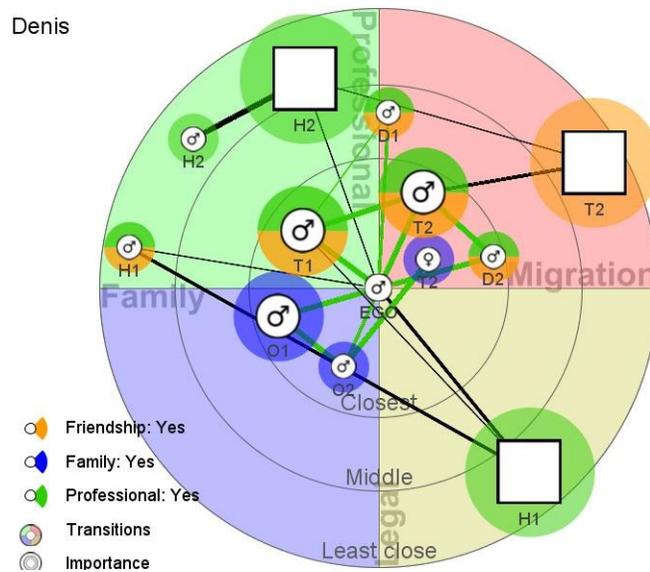
Figure 27. Denis' embedding practices

During his university studies in Peru, Denis enrolled on an international internship programme. He went to the United Kingdom to work in a university engineering laboratory. He received a modest salary, but his savings and his parents (O1) covered the rest of his expenses. At this time, he visited his Peruvian classmate who was doing an internship in Switzerland (D1). After graduation from a Peruvian university, Denis quickly find a job as an engineer in a transnational enterprise in Peru. He travelled back and forth between the USA and Peru for three years. He then decided to go abroad to earn a Master's degree in engineering. His former classmate currently working in the USA advised him to go to Switzerland where he was no longer living but had contacts and information about scholarships (T1). Denis followed his advice and sent a candidature for a scholarship from the Swiss government. He won the scholarship and moved to a big German-speaking city in Switzerland (H1). He met other Peruvian students in the same Swiss university thanks to his former classmate and the network of former Peruvian holders of the same scholarship (D2). He also made friends with other classmates, predominantly from other countries than Switzerland (T2). He also shared a flat with other foreigners (T2). After obtaining the Master's degree, he quickly found a job in a transnational enterprise in Switzerland (H2). There, he worked together with other foreigners rather than host-country nationals (H2). He thinks that it is difficult to make friends with host-country nationals. Two siblings have also arrived in other European countries to earn a Master's degree (T2) and he helped them out financially. In the meantime, he went to other European countries to visit other former classmates from the Peru engineering university almost every year

433

(T2). He also belongs to on-line "expat groups" that organise activities for foreigners in Switzerland (T2). He goes out with this group regularly rather than with his colleagues. He said that his colleagues already have family responsibilities and do not have time to go out after work. One of his former classmates has recently returned to Switzerland to start his PhD. They sometimes met with other Peruvian engineers living in Switzerland from the same Peruvian university (D2). Currently, he lives alone. His siblings have visited him in Switzerland and he is not concerned about his parents in Peru. Although they have recently retired, they have a retirement pension.

Denis's embedding practices show the role of intra-ethnic bridges played by transnational ties with Peruvians living neither in Peru nor Switzerland. Transnational networks of Peruvian engineers show the circulation of valuable information and contacts to embark on post-graduate studies. The members are Peruvian men who graduated from the same engineering university in Peru. In the case of Denis, they belong to similar age groups. The case of Coco shows the intergenerational dimension when older Peruvian engineers working in universities abroad help younger ones to earn scholarships and job positions. After graduation from the engineering university in Peru, Coco struggled to find a job commensurate with his skills in Peru. He eventually decided to embark on post-graduate studies abroad. He contacted a famous Peruvian engineer working in a prestigious university in the USA. They worked together on-line for several months, and the Peruvian professor decided to help him with the applications for scholarships. He won a scholarship to study for a Master's degree in engineering in France. Then, the Peruvian professor introduced Coco to another famous Peruvian professor who was working in Japan and had recently moved to Switzerland to work at the university there. They helped Coco to gain a scholarship to do PhD research in Switzerland. After the PhD, the Peruvian professor in the USA helped him to find a job in Switzerland. The intra-ethnic bridges show the ways in which Peruvian engineers help each other out to embark on post-graduation and job-hunting abroad. The ties are geographically scattered but provide resources to migrate, study and work in Switzerland. While the ties within the same generation show access to new information and contacts to go abroad (Denis' case), the intergenerational ties show the help between professionals at different stages in their careers (Coco's case). They provide more valuable and effective information and contacts based on their better-off positions in the global academy market. These are examples of intra-ethnic bridging where ties with compatriots in better geographical and/or social positions help ego for occupational purposes (Ryan, 2011). Consequently, ethnic dis/similarity is not an appropriate criterion to grasp the functioning of ties (e.g. weak vs. strong) to access resources in networks. While sharing ethno-

national markers, these geographically scattered ties with compatriots provide valuable resources for occupational mobility .

Moreover, the ethnic dis/similarity lens does not consider the complexity of dis/identification processes of migrants abroad. While compatriots in different countries from the home and the destination played an important bridge role, other foreigners also play an important role that complicates the ethnic dis/similarity assessment. Ego might also feel closer to them in terms of common "migrant experience", language and cultural activities. Independently of skills, most of the migrants who adopt this second pattern of embedding meet other foreigners living in Switzerland through language courses, at university and/or at work. For example, Marco, who worked in fast food restaurants in Peru and married a Swiss citizen of Latin American origin, first met Latin American migrants. They invited him to play soccer. During a soccer match, he was introduced to another Latin American man who helped him to find a first job. In this way, he found a job in a fast food restaurant in Switzerland, where he met Latin American supervisors and colleagues. Thanks to a common language, developing a network of transnational ties through occupational environments is not restricted to a cosmopolitan elite, but also concerns low- or unskilled workers in lower segments of the labour market. However, the information and contacts that circulate among the Latin American soccer players do not lead to the same jobs as those that circulate among the Peruvian engineers' transnational network. In this sense, the transnational ties among Latin American migrants show a form of horizontal bridges (Ryan, 2011). Although they are cross-ethnic ties based on nationality, they share the same social location in the Swiss labour market.

The geographically scattered ties with compatriots and the local ones with other foreigners are more important than host contacts in terms of closeness and roles played during transitions. Ethnic dis/similarity is a social construction contingent on context at intersections with social class and gender. The social locations in the global labour market shape the bridging roles.

In addition, the transnational ties show higher longevity than host contacts. Once contacts with host-country nationals are established, their longevity is shorter and their closeness ambiguous. Like Denis, most of the respondents who develop this pattern of embedding do not maintain close relations with former Swiss university alumni or professors. Although they are important during pre-migration and after-arrival phases (e.g. Swiss scholarship programmes), these ties seem to vanish after graduation. A few of the Swiss classmates and professors offered advice and information about employment opportunities, but with only limited success. For instance, Carlos,

who had just obtained his PhD and had a job-hunting permit extension, felt that his Swiss colleagues and professors could not really help his job-search. They suggested that he register with the Swiss Job Centre, but Carlos discovered that this service would be unable to help him find a job that was commensurate with his skills. Other ties with host-country nationals involve intimate relationships that show changing degrees of closeness: Swiss partners or spouses. Unsurprisingly, these ties are very important on arrival and during the settlement phases of migration (e.g. during legal transitions for student permit to family reunification), but separation and divorce happened. Consequently, ties with host country nationals generally play an active role at specific points in time, but closeness is less stable.

In contrast to the first type, ties with compatriots in the destination country generally form after arrival, and do not take a pseudo- or substitute family form. They represent ties with a shorter duration than that with Peruvians elsewhere, and/or the frequency of encounters is lower than that with other migrants at workplaces. In addition, the compatriots do not seem to introduce host-country nationals. There is a limited bridge role. In addition, ego is not followed by family members to Switzerland. The participants who develop this second pattern of embedding are less involved in cross-border caregiving and remittances. They have not left dependent children or ageing parents behind. Since they are younger and/or come from middle- or upper-class backgrounds, their family members in Peru do not need monthly remittances.

The composition of the network coincides with the social categorisation of groups of contacts. The social class divide seems more important than ethno-national markers. In this sense, the transnational ties with other compatriots show identification processes based on the professions: university degrees (e.g. engineers). And the local ties with other migrants show identification linked to the position in the migrant-dominated employment sectors. Furthermore, the perceptions of interactions with host-country nationals and compatriots show social class divides. Although Miguel, a bank CEO, said he was "more Swiss than the Swiss" in terms of punctuality and organisation skills based on his military education in Peru, he emphasised social class differences between university-educated groups and technical-trained contacts to explain the difficulties he experienced in building close relationships with Swiss citizens. For him, this was a problem for bi-national marriages. He said that:

"Having different academic status won't be a problem in the beginning of the relationship but after several years the problem will arise (…). My ex-wife, who is Swiss, criticised my ambition to embark on university courses in Switzerland to validate my Peruvian degrees (…). Also the ex-husband of my sister, who is Swiss and does not have a university, made fun of her for enrolling in a Swiss university and validating her Peruvian degree (…). [The Swiss ex-spouses] both chose not to go to university and there is no problem in Switzerland (…) but they seem to have an inferiority feeling towards those who did" (Miguel, aged 55, bank CEO).

Being a football fan, Coco, with a PhD in engineering, started playing in soccer clubs where he met other Peruvians and Latin Americans. He acknowledges the class and citizenship inequalities between the friends from university and those from the soccer clubs. He stated that:

"All of my colleagues are foreigners: Germany, China, etc., but they are highly respectful. From my own experience, I can say that without being racists or underestimating someone that when people have a higher education level they have more values such as respect, punctuality, order. So, when you socialise with them, it is easier… but other people who have progressed in life by means of small businesses, I see that the values are different… So, I have two types of friendship: my European friends, Peruvian friends from the university… They see things the way I do… And the other is the world of soccer where I get in touch with different kinds of people… even thieves (laughs)… all the things you can imagine of Latinos gathered on a Sunday" (Coco, aged 36, engineer).

Both quotations shed light on the ways in which the social categorisation of groups of contacts follows the social class divide in the networks. More than ethno-national markers, the identification with "academic statuses", professions and occupations grasps the social divisions while networking: the unstable intimate relationships with Swiss spouses and the preference for people of similar professions.

This second pattern of embedding practices shows another form of transnationalism, which extends to occupational co-national ties that are geographically scattered and local ties with migrants from different countries. It also shows that labour market participation in Switzerland does not always lead to the consolidation of ties with host-country nationals regardless of working in the upper or lower segments. The specific characteristics of the Swiss labour market (a high proportion of foreigners at both ends of the socio-occupational ladder) reinforce this result (Aratnam, 2012). The results show that high levels of occupational integration can be accompanied by the relative absence of social ties to host-country nationals. Contrary to the idea that upward occupational mobility includes ties with host-country nationals, other forms of bridging are enacted and lead to upper segments of the labour market (e.g. intra-ethnic bridging). Thus, the presence of ties to host-

437

country nationals should not be taken as a straightforward indicator of socio-economic integration (Patulny, 2015; Ryan & Mulholland, 2015). Our results indicate that cross-border ties with co-nationals located in different countries, as well as ties with other migrants in the host country, may enhance economic integration and settlement strategies in the host country.

IV.10.3.3 Multi-focal ethnic re-centred transnational networks

This third pattern of embedding practices shows the influence of biographical transitions in the family and/or employment spheres on the contact-making of Peruvian migrants in Switzerland. After several years of residence abroad, the main change is the passage from the orientation of ties to contacts with host-country nationals at the host country to the orientation towards ties with compatriots in Peru, Switzerland and elsewhere. Therefore, this type of embedding patterns shows the reconversion towards multi-focal ethnic-centred transnational networks: the reaction of contacts with compatriots who cross multiple border nation-states rather than the destination and home country. Here, ego embarked on tactics to avoid groups of contacts in some places and on tactics to mobilise contacts in another places. Like the second type of embedding practices, ego capitalises on information, contacts and resources of networks with compatriots to counteract moments of joblessness and/or family crisis. Interestingly, this type is linked to the capacity for mobility across borders thanks to the reactivation of geographically scattered ties with compatriots. The mobility rights obtained by naturalisation are more important than the other types. Institutional and individual contacts with compatriots helped ego to embark on new business ventures and volunteering activities. While the former mobilises transnational family ties, the latter reactivates and creates ties with co-nationals for occupational purposes. To illustrate this pattern, I present the embedding practices of Chalena (see Figure 28).
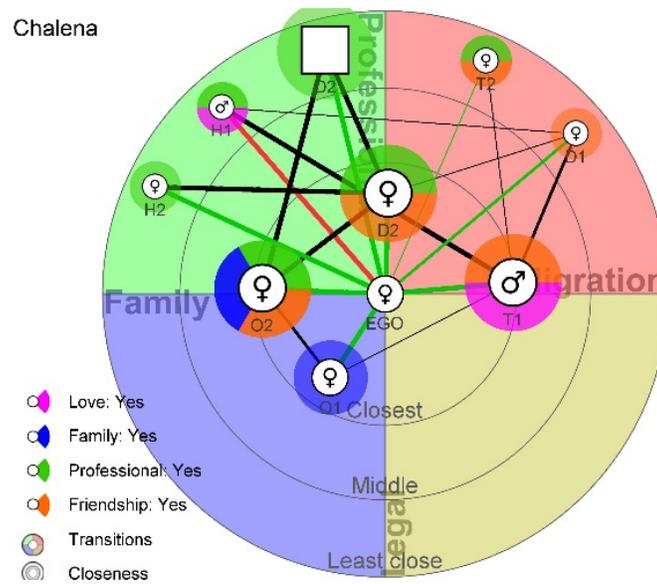
Figure 28. Chalena's embedding practices

One of the oldest siblings, Chalena decided to migrate in order to escape from the political violence that hit Peru in the mid-1980s. Since she had Peruvian and foreign friends living in different European countries (T1), she organised a tour of them. While she was in Switzerland her savings ran out and a Peruvian friend (D1) advised her to look for a seasonal job in agriculture. She met the foreman (T1) of vineyards near the Swiss-French border. He hired her and offered her daily transportation from the city to the vineyards during the harvest season. After a year, he become her husband; she moved in with him near the border and continued to work sporadically for the vineyards. One of her sisters came to the wedding and overstayed in Switzerland (D1) and one of her brothers came twice for the harvest season, before returning to Peru. Her sister married a Swiss citizen and stayed in Switzerland. Chalena moved with her husband to the central region of France, obtained French citizenship and experienced a phase of intense marital conflict. Her husband did not want her to work (H1), but she became involved in the promotion of Peruvian culture in France. She marketed Peruvian handicrafts and organised arts exhibitions of Peruvian artists. The couple divorced and Chalena returned to Switzerland. She reactivated and created co-national ties there (D2) and back home (O2), in order to expand and consolidate the marketing of Peruvian art and handicrafts. She worked with Peruvian artisans and artists (O2) and with Peruvian diplomats (D2) to organise exhibitions and take part in international fairs. She first created an enterprise and then an association (D2) to promote Peruvian arts in Switzerland. Her earnings were insufficient, and she started to work as a caregiver. Thanks to her family support back home (O2), she sporadically organises arts exhibitions in Peru. Since her main activity is care work for the elderly (H2), she

439

trained as a health auxiliary and created a team with other Peruvian women (D2) to provide round-the-clock services. As an independent worker, she knows that retirement will not be easy in Switzerland and she plans to return to France or Peru at some point in the future.

Chalena's embedding practices show a shift from ties with host-country nationals and other foreigners (H1/T1) to the reactivation of old contacts and the establishment of new ones with compatriots back home and at the host country (D2/O2). Indeed, making new contacts becomes a tactic in life transitions. Divorce triggered the changes in Chalena's embedding practices. After returning to Switzerland, she reactivated friendship with compatriots whom she had met during her first stay and made new ties with compatriots in institutions and associations. Interestingly, activating and creating co-national ties at home and at the host country illustrates the use of ethnicity as a resource in this third pattern. Ethnic entrepreneurship is an example of the ways in which relations with co-nationals and ethno-national markers provide resources for economic survival or occupational mobility. Chalena talked about her origins and family ties from Peru's most visited region – Cusco – and showed how this helped with organising and financing her exhibitions. After having booked and financed her first exhibition in Cusco, she then started to look for funds and galleries in Lima, the capital. Since nobody knew her in Lima and because the arts business is highly elitist, a first professional experience in Cusco represented a "good introduction" for Lima.

Thanks to mobility rights (French passport), Chalena embarked on back and forth travels between Peru and Switzerland to enhance ethnic entrepreneurship. She also capitalised on ties with compatriots: family back home as well as institutions and associations at the host country. For instance, she looked for the sponsorship of the Peruvian Embassy and Consulates and for the volunteering of members of Peruvian migrant associations to organise cultural events . In this sense, Chalena's embedding practice show the enactment of intra-ethnic bridging. Access to Peruvian institutions and associations represents a source of valuable resources for her ethnic business.

Other respondents who developed this third pattern of embedding mainly focused on family ties. For instance, Ricardo changed from migration organised by contacts with host-country nationals to migration organised by family ties at the host country. As a chef, Ricardo lived in several countries working for hospitality enterprises. This type of migration is managed by employers who perform head-hunting and propose advantageous conditions to their potential employees. After circulating in Latin America, Ricardo was tired of the political unrest and social problems in a Caribbean country where he had been working almost five years. He decided to follow some of his siblings

into Europe. Ricardo and his siblings obtained Spanish citizenship in Peru based on ancestry: his grandfather was a Spanish political refugee. Despite not being particularly close to his siblings in the past, he reactivated contact with them to organise migration to Europe. He had two siblings in Spain and one in Switzerland. In view of the 2008 crisis in Spain, the siblings living abroad advised him to move to Switzerland instead of going to Spain. He joined his brother in Switzerland and found a job as a cook. In this sense, the ties with compatriots, family members in different countries, enable ego to embark on re-emigration for occupation mobility.

The disruption of ties with host-country nationals involves changes in self-positioning and settlement plans. Those respondents who experience conjugal or occupational interruptions rarely envisage returning home immediately. After several years abroad, most of them aspire to go somewhere else. Beside offering opportunities for self-employment, these co-national ties play an important role in identification processes during life transitions. Like Chalena, other participants also reactivated dormant ties with compatriots after divorce or separation. In this sense, contact with migrant associations represents a common way to re-integrate in settings for identification based on ethno-national markers. When the change of orientation in embedding practices coincides with re-emigration to another destination (e.g. Chalena and Ricardo), the contacts with compatriots help ego to settlement. Although the change of orientation towards ties with co-nationals is central to the embedding practices, the forms of social categorisation do not show the same trend. For instance, the ties with compatriots are not valued equally: the appreciation of compatriots as clients. Chalena stated that:

> "The purchase of art is not for everyone (so) I told the Ambassador to give a list of contacts who were interested in art (…) the comments you hear [in the gallery] from some Peruvian girls that marry a Swiss man and they think that they evolve from 'louse to flea', so they came to me and say: 'Madam, I don't like the frame [of the painting]'. So, I told them: 'I don't sell frames, I sell art'" (Chalena, aged 59, art dealer/care worker)

In this sense, the social categorisation of the ties with compatriots follows social class and gender lines.

Integration thus seems a more complex issue for migrants in the third type. This type of embedding practices shows changes in networking patterns, from host-country nationals to compatriots that coincide with new mobility projects, back and forth between Peru and Switzerland or re-emigration to alternative destinations. There is an expansion of focus to multiple countries and extension of cross-border relations. During the transitional moments, these respondents develop active

embedding practices in order to "re-integrate" on a renewed basis. However, onward migration and emotional separations do not automatically cancel any sense of belonging or affiliation with first destinations. In this sense, the transnationalism of the embedding practices might foster integration in (new) destinations, notably through enhanced economic and political participation.

IV.10.4. Summary

This chapter has presented three distinct patterns of embedding amongst Peruvian migrants in Switzerland. The decision to compare a wide range of migrant profiles (in terms of socio-economic background, skill levels, citizenship status and length of stay) aimed to challenge common-sense ideas about transnationalism and integration. Thus, an absence of ties to host-country citizens can be observed on the part of Peruvians with very different levels of qualifications and socioeconomic status (Patulny, 2015). However, not only access to the lower segments of the labour market but also upward occupational mobility was still possible in Switzerland. In this sense, host-country nationals do not necessarily perform the role of bridges between Peruvian migrants and the Swiss labour market. Intra-ethnic bridges are central to access to the labour market at the host country (Ryan, 2011). Compatriots in better-off social positions in terms of career and location provide valuable information, contacts and resources that egos capitalise on for occupational mobility. In addition, inter-ethnic bridges represent the help provided by migrants from other countries (e.g. Latin Americans) to Peruvians to set a first step in the Swiss labour market. The inter-ethnic bridges show the similar positions in migrant-dominated sectors of the labour market regardless of nationality.

It would therefore be wrong to assume that a lack of ties to host-country residents translate a low level of integration, since individual and collective ties to compatriots are an (equally) important source of economic and political participation in the host-country (e.g. global academic markets and ethnic entrepreneurship).

A similar conclusion can be drawn on the issue of transnational ties (Bolíbar et al., 2015; Miranda J. Lubbers et al., 2010; Molina et al., 2015). Given the geographically scattered nature of Peruvian migration patterns, these migrants develop close and stable ties with co-nationals at home, in the same host country and in different parts of the world. In addition, the features of the Swiss labour market explain the importance of ties with migrants from other countries: Peruvians employed in a wide range of labour market segments are likely to meet more foreigners than host-country nationals in the course of their working lives. Instead of a focus of contacts in the homeland and

the destination, migrants' networks show geographically scattered ties. Moreover, the location of the contact does not necessarily follow an ethno-national identity: ties with compatriots might connect different countries. In addition, contact with foreigners from other countries might represent access to contacts in and ideas about other countries (network transnationalism and transnational subjectivities) (Dahinden, 2009).

A time-sensitive examination of family chain migration has enabled me to identify the factors that contribute to the self-perpetuation of these processes, but also the mechanisms that may undermine them (de Haas, 2010). After a certain time, the role of migrants may change from bridgeheads to gatekeepers. The explanations for this potential shift are socio-economic and relational in nature. Changes in the age/gender composition of family networks, along with the evolution of caregiving needs and duties also affect the willingness of migrants to assist family members in satisfying their migration aspirations. Thanks to a life-course approach, life transitions can be framed as interactions between historical processes and biographies that influence migrants' embedding practices. The changes in networking patterns show the replacement of host national contacts by networks of compatriots. An array of tactics is mobilised by migrants in relation to the network composition: distance-keeping tactics in a context of competitiveness (Hellermann, 2006; Marchetti, 2016). Beside the disappearance of ties, migrants develop tactics to reactivate "dormant" ties and consolidate new ones. Interestingly, the changes in embedding practices happened long after arrival, which might point to particular circumstances for changes rather than stability in migrants' networks (Bolíbar et al., 2015; Miranda J. Lubbers et al., 2010; Martinovic et al., 2014).

The embedding patterns involve not only tactics to handle network composition but also forms of self-positioning and positioning of others. In this sense, the network composition does not always match the social categorisation of groups of contacts (Wimmer, 2004, 2013). Interestingly, the forms of boundary-making do not only revolve around ethno-markers. First, the dis/similarity of ethno-national markers does not automatically predict the function of ties in terms of resources available in the networks (weak vs. strong ties). There are intra-ethnic ties that provide valuable resources based on privileged social locations in terms of social class rather than ethnicity (e.g. internationally renowned Peruvian professors helping promising Peruvian students abroad). Ethno-national markers also represent resources for occupational mobility by promoting contact-making tactics and mobility between the homeland and destination. The cross-border mobility of products generates value abroad (U. Erel, 2010; Umut Erel, 2015; Moret, 2016). Secondly, ethno-national markers might not represent the major division line in self-positioning and positioning of others.

For instance, the long-settled vs. newcomers division influences the appreciation of ties with compatriots . In addition, social class seems to be an important way to assess dis/similarities regardless of nationality, for example: the university-educated vs. technical-trained divide seems to split the migrant and non-migrant population.

Finally, the embedding patterns that coincide with mobility to plural destinations challenge ideas about integration to one place. Onward migration does not necessarily reduce levels of material and subjective integration in previous host countries. To better understand current forms of integration, the analysis of embedding practices should not only include the bifocal orientation of contact-making (homeland and destination), but the multi-focal nature of networking across multiple nation-state borders. The changes of focus might be temporal or permanent (the third pattern) according to the dynamics at first destinations. In any case, the fragmented experiences of migration display multi-directional and evolving forms of combining transnationalism and integration. Other examples are the exercise of reverse remittances (Chapter 11) from Peru to Switzerland within transnational family networks and the patterns of post-migration mobility (Chapter 12) such as pendulum or multi-stepped movements.

Part IV- Chapter 11

The timing and direction of money circulation

Introduction

Remittances are sent and received to maintain family livelihoods, to cover the education costs of younger members, to provide care services for ageing family members, to support business ventures, etc. Although a growing body of literature assesses the role of remittances in the migration-development nexus (Rahman & Fee, 2012; Schweppe, 2011; The World Bank, 2016), past studies have rarely focused on time-sensitive dimensions such as family lifecycles and life-course stages. In addition, a dynamic analysis of social stratification based on gender, age, citizenship status and class within and between these families serves to enrich a transnational perspective on remittances. Life-course perspectives represent a suitable framework for tracing money circulation across multiple national settings – dynamic processes of social stratification. This chapter aims to show the multiple purposes, directions and practices of money circulation by Peruvian migrants in Switzerland. Beyond the common image of remittances being sent from host to home countries (Åkesson, 2013; Castañeda, 2013; Lianos & Pseiridis, 2014), Peruvians in Switzerland also receive money from their home country. The non/citizenship dynamics of migrants influence money circulation patterns.

Analysing the interdependencies between legal, family and occupational trajectories, this section illustrates four money circulation patterns observed in my fieldwork. The first one highlights the family lifecycle of remittances: continuities, transformations and endings. Interestingly, steady flows of remittances depend on negotiations between transnational siblings.[59] The second pattern exemplifies negotiations about family remittances that take place in bi-national couples, based on gendered expectations about the financial contributions of foreign spouses to the needs of family members in the home country, or abroad. The citizenship status, education levels and employment conditions of family members are crucial elements here. Conflicts over family remittances seem to occur when the Peruvian husband is perceived as a deficient breadwinner due to his lower level of skills, salary and occupation status than his Swiss wife. The third pattern of remittances focuses on

---

[59] Migrant and non-migrant siblings.

student migration: the multiple directions of family remittances (home-to-host-country or boomerang remittances) and the role of social stratification within transnational families. Given the parents' social positions, the growth of family responsibilities and redistribution amongst siblings, immigrant members of well-off families receive more remittances from Peru even after graduation whereas those of less privileged families start to send money back home immediately after entry to the Swiss labour market (or marriage to a Swiss national). Since remittances are not only designed to cover the education, care and health needs of family members, the fourth pattern of remittances focuses on the circulation of money destined for real estate investments and business ventures. Coping with unexpected changes and structural limitations to economic status abroad depends on negotiations between transnational siblings and within bi-national couples. Interestingly, this type of circulation shows that home-to-host-country transfers create important employment opportunities, not only for co-nationals but also for Swiss citizens.

These four types of remittance practices show the importance of non/citizenship dynamics for understanding the ways in which bi-national couples and transnational siblings' negotiations enable or hinder the transnational circulation of remittances.

This chapter is structured into four main sections. After briefly presenting how a life-course perspective can add to the analysis of transnational family remittances (1), I then go on to presdent the research methods used here (2). Then, I go on to present the four types of money circulation patterns identified in my study (3) and to discuss the main results (4).

IV.11.1.Remittances in debate

IV.11.1.1. Remittances through a development lens

Debates about the role of remittances in the migration and development nexus try to establish the role of these funds in reducing poverty in the sending countries. Although remittance flows to developing countries rose to $432 billion in 2015 (The World Bank, 2016, p. 4), the Peruvian case challenges the idea that remittances necessarily reach the most impoverished groups in the home countries. In 2015, remittances to Peru represented $2.7 billion and ranked 8th in the LAC region, lower than Mexico but higher than Ecuador (The World Bank, 2016, p. 24). Although Peruvian migrants represent 8% of the national population, remittances to Peru make up only 1.4% of Peru's GDP (Paerregaard, 2015, p. 54). Remittances from the United States show a positive migrant-remittance balance, since this country receives 32.6% of Peruvian migrants who account for 40.8%

of the total remittances sent back to Peru. However, not all migrant-remittance balances are positive. For example, Argentina receives 13.5% of Peruvian migrants but accounts for only 3.9% of the remittances received (Paerregaard, 2015, p. 56). In 2007, upper-middle classes households show a positive balance: 26.3% of them have a migrant member and they receive 29.6% of the remittances sent back to Peru. On the other hand, 20.7% of the most impoverished households have a migrant member, but they receive only 7.2% of the country's remittances (Paerregaard, 2015, p. 60; Sanchez, 2012, p. 85). Paradoxically, remittances to Peru seem to reinforce existing class inequalities (Paerregaard, 2015). Consequently, the analysis of the money circulation patterns adopted by Peruvian migrants may contribute to a better understanding of the dynamics of transnational social stratification in home countries.

Given that labour markets and immigration laws in the host countries influence the capacity of migrants to remit, Peruvians residing in Switzerland represent an interesting case study.

IV.11.1.2. Remittances through a life-course lens

Remittances have been in the spotlight of academic research and policy making since the beginning of the 2000s (R. Kunz, 2008). Linkages between migrants' remittances and development in sending countries have been discussed, confirmed and criticised (Paerregaard, 2015). However, discourses around the migration-development nexus based on remittances have some limitations. Mainstream discourses tend to adopt a macro perspective and financial focus, thereby neglecting the analysis of transnational processes of social stratification based on gender, class, citizenship, etc. (R. Kunz, 2008; Parella & Cavalcanti, 2006). Gender blindness reinforces stereotypes of women in transnational families, alternatively as passive remittance receivers, most reliable remittance senders or best remittance managers (R. Kunz, 2008, p. 1402). While assessing the impact of remittances in home countries is crucial, our interest lies in better understanding the diachronic dimension of multi-directional practices of money circulation amongst transnational families. A life-course approach enables us to trace the gendered interdependencies of family and employment trajectories whilst exploring the impact of non/citizenship transitions and class dynamics.

First, transnational perspectives have also been at the centre of academic discussions. Remittances are part of the set of processes and flows that maintain transnational family care, beyond the traditional parent-child unidirectional dyad (Singh & Cabraal, 2014). In particular, the circulation lens considers different types of flows, both simultaneously and diachronically, between all members of the network from various generations located in different places in the world with

447

uneven access to resources and unequal relationships (Baldassar & Merla, 2014a, p. 30). In addition, money circulation happens in all transnational family forms, including labour migrants, refugees, international students, professionals and global elites. Yet, middle-class and privileged families are relatively absent from the transnational family literature based on the assumption that care and money circulation happen more equally, smoothly and lavishly in such social settings (Baldassar & Wilding, 2014). Also, while transnational mothering has received a good deal of attention amongst scholars, the role of men in transnational families has been somewhat taken for granted (Fresnoza-Flot, 2014a; Kilkey, 2014; Pribilsky, 2012). Gendered identities and family roles are negotiated against potentially diverse norms of femininity and masculinity at a transnational level (Pribilsky, 2004, 2012). The analysis of transnational families examines the complexities and dynamics of social stratification based on gender, generation, citizenship status and class in at least two national settings.

Secondly, the life-course approach complements the transnational family approach by underscoring the changes, continuities and cycles involved in migration. Family forms and mobility patterns change over time in relation to contextual factors and institutional settings that influence life cycles, family obligations and expectations (Wall & Bolzman, 2014). Despite mainstream discourses, family remittances are not an unlimited source of wealth. They represent fluctuating flows that are contingent on a range of life histories. Family remittances can be analysed as a sign of actor-centred social biographies and evolving trajectories (Paerregaard, 2015, p. 29). Money circulation thus demonstrates moments of stability, peaks, downturns and endings as well as changing directions between home and destination countries. Flows of money from the stay-behind family to the migrants in the host country also depend on class and generation. For instance "boomerang" remittances are part of the international student migration from India to Australia where parents of Indian students have to prove sufficient financial resources and then pay for the education costs and living expenses of their children (Singh & Cabraal, 2014).

Finally, a life-course approach underscores the gendered interdependence of family and occupational trajectories (Levy & Widmer, 2013a), as well as the short and long-term effects of legal trajectories (Goldring & Landolt, 2011). For instance, family chain migration and bi-national marriage demonstrate the combined effect of family and legal trajectories. Gender, generation, class and citizenship status are thus dimensions of social stratification dynamics within and between transnational families, which in turn influence money circulation patterns.

IV.11.2. Methodological clarifications

From the data collected using life-story and network interviews, I propose to study the following situations: Peruvians who overstayed their tourist/student permits or who entered Switzerland without a visa; those who entered Switzerland legally or obtained regularisation through family reunification measures (i.e. mostly through bi-national marriages with Swiss or EU citizens); and those who entered Switzerland legally, with student visas.

The following money circulation patterns is based on life-course rhythms and social stratification dimensions. I adopted an annotation technique that enabled me to depict movements across time and stratified social space as well as bifurcations and changes of direction. In the figures below, blue circles and arrows designate life-course time sequences. Red arrows show the geographical direction of money circulation. Using different sizes of blue circles, I distinguish events related to money circulation patterns while bifurcations are represented with blue arrows.

In the summary graphs presented below (Figure 29), I outline four money circulation patterns.

The first pattern is entitled "continuous unilateral transactions". The pattern shows the continuity of geographical direction from Switzerland to Peru but changes in beneficiaries according to family lifecycle: from younger to older family members, from education to health/care expenditure. This pattern corresponds to the well-documented case of migrant parents sending money back home to ensure the education of children who have been left behind and entrusted to the care of other family members. Less well documented is the role of migrant and non-migrant siblings for keeping a steady circulation of money throughout the different stages of the family life-history. Given the home country short-comings or deficiencies in the provision of social services such as retirement pensions and health insurance, this first pattern of remittance also provides ageing parents with support, often at a time when their migrant children are struggling to find stable and adequate employment in the host country. Due to the precarious legal and employment conditions of migrants, the regular redistribution of responsibilities for such support between migrant and non-migrant siblings represents an important coping practice.

The second pattern is entitled "discontinuous unilateral transactions". This pattern of money circulation describes remittances that are sent to family members in the home country in the case of bi-national marriages, and that eventually stop due to family crisis. I am particularly attentive to the gender dimension of negotiations pertaining to such payments. Studying the relationship of

different family members to the male breadwinner/female caregiver ideal contributes to a better understanding of the conflictual/consensual nature of such payments. Coupled with citizenship status, education levels and occupational inequalities, attitudes towards gender norms influence the nature and outcome of negotiations between spouses. In fact, Swiss or EU spouses evaluate financial contributions to the family budget differently. When they are married to highly skilled (female) Swiss citizens, the lower skilled and less paid jobs occupied by Peruvian men hamper the successful adoption of a breadwinner role and remittances may be seen negatively by the Swiss partner. Alternatively, the lower employment rate or underemployment of Peruvian women is conducive to the adoption of a caregiving role in the host country and this is associated with a relatively positive attitude to remittances. Gender norms thus have a transnational effect.

In contrast, a third pattern is entitled "discontinuous multilateral/reversed transactions" and refers to remittances from Peru to Switzerland, and vice versa. This pattern of money circulation refers to remittances from older family members in the home country to younger Peruvian men and women who are enrolled in Swiss HE institutions. Given the high education fees and living expenses in Switzerland, a potential change in direction of the remittances after graduation will depend heavily on the relative class positions of stayed-behind parents and their mobile children. The nature of school-to-work transitions will have an impact on family trajectories in both locations: bi-national marriage may also mediate access to legal settlement status and to the labour market (see Chapter 8). Then, remittances from Peru to Switzerland continue when parents belong to a privileged class, whereas boomerang remittances tend to develop when parents belong to a less privileged social class than their recently qualified children.

A fourth pattern is entitled "sporadic multilateral entrepreneurial transactions". This final pattern of money circulation refers to fixed-term remittances related to business and real estate aspirations that may be from Peru to Switzerland, and in other directions. Transnational families are not only concerned about caregiving duties, but also about investment and employment. Given the growth of employment precariousness in the home/host countries, many transnational families decide to undertake property investments in Peru, Switzerland or elsewhere, as coping practices. Likewise, some may invest in transnational (ethnic) businesses as a source of self-employment or in the hope of higher financial returns on capital. These projects depend on a common goal between family members such as bi-national couples and transnational siblings. Interestingly, these money circulation patterns not only benefit family members in Peru, but also Swiss citizens or other migrants who may be employed in these businesses.

Although the study sample is not representative of the Peruvian migrant population in Switzerland, it is interesting to note that the remittance practices of the interviewees are almost evenly distributed between the four patterns outlined above. A quarter of interviewees have received student remittances from stayed-behind family members (16), while others have sent remittances in the context of bi-national host-country households (13). A similar number of the respondents have adjusted remittances to the particular life-stage of different family members (13). Finally, a similar number have been involved in family business and/or real estate projects (13). In the following sub-sections, I propose to illustrate each of these patterns of money circulation.

Continuous unilateral transactions
Steady flow of remittances from CH to PE that change beneficiaries according to family lifecycles

Discontinuous unilateral transactions
Remittances flows from CH to PE according to gendered couple's negotiations

Discontinuous reversed transactions
Remittances flows from PE to CH that change according to trasnational family's social class

Multilateral entrepreneurial transaction
Multiple directions of remittances flows according to family projects of transational business

Figure 29. Four patterns of money circulation

452

IV.11.3. Combined effect of family, occupational and legal trajectories on money circulation patterns

IV.11.3.1. Continuous unilateral transactions

This pattern refers to Peruvian migrants who have always remitted to family members at home, but where the beneficiaries of the money sent have changed over time, according to the family lifecycle: from younger to older family. For the respondents who have practised this pattern of remittances, the main path of entry to Switzerland is sibling chain migration. Most of them have experienced precarious legal status and employment conditions. However, cooperation between migrant and non-migrant siblings has enabled the maintenance of steady remittances. One example of this pattern is Ester (see Figure 30) who arrived in Switzerland to marry a naturalised Chilean man. She met him during a business trip to Chile and maintained four years of long-distance relationship. When she was 17 years old, she got pregnant and married. The couple divorced. She moved in with her parents and four siblings. The family helped her to provide care to her son while studying and working. She became a public relations specialist and got a job in a public hospital that eventually send her to events abroad. When she decided to come to Switzerland, her son did not want to follow her, and she left him with her parents and siblings. Two of her siblings followed her: the brother overstayed his visa and the sister managed to gain a resident permit by means of family reunification. She started to work as a babysitter and cleaning lady for a Swiss family while sending remittances back home for her son's living and schooling expenses. Afterwards, she got a job as a cashier in a supermarket. When her son finished compulsory education, he decided to come to Switzerland. Ester registered him in a Swiss university and he got a student permit. However, her son struggled at university and dropped out. He also lost his permit and accepted informal construction jobs. He lives with Ester and her husband. She sporadically sent remittances to her parents for health issues and with the help of her siblings organised a three-month visit to Switzerland. When her father became seriously ill, she and her siblings in Switzerland and Peru coordinated to send remittances monthly and provide hands-on care to the parents. Since her brother did not have a permit, Ester and her sister took turns to visit Peru and stayed at home with her sick father to alleviate the workload of her mother and sister in Peru. Her father has recently died, but the coordination continues for the health of her mother.
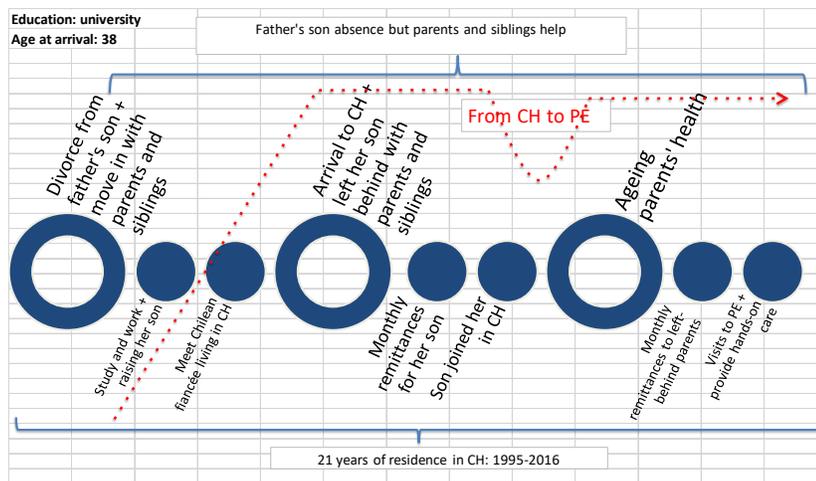
Figure 30. Ester's money circulation story

In this case, the direction of the remittances from Switzerland to Peru is stable. However, pauses and interruptions are part of the cycle, according to events such as the reunification with children, the death of a parent and/or the migrant's return to Peru. The flow of the remittance grows in volume over the years but shows a temporary reduction after the end of the children's education and then a peak related to the parent's health emergencies. Consequently, transnational family remittances involve more phases than the well-documented migrant parent to children case.

Sibling migration chains enable cooperation within transnational families. However, the emergence of mixed-status families might intensify inequalities between siblings: remitting might be more difficult for siblings without legal status who also have the most precarious jobs than for those who have regularised their legal situation and might be able to access better paid jobs. Negotiations tend to follow the rule: "*cada uno colaboura con lo que puede*" (each contributes according to his/her resources), that is constantly re-evaluated over time, with the potential reallocation of responsibilities. This type of migration thus allows flexibility in distribution of remittances and enables family members to cope with precariousness in the host country and unstable obligations in the home country. However, being the only sibling abroad magnifies the expectations of remittances and triggers the accumulation of family responsibilities. In addition, gender inequalities persist when Peruvian women are the only migrants and are assigned the lion's share of remittances.

IV.11.3.2. Discontinuous unilateral transactions

This pattern refers to Peruvians who adopt discontinuous remittance practices to their parents or siblings in Peru. Their practices vary over time, according to their family circumstances in

Switzerland and are particularly dependent on negotiations with their EU or Swiss spouses. Family reunification by means of bi-national marriage is a common path into legal settlement in Switzerland. Mediated by traditional gender roles, the interdependence of legal and family trajectories has implications for remittances. In fact, the male breadwinner/female carer model seems to act as a common reference to assess the remittances to be paid by the Peruvian spouse. This pattern shows the impact of gendered perceptions amongst bi-national couples about the amount of each spouse's financial contribution to family well-being. Peruvian men in lower skilled and less prestigious jobs than their Swiss spouses are negatively evaluated against the breadwinner ideal. Drawing on the male breadwinner ideal, the Swiss spouse criticises the remittances. Given that the Peruvian husband does not earn a salary in line with the breadwinner role, the remittances back home are perceived as being in competition with the well-being of the family in destination. By contrast, Peruvian women with less prestigious occupations than their Swiss husbands are positively evaluated against the caregiver ideal. Conformity to the caregiver role seems to provide a positive evaluation of remittances back home. The salary earned by Peruvian women – considered an additional salary rather than the principal – is not in competition with the family financial well-being at the host country. The latter is the responsibility of the Swiss husband as the male breadwinner. Negotiations lead to a wide range of outcomes, ranging from divorce to the long-term maintenance of remittances along gender lines.

One of the outcomes of this pattern can be illustrated by the case of Rodrigo (see Figure 31). Rodrigo arrived in Switzerland with an 8-month artist visa to play Peruvian Andean music in festivals. Before that, his father fell ill, so he had to quit university to take over his father's job as a bus driver. His parents did not have any social insurance. The mother was taking care of his father while his younger sister was studying. Although he warned his Swiss girlfriend about his family responsibilities in Peru, they decided to marry and settle in Switzerland. He told her: "if you marry me, you are marrying a widow: I have to support my family in Peru". At the beginning, while his wife was still studying medicine, Rodrigo struggled to assure a steady income as a musician and to send money to Peru. When the second child arrived, he decided to find a full-time and stable job. He trained and was hired as a bus driver and his wife started to work as a doctor in private practice. Although he had irregular schedules, his wife was able to adopt flexible working arrangements in order to cover childcare. Occasionally, they informally hired hourly-paid babysitters and cleaners of Peruvian nationality thanks to Rodrigo's networks. However, tensions over the respective financial contributions of the couple started and the remittances acted as a catalyst for divorce.

Retrospectively, Rodrigo states that "at the beginning, she was ok with that [remittances], then the issue came up in every discussion. In the long run, she started to do the calculations, as every Swiss person does, and realised that a lot of money was being sent".
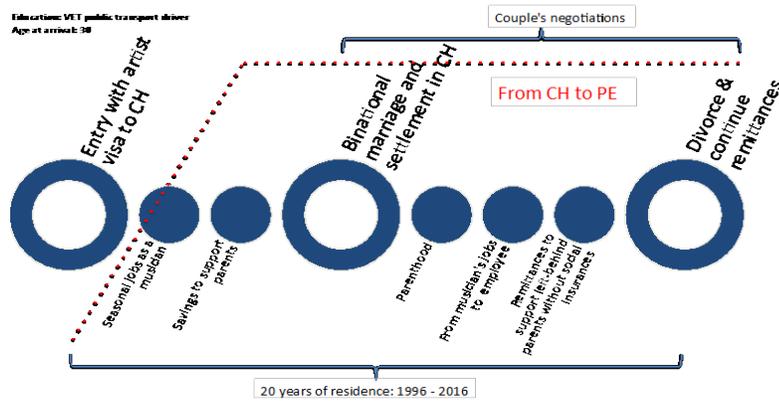
Figure 31. Rodrigo's money circulation story

Whereas Rodrigo's case shows the continuity of remittances that influenced the dissolution of the bi-national marriage, Lola's case exemplifies remitting without criticism from the Swiss spouse. Lola married a Swiss engineer with a successful career, but she struggled to find full-time jobs commensurate with her skills and spent more and more time doing housework. Since she had a job in Switzerland, she remitted to her father in collaboration with her sister until his death. Although her father had a retirement pension and health insurance, Lola stated that remittances were never a problem with her husband. Unlike Rodrigo, Lola's financial contribution seemed less important than her care work within the bi-national couple. In fact, Lola's precarious employment conditions lead her to fulfil the female caregiver role whereas the same conditions lead Rodrigo to fail his breadwinner role. These contrasting cases illustrate inequalities within and between bi-national couples, where precarious employment conditions do not have the same meaning according to gender.

Bi-national couples' remittances show that negotiations involve spouses in unequal social positions. Peruvians' precarious employment conditions influence negotiations but are mediated by gendered expectations about financial contributions. Peruvian men are evaluated against a breadwinner role that involves the highest financial contribution to the well-being of their Swiss family, while Peruvian women are not expected to contribute more than their husbands to the family budget. When Peruvian man cannot contribute more than their highly skilled and full-time employed Swiss spouse, criticism of remittances emerges.

IV.11.3.3. Discontinuous multilateral/reversed transactions

This pattern refers to cases where money first circulates from families in Peru to beneficiaries in Switzerland, but with the possibility of return remittances at a later stage in the family lifecycle. Here, there is no continuity in the direction, which is determined by the perceived "needs" of the potential recipients in either location. This model is epitomised by financial support from parents in Peru to students studying in Switzerland, who may or may not be expected to reciprocate after graduation or after achieving occupational stability in the host country. Since paying for education and living expenses is very costly, the parents' class plays an important role here. After graduation, the direction of remittances tends to change. Boomerang remittances might start after achievement of legal settlement and employment according to three criteria: parents' class status in Peru, transition to parenthood in Switzerland and relations between transnational siblings. However, unexpectedly, remittances from Peru to Switzerland might continue beyond the graduation and settlement phase of the migrant child in Switzerland.

The case of Mercedes is an example (Figure 32). Mercedes arrived in Switzerland to study French as part of her translation studies at a private university in Peru. Her father, a successful doctor, paid all her expenses. She met her future husband and decided to stay in Europe. She married and settled legally in Switzerland. Her husband worked as a hotel employee. Since her father was afraid that she would not finish university, he sent her money while she was a student. However, registration in a Swiss university and revalidation of courses taken in Peru was not easy. After ten years, Mercedes finally obtained a university degree while working part-time as a Spanish teacher. She then continued an academic career and got a part-time lecturer position. She had a child. After graduation, her father stopped sending her remittances, but she did not have any obligation to send remittances back to Peru. She struggled to find full-time and stable jobs, taking care of her children and dealing with a marital crisis. In fact, her father sent her a last remittance in the form of an inheritance. She stated that her mother and siblings in Peru do not need any remittances since they still have his father's properties and retirement pension.

Education: PhD in Humanities
Age at arrival: 20

Negotiations among siblings and couple

Entry with student visa to CH

From PE to CH

Summer school

Parents' pay education fees and living expenses

Binational marriage, parenthood & validation of foreign diploma

Parents' support for education fees

Part-time jobs

Father's death, inheritance & divorce

35 years of residence: 1981-2016

Figure 32. Mercedes' money circulation story

Mercedes' case illustrates the maintaining of Peru-to-Switzerland remittances over time. Remittances do not change direction after graduation and transition to employment. Parents' class position and family-employment trajectories explain this outcome. The family in Peru do not need remittances to survive. Mercedes' siblings are successful doctors and her mother has private insurances. In addition, motherhood increases her family responsibilities in Switzerland and the lack of support from her husband makes childcare arrangements costly and complicated to arrange. Not having a permanent job in Switzerland serves to justify the decision not to send any remittances back to Peru.

In contrast, the case of Coco illustrates a boomerang money circulation pattern. At age 29, he arrived in Switzerland to do a PhD thanks to a scholarship. Once in Switzerland, he started to send remittances to Peru sporadically while his brother working in Spain sent larger amounts. Since his father died many years ago, his mother and younger sister, both schoolteachers, cannot make ends meet. He passed his degree and was offered a job in Switzerland. He married a Swiss woman of EU origin and regularised his legal and employment situation. In contrast to Rodrigo, Coco has a higher skilled, better paid and more prestigious job than his Swiss spouse. However, Coco is part of a transnational sibling network and does not have any children. When his brother wanted to buy a house in Spain, they decided that Coco would increase his share of the remittances to be sent back home. The social position of Coco's mother is less privileged than that of Mercedes' father. Remittances are needed to complement insufficient family income. Moreover, he holds a relatively privileged position in the bi-national couple.

Graduates' remittances show less documented money circulation patterns. In privileged urban families from Peru, remittances depart from home countries and arrive in host countries. Of course, Peruvian student migration also includes children from less privileged families. In this case, Peruvian graduates develop boomerang remittances after graduation and/or the transition to employment. Transnational sibling cooperation enables boomerang remittances to be shared, potentially differently over time. Fulfilment of the male breadwinner role within bi-national couples also seems to assure a steady flow of remittances to Peru.

IV.11.3.4. Sporadic multilateral entrepreneurial transactions

The last pattern represents remittances characterised by circulation between Peru and Switzerland. Savings are invested to buy property in different countries or to invest in transnational ethnic businesses, particularly involving the importation of Peruvian products to be sold in Switzerland. In the opposite direction, Peruvians purchase products from Switzerland to sell in Peru. All of this is possible when siblings and couples agree on a common goal. In fact, transnational families are not only concerned about education and health but also about the financial prosperity and secure employment of their members. Therefore, business ideas and real estate investments are part of coping practices against economic crisis and precarious employment in home and host countries.

The case of Silvia is an example (see Figure 33). She arrived in Switzerland without a visa and overstayed to work and save money for laboratory equipment. As a laboratory technician, she wanted to have her own laboratory. She met her future husband and decided to stay in Switzerland, but she remitted to her siblings in Peru. She stated: "*I have to earn my own money to remit because my husband's friend told me not to do like his Peruvian wife. She was unemployed and still remitting. He told me that his wife was stealing for her own family. Don't do the same*". When she became a mother, she struggled to combine care of her small children with employment. In fact, her husband worked and studied full-time. She decided to launch her own Peruvian catering service from home. She was very successful and invited her sister to help her out in the business. When her father died, her sister returned to Peru to take care of the siblings and Silvia reunited with her youngest brother in Switzerland. She expanded her catering business to import Peruvian products for Latino restaurants and grocery stores. In fact, she has bulk orders that enable her to reduce the shipping costs of products from Peru. Then she sells them. Her sister-in-law in Peru is in charge of purchasing, packaging and customs procedures. She is paid for this job.
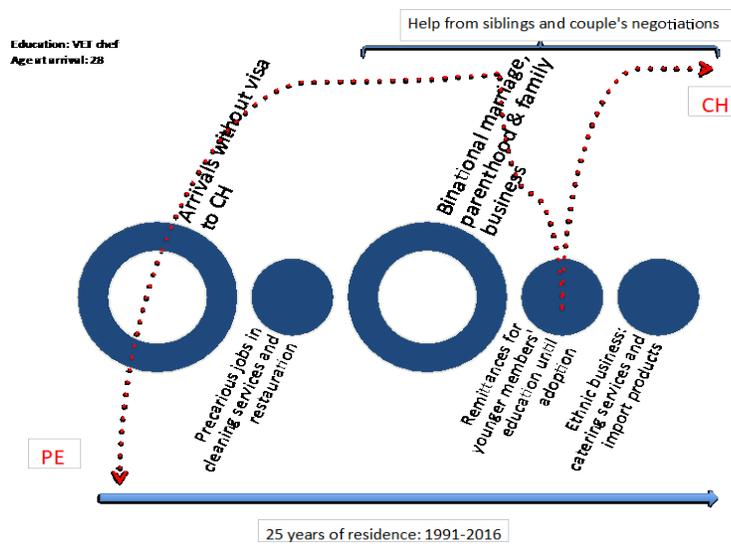
Figure 33. Silvia's money circulation story

Silvia's story shows the change in direction of money circulation patterns over time: change of direction from Switzerland to Peru to embarking on a business venture in Switzerland based on products from Peru. She had the financial support of her husband to launch the catering service, and then she saved up money to expand the business to import Peruvian products. Thanks to her transnational family, she is a successful (ethnic) business entrepreneur.

Not only ethnic businesses tend to be transnational and involve family members. Domingo's case also shows the role of family business as a coping practice against precariousness in the host country. While Silvia struggled with family-employment issues in Switzerland, Domingo, a psychologist, struggles with job-hunting in Switzerland. At age 45, he arrived by means of same-sex marriage with a Swiss citizen. Before that, he was a university professor in a big city in South America. He sold everything he owned to start a new life in Switzerland. Since then, he has been trying to find a job while learning French. To avoid economic dependence on his husband, he decided to embark on a family business. Thanks to his siblings in Peru, he buys medical products, such as vitamins, on-line and his niece sells and delivers them to buyers in Peru. In fact, one of his sisters is a doctor and she recommends his products to her patients. He pays a small amount to his niece and the rest is sent back to Switzerland. Domingo's case shows money circulation from Peru to Switzerland thanks to a transnational sibling network.

Not only transnational family businesses but also real estate transactions are possible thanks to siblings' mutual aid at transitional moments. Veronica and her Swiss spouse invested in the purchase of a house in the Peruvian Andes. She is a 45-year-old civil engineer and had re-styled the house as

a "Swiss chalet" for tourism. Her siblings who live in the nearest city visit the house. She handles the booking on-line from Switzerland, while job-hunting.

This last pattern shows money circulation that evolves according to family and occupational trajectories. Remittances are not only directed towards family members who are left behind in Peru, but also towards Switzerland to help out migrant family members. Given the risk of precariousness for Peruvian migrants in Switzerland, family members embark on business ventures or real estate transactions in order to secure sources of income. If the migrant member had already remitted to family members and the business venture activates available resources in the family (knowledge, people, networks), creation of a common goal is easier. Of course, the agreement of bi-national couples is important to embark on real estate projects such as buying properties in Peru for retirement. However, transnational siblings seem to be the most important network for this pattern of remittances. Thanks to transnational families, Peruvian businesswomen and men create sources of income that benefit not only them or their compatriots, but also Swiss citizens as employees and clients.

IV.11.4. Summary

The four patterns of remittances within transnational families do not show a stable and unlimited development potential. From a life-course perspective, money circulation patterns are not static or unidirectional. Given the social stratification of Peruvian migration, remittances concern not only less privileged families but also well-off ones. In addition, family members' negotiation still invokes traditional gender roles that might hinder remittances from migrant men with more precarious jobs than their Swiss spouses. Consequently, remittances mobilise transnational networks not only to foster the well-being of family in the home country but also to positively influence the integration of migrants .

Non/citizenship dynamics affect family and occupational trajectories and thus mediate remittance practices. Transnational siblings enable more money circulation than bi-national couples. Indeed, they are protagonists of the family lifecycle's remittances as well as family business ones. To secure remittances, they adapt to each member's family-employment rhythms. Bi-national couples' negotiations combine traditional gender norms with citizenship and occupational inequalities between spouses. Precariousness faced by Peruvian men and women is not interpreted in the same way for assessing the legitimacy of each spouse's financial contribution to their family members

back home. As a transnational effect of gender norms, remittances from Peruvian men seem to be more penalised when they fail in the male breadwinner role.

Secondly, money circulation patterns cannot be circumscribed to one direction and one transnational family type. Remittances are sent to the home country or to the destination along social class divides. The more privileged the family members are, the less remittances go to the home country and the more they go towards the destination country. Remittances back home seem to happen less in upper-middle-class than in lower-middle-class transnational families where boomerang remittances eventually arrive. However, the overall impact of their remittances should also be measured by quantity and frequency in all types of transnational families.

Finally, transnational social stratification is dynamic. Migrant members of well-off families might be unable to remit due to their precarious situation in the host country while members of less privileged families might succeed thanks to the success of a family business. Consequently, a time-sensitive analysis of money circulation patterns sheds light on downgrading and upward occupational mobility patterns abroad.

Part IV - Chapter 12

Post-migration mobility patterns and the use of co-ethnic networks

In this chapter, I discuss the contribution of the mobility paradigm to grasp migrants' balancing acts between transnationalism and integration. Although the transnational lens contributed to the denaturalisation of sedentarism, research has emphasised a bipolar conceptualisation of migration (Ahrens et al., 2014; Collyer & De Haas, 2012; Schapendonk & Steel, 2014). In other words, migration is considered as one departure from the home country to one arrival in the host country, and migrants' settlement in the host country and/or repatriation are seen as final events in their trajectories. Instead of a linear bifocal approach, the mobility lens treats mobility and immobility as interrelated effects of migration processes. Power differentials are found in access to cross-border mobility and settlement and the speed of mobility as temporal boundaries (see Chapter 4) (Axelsson, 2016; Moret, 2016). In migration experiences, transnationalism involves maintaining multi-focal ties, and integration happens across multiple countries (see Chapter 10) (Collyer & De Haas, 2012). The mobility approach thus focuses on infrastructures, networks and places that enable or impede mobility and the connections with periods of waiting and halted movement. Against a tendency to normalise mobility with the highest value, neither mobility nor immobility should be considered inherently positive or negative. Mobility can produce entrapments and immobility can provide opportunities (Jeffery & Murison, 2011; Schuster, 2005). Consequently, the mobility lens enabled me to analyse Peruvian men's and women's secondary migration patterns: 26 of 55 research participants have experienced multi-staged migration from Latin American to European countries and/or still experience pendulum migration between Peru and Switzerland. In view of inequalities based on citizenship, cross-border mobility patterns represent tactics to improve labour market participation. Although acquisition of EU citizenship does not immediately involve "free" circulation within member states, this multi-staged migration exemplifies the ways in which different aspects of integration might be fulfilled in multiple host countries. In addition, pendulum migration shows that home-oriented networks are sources not only of identity-based preferences but also of upward mobility. This three patterns show the instrumental dimension of citizenship, which means the exercise of mobility rights (Harpaz, 2018; Harpaz & Mateos, 2018) for Peruvians with two nationalities.

Post-migration mobility or secondary migration patterns represent a growing research topic. Multi-staged migration has been analysed as stepwise (A. M. Paul, 2011) or onward (Mas Giralt, 2017; Ramos, 2017) migration. The differences lie in the degree of anticipation about the next destination as well as the accumulation of resources in prior host countries (Mas Giralt, 2017; A. M. Paul, 2011). In the case of Peruvians, stepwise migration might be found amongst those who began their migration experience in South American countries hoping to eventually move to Europe where employment conditions are considered better (Paerregaard, 2015). In contrast, onward migration suggests a more reactive tactic due to bad experiences at the former destination (M. Kelly & Hedman, 2016; Pereira Esteves et al., 2017). Against their initial settlement plans, Peruvians fled Spain to other EU countries after the 2008 crisis (Mas Giralt, 2017; McIlwaine, 2015; Ramos, 2017). Although assessing migrants' intentions is complex, the focus is on understanding the ways in which Peruvian men and women mobilise their resources (e.g. EU citizenship, migration knowledge and compatriot transnational networks) to move again based on conditions encountered in their first and subsequent host countries. In addition, pendulum mobility sheds light on the different meanings and practices related to the home, homeland and homecoming. Return migration might not always be permanent (Jeffery & Murison, 2011; Schuster, 2005) and might be part of cross-border mobilities that enhance migrants' chances transnationally (Moret, 2016). According to life-course transitions, Peruvians might return to Peru for a period and re-emigrate to Switzerland after accomplishing their goals back home (e.g. job-hunting or family caregiving). Based on home-oriented networks, others systematically visit Peru to improve their labour market participation in Switzerland (see Chapter 10). Ethnicity is thus a resource for business ventures and occupational aspirations.

This chapter is structured into six sections. After briefly presenting how the mobility paradigm can add to the analysis of transnationalism and integration (2), I then go on to review how Peruvians in Switzerland show post-migration mobility patterns: pendulum and multi-staged migration (3). After presenting the qualitative methods I use here (4), I then present three types of post-migration mobility patterns and the role of co-ethnic networks (5). Finally, I discuss the main results (6).

IV.12.1. The mobility lens for integration and transnationalism

Conceptualisations of migration have often employed different dichotomies such as home and host countries and imposed a linear logic of mobility from the former to the latter. However, many researchers have pointed out the dynamic, multiple and fragmented nature of migration experiences

(Collyer & De Haas, 2012; Schapendonk & Steel, 2014). As stated before, transnationalism involves multipolar contact, and integration is a multi-directional process across borders (see Chapter 10). Although assessing aspirations and outcomes linked to migration is quite complex, a dynamic conceptualisation better grasps migrants' evolving practices and subjectivities. In this sense, the mobility lens enables me to understand the ways in which migrants' plans regularly change according to the opportunities and limitations presented to them at different times and places. This approach focus on "the ways im/mobilities are produced in transnational processes, the ways mobility comes with power differentials in terms of access and speed, and how these power differences are reflected in mobility experiences and mobility relations" (Schapendonk & Steel, 2014, pp. 263–264). For instance, multi-staged mobility patterns show the formation and use of geographically scattered contacts and fulfilment of different aspects of integration across destinations. As mentioned previously, Peruvians' embedding practices show the capitalisation of ties with compatriots in multiple locations rather than home and destination such as intra-ethnic bridging for social and physical mobility.

IV.12.1.1. Im/mobility dynamics

Based on timing and location, access to mobility implies mechanisms of immobility at multiple levels (supra-state entities, states, labour market, family, etc.). As mentioned in Chapter 4, bordering practices delay or speed mobility (Axelsson, 2016; Jeffery & Murison, 2011) as well as create enclaves and corridors of immobility (Collyer & De Haas, 2012; Mezzadra & Neilson, 2013). Although migration regimes hinder legal entry and settlement according to nationality, migrants' experiences display multi-directional legal trajectories and geographical mobility (Schuster, 2005). But this relational approach prevents the normalisation of mobility. Since being mobile is not necessarily positive, immobility might also produce opportunities (Schapendonk & Steel, 2014). Other migrants might be forced to circulate in order to remit back home, cope with discrimination at first destinations, or access retirement benefits in the host country (Hernández-Carretero, 2015; Jeffery & Murison, 2011; M. Kelly & Hedman, 2016; Schuster, 2005). So-called "transit zones" might also become migrants' "second-best" settlement option when further mobility is unattainable or better opportunities appear without moving (Collyer & De Haas, 2012; A. M. Paul, 2011; Schapendonk & Steel, 2014). However, migrants' im/mobility tactics to seek more security and better living conditions have reduced options. Im/mobility patterns thus show migrants' intersecting experiences along gender, social class and citizenship lines.

IV.12.1.2. Instrumental dimensions of citizenship

Citizenship represents the unequal distribution of mobility rights and a marker of im/mobility power differentials. The instrumental lens sheds light on the ways in which migrants perceive and use citizenship forms. There is a movement away from the conception of national membership based on exclusivity and territoriality (Harpaz, 2018; Harpaz & Mateos, 2018; Joppke, 2018). The analysis thus includes the instrumental practices of acquisition and use of citizenship and the instrumental attitude to nationality, for instance, the acquisition of dual nationality to earn mobility permission. Beside the unequal allocation of rights abroad, the bottom-up lens emphasises the utilisation of the non/citizenship forms by migrants to (re)create in-group stratification: from naturalised to unauthorised migrants.

Citizenship forms represent a key dimension to understand positionings within a stratified global order (Harpaz, 2018). The global inequalities influence the unequal value given to countries' citizenships. For a group of migrants, the acquisition and utilisation of a second citizenship provides secure residential and mobility rights. The strategies used to acquire and the attitude towards a second nationality depend on the positioning in the stratified global order. The questionings about the likelihood for migrants of naturalising and the levels of attachment of dual-nationality citizens have been addressed in Migration Studies (Baldi, Goodman, Baldi, & Goodman, 2015; Gathmann, 2015; Itzigsohn, 2000; Jacobs & Tillie, 2004; Morales & Pilati, 2014). In this sense, the nationality of Western countries operates as an entry ticket to a global elite in terms of mobility permissions (FitzGerald et al., 2017; Harpaz & Mateos, 2018). In the EU region, migrants who belong to non-EU/OECD countries have naturalised more frequently than foreigners born in EU member states (Corluy et al., 2011; Kogan, 2003). Albeit with heterogeneous outcomes in the labour market, the acquisition of the nationality enhances residential authorisations, access to services and rights to travel abroad (e.g. visa-free movements). The acquisition of a second nationality might compensate for the first nationality's deficiencies in the global arena and serve to circumvent restrictive immigration laws and policies (Harpaz & Mateos, 2018). The instrumental view of citizenship shows the ways in which migrants use dual nationality to secure social and physical mobility.

IV.12.1.2. Onward or stepwise migration?

In contrast with conceptualisations of smooth cross-border movements amongst privileged foreigners (e.g. brain circulation, expats, etc.), the mobility lens focuses on power differentials and mechanisms of immobility. While citizenship influences im/mobility patterns, cantonment is not

exclusive for undocumented migrants, nor is free circulation restricted to legal residents or naturalised citizens. Recently, mobility research has focused on post-migration patterns amongst refugees in Europe (M. Kelly & Hedman, 2016; Lindley & Van Hear, 2007; Moret, Baglioni, & Efionayi-mäder, 2006). Refugees holding EU citizenship cope with racism and labour market discrimination at first destinations by moving to other EU countries with (perceived) better opportunities. Instead of feelings of attachment to a territory, refugees use the second nationality to exercise mobility rights (Harpaz & Mateos, 2018). Another topic is the stepwise migration of Filipino domestic workers and Indian engineers from Southern to Northern global cities (Mezzadra & Neilson, 2013; A. M. Paul, 2011). These migrants develop mobility tactics based on a destination hierarchy that places western countries with tougher legal barriers but better working conditions at the top, and with stays for the accumulation of resources at less-desired destinations to continue the journey northwards.

The assessment of migrants' motivations for mobility is ambivalent. While acknowledging migrants' prospective and learning capacity for border-crossing, retrospective reconstruction might over-emphasise a particular order and direction (Mas Giralt, 2017; Ramos, 2017). However, these studies show that mobility depends on immobility (e.g. to earn a second nationality) at different stages of migrant life-courses regardless of qualifications and il/legal entry.

Less planned than stepwise migration, the onward migration of Latin American migrants with EU citizenship from economically unstable Southern EU countries (e.g. Spain, Portugal, Italy, etc.) towards Northern member states is an example (Mas Giralt, 2017; McIlwaine, 2015; Pereira Esteves et al., 2017; Ramos, 2017; Schuster, 2005). The 2008 economic crisis particularly affected foreign-based employment sectors (construction and hospitality), and many who had obtained Spanish citizenship moved to EU neighbouring countries for employment and to send remittances to Spain (Mas Giralt, 2017). Transnational family relations and money circulation patterns involve first destinations. Migrants' re-emigration thus enables integration in the prior host country (Pereira Esteves et al., 2017; Ramos, 2017). These mobility patterns question static ideas about stepping-stone countries, while migrants show multi-focal feelings of belonging that include first destinations and home country. Onward migration does not show a linear logic of departure, transit and settlement, but rather context-dependent evolving tactics and geographical hierarchies. Unexpected economic downturns and political unrest in top (European) countries readjust or trigger new cross-border practices that take on different meanings according to migrants' own life-courses.

IV.12.1.3. Re-emigration or homecoming?

Whether migrants prefer multi-staged migration (stepwise or onward) or return migration raises the question of their ideas of home, homeland and homecoming. According to migrants' age, generation and biographical moment, homecoming takes on different meanings. Return migration might not involve re-settlement in birthplaces due to political, economic or family changes (Jeffery & Murison, 2011), or might represent a time-fixed stay for some purpose, rather than permanent residence (Moret, 2016). Onward migration might be perceived as a new cosmopolitan adventure for independence-seeking young migrants while their middle-aged counterparts might plan for short-term stays that will enable retirement at first destinations or in home countries (Ramos, 2017). While returning home for retirement represents a widespread ideal, access to welfare services might depend on their immobility at destination (Jeffery & Murison, 2011). In this way, homecoming might involve back and forth movements rather than permanent settlement.

IV.12.1.4. Integration across borders

While transnational ties are important to enable and reinforce these mobility patterns, they also show that integration might be geographically scattered across destinations. In other words, migrants might re-emigrate momentarily to cope with negative events at the host country with the hope of returning to the first destination instead of planning settlement in the new one. Multi-focal ties with compatriots reinforce destination hierarchies and provide resources to attain more desirable host countries (A. M. Paul, 2011). Experiences at first destination also represent acquisition of resources (legal, informational, financial, etc.), participation in social spheres (family, economic, political, etc.), and emergence of feelings of attachment (Jeffery & Murison, 2011). Im/mobility patterns thus show the multidimensional and contradictory nature of integration (Ahrens et al., 2014). Residence permits and naturalisation acquired thanks to settlement at first destinations enable migrants to cope with limitations in socio-economic integration in those countries by travelling elsewhere.

Mobility patterns show evolving stratification processes amongst migrants as well as dynamic cross-border practices to cope with disadvantages. Migrants embark on multi-staged migration and pendulum mobility. Multi-staged migration within the EU rarely shows "free circulation" within member states, nor do free movement rights automatically translate into integration of EU citizens in a member state. While EU citizenship formally enables mobility, other factors mediate access to and outcomes of onward migration. For Latin Americans with Spanish citizenship, re-settlement in

the UK encounters language barriers and limited access to social services (Mas Giralt, 2017; Ramos, 2017). Labour market participation is also characterised by precariousness where onward migrants compete with long-settled compatriots and other migrants (McIlwaine, 2015). Instead of return migration, pendulum migration shows a homecoming tactic to improve socio-economic positions transnationally. Due to socio-economic disadvantages , naturalised migrants or legal residents might move between host and home countries in order to expand employment opportunities, political participation and access to welfare services (Jeffery & Murison, 2011; Moret, 2016). In a nutshell, re-settlement processes in origin countries and new destinations are not smooth processes, and mobility represents a source of social stratification.

IV.12.1.5. Ethnicity as a mobile resource

Mobility patterns show the ability to circulate resources not only to different places but also in those where they have the highest value (Umut Erel, 2015; Moret, 2016). Beside the accumulation of geographically scattered resources, circulation of assets between places with a value differential creates advantages (Moret, 2016). In tandem with legal integration (e.g. passports and permits, etc.), transnational ties influence mobility patterns. Ethnicity is relevant in transnational network composition (see Chapter 10), not only as identity-based preferences but also as a resource in cross-border practices and added value creation. Ethnically homogeneous networks enable the circulation of resources from home to host countries and enhance the value differentials between those places (Moret, 2016). While citizenship formally allows frequent and planned travelling, relations with compatriots create opportunities: business based on homeland products and broker roles between countries. In addition, political participation in associations of compatriots might channel occupational aspirations towards the homeland (see Chapter 6). Instead of assuming the centrality of ethnicity in migration, mobility patterns show the processes by which ethnicity in relation to other categories is a relevant resource (Dahinden, 2013; Wimmer, 2004). As presented by Moret (2016), those migrants who entertain secondary movement show compatriot-based networks to achieve upward mobility transnationally.

IV.12.2. Multi-staged migration in Latin America and Europe: Peruvians' mobility

To understand post-migration mobility patterns, statistics are scarce and problematic. Cross-sectional analysis of migration flows cannot assess citizenship status shifts and geographical

mobility. In this way, pendulum migration (e.g. regular visits or longer stays back home) is difficult to record. Cross-border mobility does not necessarily pass through formal controls. Multi-staged migration might involve dual citizenship, but migrants can only use one nationality at entry. Consequently, the relations between country of origin, nationality and mobility patterns are not completely depicted in the statistics. Although pendulum migration does not appear in statistical reports, important research has been done to document the secondary mobility of refugees (Lindley & Van Hear, 2007) and Latin Americans' onward migration after the 2008 Spanish crisis (Mas Giralt, 2017; McIlwaine et al., 2011).

While research on post-2008 onward migration from Spain has focused on Colombians and Ecuadorians in the UK, Peruvians also represent a large national group of residents in Spain and of naturalised Spanish citizens. Peruvian migration showed a 131% growth between 1990 and 2000, and between 2003 and 2008 46% of Peruvian migration to OECD countries was to Spain (Córdova Alcaraz, 2012). In addition, 14% of Peruvian migration was to other EU countries, predominantly Italy. These Peruvians' inflows to Spain and other EU countries exceeded those of Colombians (42% and 6% respectively). In 2016, Peru represented the fourth LAC nationality to immigrate to Spain, only behind Colombia, Venezuela and Honduras (Instituto Nacional de Estadística, 2017a). In this sense, it seems that Peruvian inflows to Spain are sustained. Moreover, one in every ten LAC citizens who received an EU passport between 1998 and 2009 came from Peru: 51,000 Peruvians in total (Córdova Alcaraz, 2012, pp. 42–43). In 2016, Peruvians ranked fifth amongst LAC nationals in obtaining Spanish citizenship (Instituto Nacional de Estadística, 2017b). Consequently, it is highly probable that Peruvians with EU citizenship represent an important group of onward migration within member states.

In addition, onward migration can be traced back to LAC intra-regional migration (Durand & Massey, 2010). In 2010, 247,970 Peruvians lived in another LAC country, which represented 6% of the totality of intra-regional migrants and 23% of Peruvians abroad (Córdova Alcaraz, 2012, p. 22). Argentina has been an important destinations for intra-regional Peruvian migrants, from the 1950s Lima upper-middle-class student migration to the coastal region's urban lower-class labour migration since 1990 (Durand, 2010; Paerregaard, 2013; Takenaka et al., 2010). From 2001 to 2010, Peruvians in Argentina showed a 6.6% annual growth from 88,260 to 157,514 (Sanchez, 2012, p. 100). However, the 2001 financial crisis in Argentina changed their settlement plans and some of them embarked on return or onward migration to LAC countries, the USA or the EU (Paerregaard, 2013). In 2011, 47.3% of Peruvians in another LAC country were in Argentina, and 14.3% of

Peruvians abroad were in this country (Sanchez, 2012). Peruvian migrants might have started their migration careers in an LAC country, and subsequently re-emigrate northwards.

Pendulum mobility patterns are harder to document statistically. Research on transnational family caregiving evokes family visits as an important element and sheds light on quantity and frequency. Despite geographical distance, the capacity and desire to travel influence these visits predominantly. For Peruvians abroad, Vincent Horn (2017) calculates the frequency of family visits of Peruvians to Chile, Argentina, Italy, Spain and USA. Chile and Spain show the highest share of regular visits to Peru, and the explanations are linked to absence of family members at the host country (e.g. barriers for family reunification), transnational family lifecycles (e.g. childcare or elderly care) and acquisition of mobility rights (e.g. regularisation programmes and naturalisation). Regardless of geographical distance, 64% of citizenship holders report that they travel to Peru at least every two years and only 7% never visit their family members in Peru, while 2% and 90% respectively of those without mobility rights do the same (Horn, 2017, p. 101). Furthermore, pendulum mobility patterns might involve non-family related purposes such as transnational business, political participation and/or job-hunting. However, these topics are less researched than im/mobility patterns. In the following, I present the multi-staged and pendulum mobility patterns of Peruvian men and women in Switzerland.

IV.12.3. Methodological clarifications

Using a life-course and social network approach, I present the im/mobility patterns of Peruvian men and women currently living in Switzerland. After analysing life-calendars and the narrative content of biographical interviews, I observe that 26 of 55 participants declared engaging in multi-staged migration or pendulum mobility patterns (see Table G in Annexes pages 35-36). Most of them declared having migrated to other countries before or after their arrival in Switzerland: the EU (Spain, France and Germany), LAC (Argentina), the USA and/or Japan. The rest of them declared having returned home for long- and short-term stays. While the motivations and dynamics of these mobility experiences are plural, I found three patterns: Peruvian men and women who had migrated to another country before settlement in Switzerland, those who arrived in Switzerland, returned to Peru for re-settlement but finally re-emigrate to Switzerland, and those who systematically visit Peru at least once a year. The first pattern (see 1-16 in Table G in Annexes pages 35-36) is more related to Switzerland's opportunities in relation to the prior destination's economic downturn, the second (see 17-22 in Table G in Annexes pages 35-36) is strongly dependent on

family and occupational transitions, and the third (see 23-26 in Table G in Annexes pages 35-36) is linked to occupational mobility.

While portraying paradigmatic cases, I describe the three patterns by emphasising family and occupational transitions, the role of networks and feelings of attachment to places and people. I describe for each pattern the role of ties with co-nationals in advancing their mobility tactics. Analysing the narratives about mobility, the contacts with compatriots were important to plan and achieve multi-staged and pendulum migration. In this sense, the embedding patterns of Chapter 10 are analysed from a mobility lens.

IV.12.4. Peruvian men's and women's mobility patterns: before and after arrival in Switzerland

IV.12.4.1. Multi-staged migration and multi-focal integration

This mobility pattern shows other destinations before arriving in Switzerland. In this sense, the migration experience is made up of multiple stages in terms of time and locations. Since I do not qualify the motivations or the aspirations beforehand, I prefer the term "multi-staged" rather than stepwise or onward migration. In this pattern, Peruvians have previously settled in other LAC countries and then EU countries or directly arrived in OECD countries. They predominantly started their journey for professional reasons: training and/or employment. Those who sought better employment opportunities passed through LAC countries and then arrived in EU ones (predominantly Spain), while those who embarked on student migration passed through other OECD countries such as the United States and Japan. Regardless of skills, those who sought better occupational opportunities left Peru with job contracts or scholarships. While employers played an important role, family and occupational ties with compatriots were important bridges for access to information, housing, finances, etc. In general, motivations for subsequent moves also included family transitions and economic downturn at prior destinations.

In a destination hierarchy, Switzerland represents stability and security for raising a family and consolidating a career. However, feelings of attachment and integration depend on mobility experiences and forms of settlement at prior destinations. Those who lived for several years in Spain and recently arrived in Switzerland plan to settle in the former. Most Peruvians who did not settle in another EU country aspire to remain in Switzerland rather than return to Peru, while others

consider multi-focal integration in Switzerland, prior destinations and Peru. Vanesa's life story is an example.

Box Nº 7 Excerpt from Vanesa's interviews in 2015 and 2016 (waitress, incomplete compulsory education, aged 33)

Vanesa is the middle-order sibling of a big rural family living in the Peruvian Andes. She migrated to the nearest urban centre to continue obligatory education. However, she did not finish. She failed the academic year. She then decided to quit and moved to Lima in 2001 to work as a live-in domestic employee for four years. She remitted to her mother and helped her to build a house in her village. After working in Lima, she decided to migrate to Spain, got her passport and contacted a cousin already living there. While his cousin was looking for a job contract in Spain, his uncle in Lima told her about a Peruvian-Spanish couple who were looking for a live-in domestic employee to travel with them to Argentina. She was hired and travelled to Argentina. One year after arrival, she got a work permit and her sister joined her, but the couple decided to go to Spain in 2008 due to employment problems in Argentina. The couple invited Vanesa to continue to work for them in Spain. After obtaining the work permit for Spain, she joined them, and a relative of the couple hired her sister. Both moved to Spain. After her employer gave birth, she become exploitative and Vanesa quit after one year. She found another job as an elderly person's live-in caregiver, but the patient was moved to hospital after four years. While she filed for naturalisation in Spain, she struggled to find jobs as a live-in or hourly-paid domestic employee. Five years after arrival, she got the Spanish passport and contacted an employment agency for care workers to go abroad. She wanted to go to the UK, but a Mexican-American couple in Switzerland contacted her through the agency. In 2014, she arrived in a French-speaking city in Switzerland and started to work as a live-in domestic employee. The employers told Vanesa that they would handle the work permit request on her behalf. Since her employers declared fewer hours in the job contract, they failed in obtaining a work permit. The next year, she changed employers and got a permit B for five years, and her sister became engaged to a Swiss man and moved to a German-speaking city. In 2016, she started working as a waitress in a fast food restaurant beside doing hourly-paid cleaning hours. Aged 33 and single, Vanesa would like to return to Spain and bring her mother to live with her.

Like other participants – Carla, Edgardo and Ricardo – Vanesa started her journey in an LAC country, passed through Spain and re-emigrated to Switzerland. Re-emigration is related to economic downturns in prior destinations (Argentina in 2001 and Spain in 2008).

Like Vanesa's employers, who struggled professionally in Argentina, Carla, who migrated there in the 1980s, re-emigrated to Spain in 2003 to join her husband, who had lost his job in Argentina in 2001. She arrived with their daughter. When the crisis hit Spain, she lost her job as a worker in a public amusement park after working 10 years. Her daughter had recently given birth to a girl and Carla helped her daughter to continue university studies. At age 47, Carla decided to migrate to Switzerland to send remittances back to Spain.

Ricardo, a chef, started his career working in hotels in Ecuador, then he received a job offer to work for hotels in Cuba and he accepted. His family always followed him, but he decided to quit his job due to economic and political problems in Cuba. After job-hunting in Spain unsuccessfully, Ricardo, aged 36, arrived in Switzerland.

473

Edgardo came to Europe to play Andean music, he stayed in Switzerland ten years and had a daughter with a Swiss woman; but they separated and he decided to go to the USA, return to Peru and then go to Spain. He joined his brother in Spain, worked 14 years as a security guard and bought a house. When the crisis hit in Spain, he was unable to pay the mortgage debt and decided to return to Switzerland for job-hunting. He was 56 years old.

Like Vanesa, Carla, Ricardo and Edgardo mobilised dual nationality to embark on multi-staged migration: Carla had married an Argentinian man of Spanish origin and got the Spanish passport by means of family reunification, Ricardo obtained Spanish citizenship from his Spanish grandfather who had migrated to Peru as apolitical refugee and Edgardo got the Spanish permit for several years of residence and work in Spain (e.g. *arraigo*). Although cross-border contacts with employers are central to Vanesa and Ricardo's mobility tactics, all of them also mobilised geographically scattered family ties. Beside international employment agencies, Switzerland emerged as a post-crisis destination thanks to co-national ties living there: while Carla and Edgardo contacted Peruvian friends, Ricardo contacted his brother.

Settlement in Spain was planned as permanent until the crisis hit: they bought houses, reunified with family members, etc. (Mas Giralt, 2017). For instance, Antonio, who reunified with his parents in Spain at age 16, had to follow them again to Switzerland at age 22 to help them to pay back the mortgage debts in Spain. When these Peruvian men and women struggled financially in Spain and considered re-emigration, Vanesa and Antonio, who are young and single, were eager to re-emigrate (e.g. learn new languages), whereas Carla, a middle-aged woman in charge of her student daughter and newly-born grand-daughter, reluctantly undertook caregiving and cleaning jobs in Switzerland. In this sense, the age and family responsibilities at the moment of re-emigration show contrasting outcomes (Ramos, 2017): Vanesa achieved formal employment outside the care sector in Switzerland while Carla performed informal caregiving and cleaning jobs for the first time. Carla had a family business in Argentina, and she had worked for nine years as a public worker in Spain. In view of settlement aspirations and life-course moments, multi-staged migration might not represent a planned upward mobility strategy (e.g. stepwise migration) but rather a reactive tactic against downgrading. The two mobility-based tactics might be combined in multi-staged migration: Vanesa migrated from Argentina to Spain to move up the ladder of destinations, but she re-emigrated to Switzerland due to the Spanish crisis. Yet, all onward migrants mobilised their migration knowledge to re-emigrate. For instance, Vanesa used her bureaucratic experiences of obtaining work permits in Argentina and a passport in Spain to assess the way her employers filed

for a work permit in Switzerland. She noticed the false information given by the employers to the immigration officers to avoid taxes, then she changed job and got the work permit. Beside ties with co-nationals, Ricardo and Carla also used their prior experiences in LAC countries and Spain to know where and to whom to talk for information (e.g. associations, NGOs, etc.).

Holders of Spanish passports did not immediately enjoy legal settlement and social services in Switzerland (see Chapter 5). Since administrative procedures strongly depend on employers' paperwork (e.g. signing contracts, declaring hours, etc.), employees have different negotiation powers based on their situations: unlike Vanessa, Carla could not afford to quit an informal job for lack of savings and the urgency of remitting to her family in Spain. Although Carla would prefer to work in Spain, she was forced to re-emigrate to maintain her family livelihood. These experiences show forms of integration that include prior destinations: money circulation towards and aspirations to settle in Spain rather than the home country (Pereira Esteves et al., 2017). Vanesa and Carla aspire to go back to Spain shortly: they only re-emigrated in Switzerland to be able to settle in Spain with their families in the future. In contrast, Ricardo, who already has siblings living in Switzerland, plans to settle there: he recently reunited with his wife and children who were living in Spain.

Like Ricardo, the eleven Peruvian men and women who previously migrated to OECD countries plan to settle in Switzerland. Since the prior stay was linked to short-term goals (e.g. training), decisions about return or onward migration were not unexpected. Although transnational ties with compatriots for occupational purposes (see Chapter 10) helped in arrival at first destinations, the subsequent migration and settlement in Switzerland was linked to family ties: bi-national marriages. Peruvian spouses agreed to follow or stay with their Swiss partners. Thanks to professional contacts, Claudio, an engineer, secured funds to obtain a Master's degree in Brazil and a PhD degree in Japan where he met his Swiss-Japanese wife. She followed him to a post-doc position in the USA, but they agreed to go to Switzerland to raise their children and he got a job at a Swiss HE institution. Since these participants had a Swiss partner, legal integration was formally available for them as in the case of EU passport holders. Yet, socio-economic integration remained ambiguous: not all of them achieved jobs commensurate with their skills, predominantly the Peruvian women (see Chapter 8); but they envision settlement in Switzerland since their partners and children were born there. Discursively, they often "postpone" integration in Switzerland to the second generation, that of their Swiss-Peruvian children.

This mobility pattern shows the role of transnational ties with compatriots (e.g. family, friends and colleagues) in different countries to achieve multi-staged migration, and its impact on integration that might include prior destinations instead of home/host country dichotomies.

IV.12.4.2 Return migration and life-course transitions

This mobility pattern shows the dynamics of return migration according to family and occupational transitions. In contrast with the first pattern, this mobility tactic involves two main countries: Switzerland and Peru. Like the first, it involves more than one stage: departure and arrival. It addresses trajectories of migrants who planned long-term stays or even re-settlement back home but finally decided to re-emigrate to Switzerland. These Peruvian men and women had lived at least three years in Switzerland before planning to return home. While motivations are complex, most of them were accounted for by integration issues: citizenship and socio-economic dimensions. In addition, decisions are linked to transitions such as job-hunting after graduation and parenting at the host country. Re-settlement in Peru depended on family ties and seems a transnational family tactic. These Peruvian men and women negotiate with their spouses, siblings and children in Peru and Switzerland. Decisions to re-emigrate show the ongoing nature of migration plans: constant assessment of conditions "here" and "there", adaptation to new situations, and emergence of new aspirations. After years away, all of them realised that structural limitations in the home country remained and reasons to go abroad thus persisted (e.g. lack of stable and well-paid jobs), but the purposes of (re)migration evolve (e.g. from offspring's education to secure retirement). An example is the story of Renato.

Box N°8 Excerpt from Renato's interview in 2017 (construction worker, technical qualifications, aged 58)

Renato is one of the eldest siblings of an urban family in the Peruvian Andes. Before finishing military school, he had to start working because his father died. He replaced him in the public railway company, got technical training and worked for sixteen years. He married and had three children. In 1995, his enterprise started downsizing measures due to the political and economic crisis. He decided to travel to Germany where a visa was not then required request for Peruvians, crossed the border to Switzerland by train and joined his in-laws living in a big French-speaking city. His wife did the same after one year. He started working in construction while his wife worked as an hourly-paid care worker. They remitted back home to pay for their children's education. The children stayed with their grandmother and a domestic employee. After three years, his wife returned because "she didn't want to miss their childhood". Without legal residence, he soon joined her back home after being caught in a police control and being ordered to leave Switzerland. But he only stayed six months in Peru. With the help of his in-laws who had obtained residence permits in Switzerland, he arrived in France, crossed the border by bus and retrieved his job as a construction worker. However, another police control forced him to leave again within two years. While he stayed in Peru for six years, his wife returned to Switzerland to work in the care sector and remit back home. He was in charge of childcare and managing the finances. In 2007, he joined his wife in Switzerland to remit more for their children's private university education as well as the project of building a house. He got a tourist visa thanks to his in-laws again, who were already naturalised citizens. His wife went back to Peru two years after his last arrival. They stopped hiring a domestic employee, started to build the house, and his wife started a business. After nine years in Switzerland, he is planning to return since the house is almost finished, their children have finished university and have become parents. He is only saving enough to expand his wife's business and secure retirement in Peru.

Renato's mobility tactics depended on the couple's negotiations and family life cycle: remitting for education and housing and alternation of stages abroad to cope with legal insecurity. While Renato's return migration is forced and unplanned, he developed tactics to combine moments of immobility and mobility considering transnational family transitions and legal barriers.

Like Renato, other Peruvians who lack residence permits and mobility authorisation circumvent these barriers and cross borders. Their mobility tactics are highly limited and insecure. They might not choose when and how to return, but once in Peru they assess their im/mobility with family members. Renato alternated with his wife to handle insecurity in travelling and presence abroad. Since the family back home is strongly dependent on remittances, he had to join her in Switzerland again due to increasing family responsibilities (university education and house building). Renato's story shows the ways to capitalise on ties with family members in Peru and Switzerland to cope with insecure residential rights abroad and adapt stages at the host country to the family's needs.

In contrast to couples' migration, lone migration shows other tactics for returns despite insecure presence abroad. Unauthorised Peruvian women who are lone mothers and migrated by themselves cannot take turns with their spouses and develop mobility tactics differently. Issues with labour exploitation and social isolation in Switzerland pushed Pilar and Blanca to return to Peru, but at different moments in their migration careers. Both worked as cleaners for private homes and had

conflicts with employers and other migrants in the same business. Without family or friends in Switzerland, they therefore felt socially isolated. After three years in Switzerland, Pilar, as an accountant, decided to return home and perform job-hunting in Peru. She was unsuccessful and her adolescent children persuaded her to try again in Switzerland. They agreed to meet in Switzerland when the children graduated from university in Peru and travelled to study in a Swiss university. Thanks to a visa invitation sent by a former employer, Pilar returned to Switzerland and reunited with her children there after eight years. In contrast, Blanca decided to return home after 20 years in Switzerland. Although her parents and child visited her in the host country, the whole family agreed with her return: his child had finished university, become a parent and got a job, and she had saved for retirement in Peru – she did not want to miss the childhood of her grandchild. Consequently, im/mobility tactics such as permanent or temporary return migration display tactics of transnational families and their evolving goals.

Using Swiss citizenship or residence permits, Ivan, Pedro and Clara also planned return migration according to transitions. After Ivan and Pedro obtained Swiss HE degrees, they decided to try job-hunting in Peru and persuaded their Swiss spouses to follow them. They thought that their Swiss degrees would be of greater value in Peru than in Switzerland. While Pedro returned in 1984 and only stayed one year due to the economic and political crisis in Peru, Ivan arrived in 1996, found a job commensurate with his skills and stayed six years. Although he was professionally satisfied, his position was unstable. When he became a father, he decided to settle in Switzerland to secure a "better upbringing" for his child. Back in Switzerland, Pedro found a stable job commensurate with his skills, whereas Ivan did not. Pedro had obtained a VET certificate in dairy products and found a job as worker in a dairy factory whereas Ivan earned a university Licence in Law but never exercised the profession. The unequal outcomes might be explained by the type of employment sectors and/or moment of return in Switzerland in terms of age and context. Ivan returned in the mid-1980s at age 30 and Ivan returned in the early 2000s aged 44.

In addition, Clara also negotiated mobility tactics with her Swiss spouse after family transitions. Since she had health issues during and after pregnancy, and her husband worked full-time and could not help her, they decided to invite one of her sisters to Switzerland. The Embassy, however, refused the visa application. She decided to move to Peru for a year to receive the help of her siblings in Peru.

Whether for job-hunting after graduation or caregiving after childbirth, this type of return migration is linked to transitions, but it is not permanent. In contrast with Renato's story, Ivan, Pedro and Clara accessed legal integration in Switzerland. However, they envision integration at all levels (socio-economic, legal and cultural) for their children rather than themselves . All used return migration and ties with co-nationals strategically to cope with gender and nationality-based inequalities – labour market discrimination and the accumulation of family caregiving for women.

This mobility pattern shows the ways in which return migration becomes a transnational family tactic to cope with transitional issues and foster (intergenerational) upward mobility. For the transitions, children's upbringing in Peru or Switzerland and migrants' retirement are important concerns. These Peruvian men and women used their family ties in both countries to explore solutions. However, return migration was predominantly non-permanent for lack of employment opportunities and perceived deficiencies in Peru. Yet, re-emigration and settlement in Switzerland did not always represent attainment of better employment conditions. Most of them consider integration through their children and maintain co-national ties in Switzerland and political projects related to Peru (e.g. associations) (see Chapter 6).

IV.12.4.3. Visits to Peru and upward mobility

This third mobility pattern shows systematic visits to Peru at least once a year as part of upward mobility tactics through ethnic businesses. Ties with compatriots in multiple locations are important to achieve career advancement and economic advantages in Switzerland. In this pattern, all had struggled with job-hunting and employment conditions in Switzerland and chose entrepreneurship as a solution. They mobilised legal resources acquired in Switzerland (e.g. permits and passports) to plan and maintain frequent visits to Peru. They envision integration in Switzerland in terms of upward mobility in the Swiss labour market by means of Peruvian ties. These Peruvian men and women not only contact family members back in Peru, but also mobilise occupational ties to acquire products, expertise and funds. In addition, the compatriot contacts in Switzerland enable them to promote their business, by "word of mouth" amongst Peruvian families, associations and diplomatic institutions. In this sense, Peruvianhood is not so much an identity marker as a marketing tactic to foster business partners and customers amongst co-nationals. Elena's and Federico's stories are an example.

Box N°9 Excerpt from Elena's and Federico's interviews in 2016 and 2017 respectively (restaurant owners, university education, aged 55 and 48 respectively)

Elena and Federico are the younger siblings of a big urban family in Lima. The parents had a restaurant and the children studied in private universities and worked there at weekends. None of the siblings, however, chose a hospitality career: Elena became an accountant and Federico an architect, and their parents eventually closed the restaurant. Due to the political and economic crisis in Peru, their older siblings migrated to Switzerland in the 1980s, and Elena and Federico followed them in the 1990s to a big French-speaking city. Without permits, Federico returned after one year but Elena stayed with her husband and two children for six years and worked as a caregiver. When she returned to Peru only with her husband, she joined Federico in his furniture enterprise. Elena's children stayed with her siblings in Switzerland. She worked with Federico for seven years in Peru until the enterprise had financial problems. She and her husband decided to join their children in Switzerland in 2005, and Federico joined them after one year. At this moment, their long-settled siblings had created an enterprise to import, sell and deliver Peruvian products in Switzerland. The most important clients were Peruvian associations and compatriots living there. While Federico started a small business to import furniture, Elena started a Peruvian catering service using the products imported by the siblings. When she got a permit (independent worker), she started a Peruvian restaurant in 2007 that became widely recognised among co-nationals in the city and from other Swiss cantons. Federico also created another non-Peruvian restaurant with his Swiss partner, and recently opened a Peruvian one with the help of Elena. Both go to Peru at least once a year to buy new ingredients, take cookery lessons, meet new chefs, and taste new restaurants. A Swiss journalist contacted Elena to film a Peruvian cuisine documentary. In view of the family's popularity in Switzerland, the Peruvian consulate in Switzerland put them in contact with the Cultural Secretary in Peru. Famous Peruvian chefs and political authorities welcomed Elena and the Swiss journalist. While the boom of Peruvian cuisine inspired other compatriots to open restaurants, these family businesses still have many Peruvian clients – and a growing number of non-Peruvian ones – in Switzerland.

Federico and Elena's story show the role of ties with compatriots beyond the transnational family. The transnational ties amongst siblings are important for arrival and starting a business; however, upward mobility particularly depends on co-national ties for occupational purposes. Their shop and restaurants are consolidated businesses thanks to compatriots. Co-nationals were their first clients, and business expansion and innovation depend on frequent visits to Peru. They expand their networks with compatriots for occupational purposes. When they visit Peru, they encounter compatriots in the business and capitalise on new products and ideas to invest in Switzerland. Other examples of ethnic business such as Silvia's catering services and Chalena's arts/crafts sales also rely on co-national networks in multiple locations for occupational purposes. They contact colleagues, stakeholders and investors rather than family left behind. In Peru, these entrepreneurs frequently contact professionals during their visits to enhance their economic activities in Switzerland. While Federico, Elena and Silvia contact famous chefs, Chalena contacts Peruvian painters, art galleries and enterprises to sponsor their exhibitions in Switzerland and Peru.

To do this, legal resources (e.g. permits and passports) are essential to assure mobility rights. Here, the business expansion is possible due to frequent and scheduled visits. Without security abroad, it would not be possible in terms of speed and timing.

Ties with compatriots are not only individual but also associations and institutions in Switzerland and Peru. For instance, "word of mouth" amongst Peruvian families is important for reputation and popularity. Furthermore, immigrant associations hire Peruvian services from shops, restaurants and catering to organise events. Also, Peruvian consulates and the Embassy might purchase their products and services for diplomatic events and informal gatherings.

However, the mobilisation of co-national ties shows class-based inequalities amongst Peruvians. Federico and Elena described their restaurant customers as a privileged group of Peruvians in Switzerland: university professors, professionals in multinational entities, diplomats, etc. While their networks of compatriots are very diverse in terms of social class and citizenship status, they create a distinction from other Peruvian restaurants in Switzerland. Elena and Federico's restaurants are identified with higher prices, innovative dishes and (privileged) Peruvian customer profile. In contrast, Silvia's catering services proposes innovative Peruvian and Latin American dishes, but she perceives her customers as long-settled Peruvian families and associations. Instead of a particular taste (social class), she emphasises the adaptability of their services to customers' needs in terms of price.

Visits to Peru represent social and physical mobility tactics for these entrepreneurs. Struggling with employment conditions on arrival, self-employment represented an opportunity. Ties with compatriots ensured success and sustainability. The frequency of visits to Peru increases with the evolution of the business, and the motivation changes from family to business encounters. The more successful the ethnic business is, the higher the frequency of professional trips to Peru. In fact, Federico and Elena no longer have close family members to visit in Peru. Chalena and Silvia also visit Peru more frequently when their businesses need innovation or a boost.

Creation and consolidation moments seem to mobilise ties with co-nationals in Switzerland, whereas the expansion phase seem to expand the contacts with professionals in Peru. When Chalena struggled to fund her Peruvian art/crafts exhibitions with Swiss or EU sponsors, she decided to contact Peruvian art galleries, museums and authorities. She started to organise events in Peru and her visits increased accordingly. Although Silvia had constantly visited her family back in Peru, the frequency and motivations changed when her catering services expanded to also import and deliver Peruvian products in Switzerland. Using her catering infrastructure, she also organises fund-raising events for social projects in Peru in partnership with migrant associations in

Switzerland. Her visits to Peru also represent the final step of these fund-raising events: the images to show that funds had reached the beneficiaries.

This mobility pattern shows the ways in which frequent visits back home and co-national ties in host and home countries enable upward mobility. Ethnic business represents a self-employment opportunity in the Swiss labour market, but maintenance and success depend on co-national ties in both countries. Socio-economic integration thus depends on transnationalism in terms of cross-border mobility and contacts with Peru.

IV.12.5. Summary

Thanks to the mobility lens, Peruvian men's and women's post-migration mobility patterns show ways of balancing transnationalism and integration differently. In contrast to a linear bifocal approach to home-to-host country movements, transnationalism includes geographically scattered ties and integration happens amongst various countries. In addition, return migration does not represent a final and permanent event in migration experiences. Based on the life-course approach, the analysis of im/mobility patterns shows the dynamic combination of motility and stasis in order to secure travelling and achieve evolving family goals. Citizenship shows power differentials in the capacity to plan, access and repeat cross-border practices. While legal resources (e.g. dual citizenship) are important to access mobility, migrants' tactics also display the mobilisation of co-national networks and accumulation of migration knowledge. Mobility patterns cope with downgrading: socio-economic crisis, accumulation of family caregiving, underemployment, etc. Some Peruvian men and women, however, use dual nationality, ethnicity (e.g. "Peruvianness") and ties with compatriots to achieve upward mobility abroad.

Multi-staged migration amongst Peruvian migrants shows the evolving nature of destination hierarchies and the influence of life transitions. Although the restitution of initial migration plans is ambiguous, the impact of crisis in first destinations evokes the unpredictability and adaptability in migration experiences. According to destination hierarchies, studies have stated that northward moves would be the most desired (A. M. Paul, 2011). Fewer studies have examined the value given to lateral moves between Northern countries by migrants. Peruvian men and women of different skill levels started their journey in LAC or OECD countries with job contracts or scholarships. While onward moves from LAC to EU countries seem to be desired by Peruvians, moves between Euuropean countries such as Spain and Switzerland seem more reactive. The value given by Peruvian migrants to the latter is ambiguous and challenges straightforward ideas about integration.

The fact that Peruvian migrants had bought property and/or reunified with their families in Spain suggests plans for permanent settlement before the crisis hit. Currently, this plan would be possible as they work in Switzerland and remit to Spain. They have to pay for mortgage debts, grand/children's education, etc. Consequently, migrants' mobility patterns influence integration practices and aspirations. The interpretation of the onward move to Switzerland also depends on migrants' age and life-course stage (Ramos, 2017). For instances, middle-aged Peruvian migrants perceived re-migration from Spain to Switzerland differently from their younger counterparts. Younger Peruvians without family dependents perceive travel to Switzerland positively. Those who are starting a family with a Swiss partner or reunify with family members in Switzerland plan settlement.

Multi-staged migration challenges perceptions of integration as a one-sided and irreversible event. In view of its multi-layered and dynamic nature, integration seems to connect different countries: legal integration in one country (e.g. Spain), socio-economic integration in another one (e.g. Switzerland) and cultural integration in-between countries (feelings of attachment to Peru and Spain). While migrants adapt to evolving destination contexts and family needs in general, migrants who embark on post-migration movements accumulate legal resources and knowledge about migration to develop tactics differently. While EU citizenship does not automatically guarantee legal and socio-economic integration within EU member states, citizenship has an impact on mobility planning and frequency. Peruvian migrants without Swiss permits or EU passports are forced to return at any moment, whereas those with legal resources can plan visits back home according to their needs: at a transitional moment or systematically every year. Peruvians who experienced forced return used their knowledge about journeys to and years of residence in the host country to re-emigrate. Transnational family evolving needs (e.g. children's education or retirement) and members' negotiations (e.g. spouses, siblings, children, etc.) influence homecoming patterns: permanent or temporary. Those who can afford systematic visits at convenient moments not only mobilised their family networks, but also develop upward mobility tactics based on professional ties in Peru and Switzerland. They adapt their homecoming practices to their family and occupational transitions. They capitalise on their mobility authorisation to seek economic advantages in the labour market.

The analysis of pendulum movements shows the role of co-ethnic networks in upward social mobility. Although transnational family relations are important, occupational networks with co-nationals play a role in the success of ethnic businesses. These businesses emerge and endure thanks

to Peruvian clients in Switzerland: families and associations. The systematic visits back home are used to boost them. Combined with homecoming practices, mobilising professional networks in Peru seems to be part of the expansion and innovation of ethnic business that seek funds, ideas and partnerships. In this sense, ethnically homogeneous networks are not synonymous with downgrading or precarious ethnic enclaves . By contrast, they represent platforms to enhance opportunities and strengthen success at the host country. Analysing ethnicity as an outcome of social processes (e.g. homecoming practices in ethnic business) prevents scholars from assuming a negative meaning of ethnicity in migrants' network composition.

Based on a life-course approach, Peruvian men's and women's post-migration mobility practices shed light on migrants' balancing acts. Transnationalism involves more than one host country and more than family ties. Return migration is not permanent. Settlement in the current destination might happen thanks to homecoming practices. Migrants cope with changing contexts abroad and embark on secondary movements. They capitalise on the accumulation of resources and knowledge in prior destinations and develop practices and aspirations beyond the home/host countries model.

Part IV - Chapter 13

Tensions between Integration and Transnationalism in Peruvian migration to Switzerland

Introduction

The renewed interest in the relationships between transnationalism and integration in Migration Studies (Erdal & Oeppen, 2013; Grzymala-Kazlowska & Phillimore, 2017; Morawska, 2004) has inspired my analysis of patterns of settlement as well as the patterns of local and cross-border connections of Peruvian men and women living in Switzerland. In this chapter, I discuss the social mobility and embedding patterns that have already been presented in prior chapters, to propose a classification of Peruvian men's and women's forms of balancing integration and transnationalism. The aim is to contribute to the discussion about the diverse forms of articulation of the two phenomena.

This chapter is in three sections. The first summarises the social mobility and embedding patterns of Peruvian migrants in Switzerland and then discusses them in the light of the conceptualisation of the interactions between integration and transnationalism. The second part presents the classification of Peruvian men's and women's forms of negotiating integration and transnationalism. Drawing on the classification of national groups of immigrants in the USA (Morawska, 2004), I argue that the same diversity of forms of integration and transnationalism can be found within a single national group: Peruvians in Switzerland. Instead of assuming the homogeneity of national groups of migrants, this dissertation shows that focussing on ethno-national markers is not necessarily the most relevant way of understanding their practices of integration and transnationalism. Within a single national group, gender, class and citizenship divides are also important to analyse. The third section is the concluding remarks.

IV.13.1. Social mobility and embedding patterns

The interpretation of social mobility and embedding patterns is linked to the broader question of the evolving and multidimensional nature of settlement as well as cross-border connections and activities. Here, I propose that both patterns represent a form of operationalisation of the concepts of integration and transnationalism. Drawing on the theoretical debates (Chapter 1), the

485

conceptualisation of both phenomenon showed potentialities and limitations. One of the most promising venues is the renewed interest in the analysis of the articulation of both phenomenon instead of isolated reflections on either one (Jørgen Carling & Pettersen, 2014; Erdal & Oeppen, 2013; Grzymala-Kazlowska & Phillimore, 2017; Morawska, 2004). I start this section by providing definitions of both patterns, then I present the link between them and the operationalisation of integration and transnationalism.

IV.13.1.1. Social mobility patterns

In this dissertation, the social mobility patterns represent the combination of dynamic structures that influence migrants' multiple life dimensions and the transnational references to assess their own positioning in terms of social class, gender and citizenship status. The time-sensitive lens addresses the occupational trajectories between pre- and post-migration phases but also the intersections with family and legal ones. In addition, the analysis of the meanings given to pathways and transitions by migrants is linked to the intersectional identity work across borders.

The social mobility patterns represent the upwardly mobile, continuous and downgrading pathways between pre- and post-migration in combination with the cross-border social class positionings at intersections with citizenship status and gender. The findings show four patterns:

1. Upwardly mobile: Peruvian men and women who have reached the upper segments of the Swiss labour market. Although the recognition of Swiss educational credentials was important, it was not sufficient. Access to long-term settlement authorisation and the delegation or sharing of family caregiving made the difference. Here, they also mobilise gender identities in relation to upper middle class social background. Although men capitalise on the male breadwinner role, they also point out conflicting dimensions between career and caregiving. Their female counterparts acknowledge the imposition of caregiver roles but propose the super scientist women discourse to handle career and caregiving.
2. Blocked upward mobility: Peruvian women who have attained better positions in the migrant-dominated sectors and identify with career-oriented femininities based on urban middle-class belongings. Although it is circumscribed to migrant-dominated sectors, these Peruvian women have gain the informal recognition of qualifications earned back home and/or accumulated in Switzerland. Here, Peruvian women have also earned long-term settlement authorisation and negotiated shared family caregiving locally and across borders (e.g. spouses and siblings). The career-oriented femininities are present in their narratives of moving up the socio-occupational ladder despite the cantonment in less prestigious employment segments.
3. Continuous pathways: Peruvian men who have remained in similar less skilled jobs between pre- and post-migration phases. They also delegated family caregiving locally and transnationally; but the acquisition of long-term settlement authorisation seems less important than the prior two patterns. They informally exercised qualifications earned

486

back home and achieved stability in precarious employment sectors (e.g. thanks to good relations with employers). The mobilisation of male breadwinner roles (e.g. send remittances back home) counteracts feelings of downgrading linked to the exercise of unskilled poorly-paid jobs.

4. Downgrading pathways: Peruvian men and women who have fallen into and remained in undesired part-time work and long spells out of employment in Switzerland regardless of levels and origin of skills (e.g. educational credentials). The value given to qualifications was mediated by non/citizenship status and gender-based barriers, for instance the lack of access to residential authorisation and/or the accumulation of family caregiving. Nevertheless, they mobilise discourses about return or onward migration to handle feelings of downgrading that evoke geographically scattered ties and aspirations of integration elsewhere rather than the current destination.

The following explanation of the embedding patterns explains the multiple geographical poles of migrants' journeys and connections across borders and locally.

IV.13.1.2. Embedding patterns

In this dissertation, the embedding patterns represent the forms of being and belonging of migrants in relation to people and places on multiple scales (Dahinden, 2009, 2013; Glick Schiller et al., 1995; Levitt & Glick Schiller, 2004). In other words, the focus is on the practices and discourses of migrants about local and cross-border involvements. Both concepts consider the evolving and geographical spread of migrants' network composition and the practices of networking in different life domains: family, employment, journeys and citizenship. Beyond ethno-national markers, the analysis of the social location of ties in terms of social class, gender and citizenship status assesses the roles of "bridges" for access to valuable resources and capitalisation of them towards better positions at the host country (Ryan, 2011). In addition, the embedding patterns consider the narratives of multiple forms of social dis/similarity and group formation amongst migrants. The network composition of migrants does not necessarily coincide with the narratives of group formation and categorisations (Wimmer, 2004). Instead of feelings of patriotism, the migrants evoke internal divisions amongst compatriots and commonalities with other nationalities.

The embedding patterns represent the bipolar ethnic-centred networks, the multipolar and ethnically diverse networks and the multipolar re-centred ethnic networks, in combination with narratives of boundary-making based on social class, length of residence and gender rather than ethno-national markers. The first two show stable forms while the latter show changes. The findings show three patterns:

1. Bipolar and ethnic-centred embedding: the main geographical poles are the destination and host country where cross-border and local ties with compatriots extend. Considering transnational families, Peruvian migrants play the role of bridgeheads within the same generation (e.g. siblings' chain migration) and the role of gatekeepers with younger ones (e.g. nieces and nephews). Besides family, the local ties with compatriots show individual contacts (e.g. friends and co-workers) and organisations (e.g. migrant associations). The network of compatriots seems more useful for arrival and settlement than for achieving better job positions . However, the forms of boundary-making do not necessarily evoke a strong and shared feeling of patriotism. On the contrary, the intra-group divisions are important between long-settled migrants and the newcomers. Furthermore, they develop tactics of keeping distance from "unreliable" groups of compatriots in the context of highly competitive employment sectors (e.g. cleaning).

2. Multipolar and ethnically diverse embedding: the geographical poles go beyond the homeland/destination dyad to include other countries where valuable contacts reside. Interestingly, the ties with compatriots show the widest geographical spread whereas the ties with host nationals and other migrants are located in Switzerland. The ethnically diverse network of these Peruvians translates into in combined forms of access to resources and capitalisation of ties for job-hunting purposes. The compatriots represent contacts with colleagues in advanced career positions in the global labour market that provide valuable resources to achieve post-compulsory degrees and qualified job positions in Switzerland (vertical bridges). The contacts with migrants of other nationalities represent a "bridge" to the migrant-dominated employment sectors (e.g. hospitality and cleaning). Vertical and horizontal bridges correspond to social class positionings rather than ethno-national markers. In the same sense, the narratives of boundary-making follow forms of identification based on occupations – a global network of engineers and local networks of co-workers in "migrant sectors".

3. Ethnic re-centred embedding: the changes from local ties with host nationals to geographically scattered ties with compatriots were triggered by evolving receiving contexts and biographical transitions. Here, the activation of "dormant" ties (e.g. friends and family) enables Peruvian migrants to embark on multi-stage journeys (e.g. onward migration and homecoming) and new occupation-related activities. Beyond family and friends, migrants develop tactics to contact compatriots to enhance employment opportunities. They seek individual and institutional contacts who represent sponsors, clients and partners in their ethnic-based projects in Switzerland (e.g. migrant associations, Peruvian restaurants, trade in Peruvian artefacts). The ties with compatriots also represent a source of valuable resources, information and more contacts for social mobility. However, the perception of compatriots reveals social class-based divisions; for instance, Peruvian clients are not equally appreciated in Peruvian restaurants, where Peruvian professionals and diplomats are privileged over the others.

After this brief explanation of the social mobility and embedding patterns, the following section discusses the links to the operationalisation of integration and transnationalism.

IV.13.2. Integration and transnationalism

Drawing on the discussion presented in Chapter 1, the operationalisation of integration and transnationalism is discussed in the light of the renewed interest in analysing their interactions.

In this dissertation, integration is not understood only on the basis of ethno-national markers and as the final stage of migrants' experiences abroad, but rather as a dynamic process with multiple directions and dimensions. In combination with time-sensitive methods, the intersectional lens enables me to understand the plural and interacting processes of stratification during multiple phases (before and after arrival) and stages (series of destinations and homecoming tactics) of migration. Without assuming a normative content, the concept of integration refers to the context-dependent and historically dynamic processes in migrants' daily handling of living conditions and membership in the place of residence. The proposed operationalisation considers forms of integration that correspond to "classical" experiences of migrants who plan long-term settlement and adapt into predominantly mainstream segments as well as those who do not plan long-term settlement and/or adapt into social segments dominated by other migrants. In relation to the findings about Peruvians in Switzerland, there are forms of integration that refer to daily connections with migrants from different nationalities rather than host country nationals and depend on frequent visits back home or include more than one destination in their journeys (e.g. from Peru to Argentina, then Spain and finally Switzerland).

The fact that the daily local negotiations of migrants depend on cross-border involvements represents the need for analysis of transnationalism in relation to integration. However, several authors have pointed out the scarcity of this type of analysis (Jørgen Carling & Pettersen, 2014; Erdal & Oeppen, 2013; Grzymala-Kazlowska & Phillimore, 2017; Morawska, 2004; Tsuda, 2012). There have been four positions in the literature about the connections of both phenomena: the alarmist view perceives transnational ties in conflict with integration ; the pessimistic view considers migrants with integration "deficiencies" (lack of language skills, university credentials, etc.) as dependent on transnational livelihood strategies; the positive view emphasises that processes of integration and transnationalism could be mutually supportive; and the fourth position is a pragmatic one based on the consensus over the co-existence of both phenomenon (Erdal & Oeppen, 2013, pp. 872–873). Drawing on the last position, this dissertation adheres to the idea that relations between transnationalism and integration do not represent an "either/or" situation, but rather combined socio-historical processes. As said before, the concept of integration sheds light

on the adaption into a new locality inserted in specific territorial and political contexts. Likewise, the concept of transnationalism addresses the adaptation triggered by cross-border movements. Both concepts evoke interactions and negotiations at different socio-territorial levels.

In this dissertation, the concept of transnationalism considers the interactions, transactions and feelings of belonging happening across national borders. Drawing on time-sensitive methods, the focus is on the maintenance or disappearance of cross-border connections and transactions (e.g. networks and remittances). In addition, the intersectional lens addresses the circulation of references from "here and there" that reinforce, create and challenge social divisions in terms of gender, social class, citizenship, etc. In relation to the findings about Peruvians in Switzerland, the forms of transnationalism show multiple geographical poles and directions of connections and transactions. Beyond the homeland/new land dichotomy, the forms of transnationalism include more than one destination, and the directions of connections are changing and plural (reverse remittances from the homeland to the destination). Instead of ties with host country nationals, the geographical spread of ties and connections to the homeland creates value for upward mobility . In addition, the feelings of belonging are not exclusively tied to one location but rather to multiple locations (e.g. aspirations to settle in Spain rather than Switzerland or Peru).

Considering integration and transnationalism as ongoing social processes provides a framework to address the forms of interaction. Drawing on the plentiful literature about each phenomenon, the parallels between the life spheres under analysis are evident except for the socio-territorial scale (crossing state borders or not). Taking an actor-centred approach, the analysis of integration and transnationalism displays socio-cultural and structural features (Erdal & Oeppen, 2013). The former refers to emotional, cultural and social dimensions whereas the latter refers to the economic, political and legal ones. As said before, the analytical dimensions of social mobility and embedding patterns found amongst Peruvians in Switzerland shed light on the key features of transnationalism and integration. This represents the forms of operationalisation used in this dissertation to address local and cross-border ways of adaptation. In this sense, the socio-cultural and structural dimensions that predominantly constitute the analysis of integration and transnationalism are present in the proposed patterns.

IV.13.2.1. The balancing acts of Peruvian men and women in Switzerland

Debates about transnationalism and integration tend to focus on one side of the spectrum whether these be the networks that migrants develop between home and host countries or their

achievements (or the lack of them) in relation to nationals in the host countries (Erdal & Oeppen, 2013; Grzymala-Kazlowska & Phillimore, 2017; Morawska, 2004).

Beyond one-sided analysis of migration experiences, there is a renewed interest in the interaction of integration and transnationalism (Jørgen Carling & Pettersen, 2014; Erdal & Oeppen, 2013; Grzymala-Kazlowska & Phillimore, 2017; Morawska, 2004). Acknowledging that transnationalism and integration are both multi-layered and dynamic processes, the renewed framework aims to understand both processes, and the connections between them, as the result of migrants' balancing acts. Based on an actor-oriented approach, the concept of "balancing acts" aims to simultaneously understand migrants' ways of being and belonging transnationally as well as their daily and local practices at the host country (Erdal & Oeppen, 2013).

The concept of balancing acts proposes three types of integration and transnationalism interactions: the additive, where the result of the interaction is the sum of the two parts (e.g. the feelings of socio-economic continuity mobilising cross-border breadwinner roles), the synergistic, where the result is greater than the sum of the two parts (e.g. the frequent return visits for ethnic business that yield upward social mobility), and the antagonistic, where the result is less than the sum of the two parts, or one part even cancels out the other (e.g. feelings of downgrading when career-oriented femininities from back home are neutralised at the host country due to the accumulation of caregiving). Before presenting a more detailed classification of the "balancing acts" amongst Peruvian men and women in Switzerland, I develop the classification proposed by Morawska (2004).

IV.13.2.2. The interaction of transnationalism and integration

> "Since the publication of Morawska's paper (2004), migration scholars have generated a critical mass of empirical evidence supporting the pragmatic approach that processes of transnationalism and integration co-exist. Arguably it is now no longer sufficient simply to point out their co-existence – the time has come to consider the nature of that co-existence and interaction (…). One reason why this question may not have received much attention yet is the challenge of two processes being dynamic, simultaneous and interacting. While, on the surface, it seems simple to disentangle – integration happens 'here', and transnationalism happens 'there' – there are, in fact, many dimensions of migrants' lives which relate both to integration and transnationalism" (Erdal & Oeppen, 2013, p. 878).

This quotation draws attention to the renewed analytical interest in understanding the interactions between integration and transnationalism. Here, I present a contribution to the debate inspired by

the work of Morawska. The author presents a classification of interactions between integration and transnationalism of different national groups of migrants from the USA (Morawska, 2004). As an analytical exercise, I show that the same diversity that the author analyses along ethno-national lines corresponds to the in-group diversity of Peruvian migrants in Switzerland. In other words, the ethno-national markers are not always central to understanding the relationships between integration and transnationalism. Other social divisions within a national group of migrants might explain the modes of interactions between integration and transnationalism. In order to illustrate this point, I briefly present Ewa Morawska's model of the interaction of integration and transnationalism (Morawska, 2004), and then present my own classification based on social mobility and embedding patterns.

Drawing on a rich database of national groups of migrants in the USA, Morawska (2004) proposes a classification of combinations between transnationalism and assimilation (hereafter T/A). While comparing previous studies and her own research, she analyses data from population censuses and ethnic group surveys based on snowball samples and in-depth interviews carried out between the mid-1980s and the 2000s. The database is made up of seven national groups: middle-class Jewish Russians and lower-class Poles in Philadelphia, dispersed Asian Indians, first-wave Cubans in Miami, and Jamaicans, undocumented Chinese, and Dominicans in New York (Morawska, 2004, pp. 1373–1374). The aim was to compare the similarities and differences in T/A combinations between national groups of immigrants in order to grasp casual links and factors that produce different outcomes. To do so, she defines and operationalises the main two concepts. On the one hand, assimilation is understood as a context-contingent, non-linear and multi-paced process, involving the incorporation of immigrants and their offspring into the economic, political and social institutions and culture of different segments of the host society: mainstream middle and upper lower class (so-called upward assimilation), struggling lower- and underclass (downward assimilation), or immigrant/ethnic enclaves (also called adhesive assimilation), which can also follow the intragroup middle or lower-class pattern (Morawska, 2004, p. 1375). For the author, the term "ethnic" has two meanings: references to an immigrant-community intragroup mode of assimilation and to social relations and cultural involvement with and/or political participation on behalf of fellow immigrants/ethnics in the receiving society (Morawska, 2004, p. 1375). Assimilation contains different proportions and constellations of economic, political and sociocultural values and practices transplanted from the home country and shaped by the receiver society (Morawska, 2004, p. 1375). On the other hand, transnationalism denotes the sustained

regular or situational involvement of immigrants and their children in the economic, political, social, and cultural (symbolic and material) affairs of their home or other countries at different national or local levels (households, informal communities, institutions) (Morawska, 2004, p. 1375).

Using this operationalisation, she finds eight types of T/A combinations (see Table 18). Although the number of possible combinations is twenty-four, the cells that remain empirically "empty" are briefly addressed by the author using historical examples (e.g. 19th century South and Eastern European immigrants to the USA). The first type is mainstream upward assimilation and the regular and multilevel transnationalism exemplified by high-skilled Indians who had reached the upper segment of the American labour market and maintained strong ties and attachments with family, friendship and institutions (e.g. governmental economic and political incentives for émigrés) in their homeland. Mainstream downward assimilation and situational single transnationalism is exemplified by Dominicans in New York, who experienced racial discrimination in housing and labour market access and identification with native racialised minorities as well as regular contact and emotional attachment with family and friends back home. The same national group represent ethnic-path home-country focused assimilation and regular multilevel transnationalism, where they are inserted in vibrant ethnic economies and maintain family, friendship and institutional ties in the homeland (e.g. government's interest on émigrés' political loyalty). The ethnic-path host-country focused assimilation and the regular multilevel transnationalism is represented by Jamaicans in New York who are also inserted in vibrant ethnic economies. Despite suffering from racial discrimination, they embarked on upward mobility and engaged in political mobilisation in the host country. The ethnic-path home-and-host-country focused assimilation and regular transnationalism is represented by middle-class Cubans in Miami where they are concentrated in residential areas, inserted in vibrant ethnic economies and are active in political involvement locally and back home. The ethnic-path home country focused assimilation and regular multilevel transnationalism is exemplified by Poles in Philadelphia who are employed in ethnic niches, invisible in the host country but highly praised in the homeland. They maintain strong attachments and ties with their homeland. Ethnic-path host-country-focused assimilation and minimal transnationalism is exemplified by the high-skilled Russian Jews who aspired to upward mobility in the host country, showed resentment towards the homeland in combination with assistance from the established co-ethno-religious community (e.g. American Jews). The last ethnic-path assimilation with minimal transnationalism is represented by the undocumented Chinese who suffered from disempowerment and confinement to an ethnic enclave .

Table 8 Morawska's classification of transnationalism and assimilation

TABLE 1
TYPES OF T/A COEXISTENCE IN SEVEN IMMIGRANT GROUPS

	Mainstream Assimilation		Ethnic-Path Adaptation			
	Upward	Downward	Host-focused	Host & Home Focused	Home-focused	Inward Ethnic
1. Regular Transnational Involvements						
(i) Public sphere						
(a) multi-level	Indians				Most Dominicans	
(b) single activity				Cubans		
(ii) Private sphere						
(a) multi-level	Indians		Jamaicans		Most Dominicans	
(b) single activity					Poles	
2. Situational Transnational Involvements						
(i) Public sphere						
(a) multi-level						
(b) single activity			Jamaicans			
(ii) Private sphere						
(a) multi-level						
(b) single activity		Some Dominicans				
3. No/Minimal Transnational Involvement			Russian Jews			Undoc. Chinese

(Morawska, 2004, p. 1397)

The contributions of the work of Ewa Morawska (2004) to the discussion about transnationalism and integration are threefold. The first one is the inclusion of subjective dimensions about immigrants' assimilation and transnationalism such as individual and collective aspirations (e.g. upward mobility), the feelings of emancipation (or lack thereof) and the appreciation of immigrants in the home country. The subjective dimension enables us to better grasp the meanings of migration as a turning point in life-courses that depends on aspirations, feelings and meanings circulating in more than one place. The second contribution is the idea that ethnic-path assimilation and transnationalism are not equal: immigrants do not always maintain transnational livelihoods and ethnicity assumes different forms and meanings beyond nationality. Transnationalism depends on the frequency of activities (regular or situational), spheres of involvement (public or private sphere) and scope (single or multiple-level activities). Likewise, the ethnic-related processes found in assimilation are different: the paths of ethnicisation can be based on primary orientations to the home or host country alternatively. For instance, the Poles identified with their compatriots whereas the Russians Jews identified with American Jews based on religion rather than nationality. Another contribution is the analysis of the impact of non-transnationalism on assimilation paths as well as the assimilation-enhancing mechanisms of migrants' transnational engagements. I will discuss both more thoroughly in the presentation of my own classification.

IV.13.2.3. A classification of Peruvian migrants' balancing acts

The classification for the case of Peruvians in Switzerland has two aims: making a contribution to the renewed interest in understanding the relations between integration and transnationalism, as well as the global analysis of stratification processes. In this sense, the classification shows the overall analytical coherence of the findings of this dissertation. Given the nature of the data collected, the classification emphasises the timing mechanisms (social mobility patterns) and the mobilisation of ties and resources across borders and locally (embedding patterns) at critical phases/stages of migration. The focus is on the dynamic and relational processes that lead to varied processes of settlement and forms of transnationalism. In this sense, the balancing acts of Peruvians in Switzerland can be compared with other national groups in the same country and in other host countries and thus contribute to the wider discussions of integration and transnationalism in Migration Studies.

The following classification is inspired by the work of Eva Morawska (2004). Firstly, the distinction she suggests between mainstream pathways of integration and the ethnic-path seems pertinent to understanding the Peruvian case. The former can be illustrated by the social mobility patterns of Peruvians who have reached the upper segments of the Swiss labour market. The second can be linked to occupational outcomes in migrant-dominated sectors of the Swiss labour market. Secondly, the analysis focuses on the different processes of ethnicisation that can be identified in the networking practices of Peruvian migrants. Thirdly, in order to grasp the subjective and practical dimension of attachments of migrants to people and places (home and host countries), it is useful to use the orientation-based distinction Morawska has developed. Although the idea of different forms of transnationalism is adopted here, analysis of the direction, location and timing of cross-border involvements uses another terminology. The embedding patterns presented here focus on the composition and dynamics of ties for access to and use of resources for job-hunting and caregiving purposes.

In contrast with Morawska's work, the following classification of Peruvians' balancing acts shows how networking patterns vary by gender, class and citizenship status. In this sense, I operationalise her definition of mainstream and ethnic-path adaptations in slightly different ways. Instead of using solely ethno-national markers, the analysis of the impact of gender care regimes in combination with migration regimes sheds light on the gender-based outcomes of social mobility (e.g. occupational pathways and social class-based identities). The mainstream downward assimilation of

national groups of migrants in the USA can be seen as a result of racial discrimination in the housing and labour markets. Without denying the reality of racial discrimination in Switzerland, my analysis proposes a distinction between gendered upward and downward integration. There are two reasons for this choice. This dissertation does not analyse the processes of racialisation in Peruvian experiences. Furthermore, the Swiss care and migration regimes have an important impact on the occupational and family trajectories of Peruvian men and women. Of course, the regimes also show social class divisions. However, the EU/non-EU hierarchy in migration regimes seems to neutralise social class privileges (e.g. educational credentials) to a crtain extent (Fibbi et al., 2003; Guissé & Bolzman, 2015), and the traditional family model is widespread amongst all social classes in Switzerland (Baghdadi, 2010; Le Goff & Levy, 2016).

Considering the findings in this dissertation, the male breadwinner/female caregiver family model in Switzerland has an impact on a wide range of social configurations, including: school-to-employment transitions, legal and occupational transitions (e.g. the role of bi-national marriages), the identification of "deserving migrants" for regularisation and naturalisation procedures (e.g. rewards to Peruvian women working in the care sector), household care arrangements, etc. In this sense, mainstream upward integration is achieved by the fulfilment of the male breadwinner role on the part of Peruvian men (e.g. full-time stable careers and delegation of care), whereas mainstream downward integration results from the accumulation of family caregiving and limited labour market participation by Peruvian women. Therefore, foreign and native women share, to a certain extent, similar limitations related to the Swiss care regime. However, the ethnic-path adaptation does allow for upwardly mobile careers for Peruvian women, albeit in migrant-dominated employment sectors (so-called female business entrepreneurs). Another ethnic-path adaptation can be achieved by Peruvian women who use voluntary work in migrant associations to informally assert their professional abilities and who claim middle class career-oriented femininities instead of traditional caring ones (so-called female social entrepreneurs).

The proposed classification also shows differences in the operationalisation of transnational involvement in networks, based on composition, geographical spread and time-mechanisms. Following classic SNA analysis, I distinguish transnational involvements where ties with compatriots are important (e.g. frequency of communication, degrees of closeness and roles played in transitions) from those that show heterogeneous ties in terms of key contacts with other nationalities (e.g. host nationals and migrants from other countries). In addition, the mobility lens enables us to analyse the multiple stages and directions of migrants' journeys and practices beyond

the homeland/destination dyad. In this sense, transnational involvements are characherised by plural geographical poles and a wide distribution of ties. Therefore, I distinguish between geographically scattered (multipolar) ties, and more focussed (bipolar) ties concentrated in the homeland and locally at destination. Finally, the timing of connections is characterised as alternatively: reactivated, changing, transient or stable ties. The idea is to consider the contact-making tactics from the activation of ties for professional purposes, the evolution of ties based on family cycles, the disappearance of ties after accomplishing an important task (transiency) and the stable ties in employment sectors.

The last dimension is citizenship. I distinguish two situations: those who are on the path to acquiring (or have already acquired) a second EU\Swiss nationality in addition to the Peruvian passport, and those who are in "grey zones", meaning that they can informally access certain social services in the current destination but do not enjoy secure residential authorisations.

Table 9 Combination of integration and transnationalism (I/T) patterns

Transnational involvements	Mainstream adaptation		Ethnic-path adaptation			
Integration	Upward	Downward	Home & host focused upward	Host-focused upward / continuous	Home-focused Continuous	Host(s)-focused Downgrading
Ethnic-centred						
Activated multipolar ties	Male main breadwinner					Mixed onward migrants
Changing bipolar ties			Female economic entrepreneurs	Female social entrepreneurs		Mixed precarious workers
Heterogeneous						
Transient local ties		Female main caregivers				
Stable local ties	Super women			Female care workers	Male main breadwinners	
Citizenship	Dual citizenship				Grey zones	

Table 10 Eight combinations of integration and transnationalism (I/T) patterns and their contributing circumstances

	Integration	Transnationalism
Male breadwinner. Mainstream upward **I** and ethnic-centred multipolar **T**	Fulfilment of the male breadwinner role: access to upper segments of the Swiss labour market, full-time stable and well-paid jobs and delegation of family caregiving to spouses. Fast-track naturalisation in Switzerland	Activation of professional ties with compatriots in multiple locations for job-hunting: from colleagues from the same university in Peru studying abroad and Peruvian colleagues in advanced career positions abroad.
The Super women. Mainstream upward **I** and ethnically heterogeneous stable local **T**	Pathway to upper segments of the Swiss labour market thanks to long-term settlement authorisation, earning Swiss degrees, sharing family caregiving and (re)creating alternative career-and-care femininities (e.g. super femininity).	Stable local ties with host nationals and migrants with other nationalities that provide valuable resources to access jobs commensurate with skills (e.g. sharing caregiving with Swiss spouse and good relations with employers)
Female main caregivers. Mainstream downward **I** and ethnically heterogeneous and transient **T**	Fulfilment of the female caregiver role: undesired or no labour market participation and accumulation of family caregiving in Switzerland regardless of secure residential authorisations and educational credentials (e.g. bi-national marriages).	Transient relations with compatriots, host nationals and migrants from other nationalities but the access to resources within ties is limited (e.g. no prior contacts in Switzerland, only the Swiss spouse). Low degree of cross-border ties.
Female economic entrepreneurs. Ethnic-path home-and-host country focused **I** and changing bipolar **T**	Upward mobile careers in migrant-dominated sectors after access to dual citizenship (e.g. mobility authorisation) thanks to the creation of value between home and host countries (e.g. ethnic business). Informal recognition of qualifications linked to the homeland (e.g. cooking Peruvian food).	Activities and relations between the homeland and destination (e.g. frequent visits back home for business). The direction of the circulation of resources changes according to family/business cycles.
Female care workers. Ethnic-path host country focused **I** and stable heterogeneous **T**	Upward mobile careers in migrant-dominated sectors thanks to progress in highly feminised jobs (e.g. from unskilled to skilled care work). Access to regularisation based on care careers: transnational lone motherhood and paid care services.	Individual and institutional connections with host nationals and migrants from other nationalities (e.g. *sans papiers* political mobilisation and institutions that provide services for migrants). Distance-keeping tactics from compatriots due to highly competitive employment sectors abroad.
Female social entrepreneurs. Ethnic-path host country focused **I** and changing bipolar **T**	Feelings of continuity in terms of social-class gender identity. Despite undesired positions in the labour market and family caregiving accumulation, urban middle-class career-oriented femininity is pursued in the unpaid exercise of occupations in Peruvian	Activities and relations between the homeland and destination (e.g. visits back home for donations on behalf of associations). The direction of the circulation of resources changes according to family cycles (e.g. volunteering after diminution of family caregiving when children grow up).

	migrant associations. Access to dual citizenship (e.g. bi-national marriages)	
Male main breadwinners. Ethnic-path home country focused **I** and heterogeneous stable **T**	Feelings of continuity in terms of social-class and gender identity. Despite poorly-paid low-skilled jobs in migrant-dominated sectors, the ideal of male breadwinner is fulfilled back home thanks to remittances sent to children left behind. No stable rights abroad (e.g. unauthorised residence)	Individual connections with host nationals as employers and migrants from other nationalities as co-workers in migrant-dominated sectors. Informal recognition of qualifications (e.g. on-the-job training) thanks to good relations with employers . Family obligations and feelings of belonging towards the homeland.
Mixed onward migrants. Ethnic-path host country focused **I** and ethnic-centred multipolar **T**	Downward occupational mobility due to crisis in prior destination (e.g. Spain), and onward migration to Switzerland for job-hunting. Newly-arrived migrants in precarious jobs in the migrant-dominated sector: struggle for recognition of educational credentials and access to labour market, despite EU passports.	Connections with compatriots in other destinations (e.g. Switzerland) reactivated for onward migrations, but access to resources through these ties is limited (e.g. paths to precarious jobs). Feelings of belonging to the prior destination rather than homeland or current destination.
Mixed precarious workers. Ethnic-path host country focused **I** and ethnic-centred bipolar **T**	Downward occupational mobility due to precarious jobs in migrant-dominated sectors. Long-settled migrants who struggle with unauthorised residence and insecure work authorisation.	Connections with compatriots in homeland and destination, but access to limited resources through these ties (e.g. obligations to send remittances back home). The direction of activities changes according to family life cycles (e.g. from sending remittances to others to saving up for own retirement). Family obligations and feelings of belonging towards the homeland.

The classification of the I/T patterns does not describe the individual experiences of Peruvian men and women in Switzerland; it displays the mechanisms that lie behind the potentially varied outcomes of the migration experiences for members of this group. This analytical approach enables me to avoid simplistic oppositions (e.g. between low- and high-skilled migrants) and to contribute to a better understanding of the multiple forms of precariousness in the Latin American migration landscape in Europe.

Considering all the findings in the three analytical sections of this dissertation, I thus propose nine potential combinations of integration and transnationalism (hereafter I/T) patterns that enable me to better understand the diversity of Peruvian migration in Switzerland.

IV.13.2.3.1. The mainstream adaptation pattern of male STEM graduates

This first I/T combination describes a male-dominated pathway, characterised by integration into the upper segments of the Swiss labour market, in combination with ethnic-centred multipolar transnational involvement that is activated predominantly around professional projects. This combination of integration and transnationalism is usually associated with the social mobility and embedding patterns of highly skilled Peruvian men (e.g. Peruvian graduates from Swiss HE institutions) in male-dominated occupations (e.g. engineering).

Access to the upper segments of the Swiss labour market depends on obtaining a Swiss HE degree, long-term residential authorisation and delegation of family caregiving to a spouse or other family member. The migrants associated with the pattern generally belong to the urban middle classes in Peru where access to university education and foreign language courses are encouraged. They were rarely required to send remittances back home during the early years of their time in Switzerland. Most of them achieved international student migration by means of scholarships and financial aid from Swiss HE institutions or the federal government. They immediately obtained student residence permits and completed their degree courses without major problems. In contrast with the other I/T patterns, they are the only ones who were able to access work permits in Switzerland. Alternatively, they obtain a long-term residence permit through bi-national marriage. In either case, they delegate family caregiving to the female members (e.g. spouse, mothers, etc.). In this way, they occupy full-time, stable, well-paid and highly qualified jobs in the upper echelons of the Swiss occupational hierarchy. In addition, they mobilise identification with the breadwinner ideal to narrate their employment and family transitions after graduation, and to access fast-track naturalisation in Switzerland.

The transnational involvement of these respondents is linked to their urban middle-class background, since most of their meaningful contacts were established during their university years and/or in previous employment experiences in Peru. The contacts are fellow students and professors as well as researchers met back home. The contacts are thus predominantly compatriots. In combination with the lack of career prospects in Peru, the aspirations and the resources to study abroad emerge from these professional contacts: information about scholarships, contacts with Peruvian professors abroad, etc. In addition, these contacts are reactivated again after graduation, during the job-hunting phase abroad. At this moment in time, the contacts are co-national mentors who hold advanced career positions abroad and help the graduates to find jobs commensurate with their newly acquired skills, through global networking. This form of transnational involvement represents an ethnic-centred network made up of geographically scattered ties with compatriots for professional purposes – to embark on studies abroad and for subsequent job-hunting in the global labour market.

This pattern of I/T combination shows the integration-enhancing mechanisms of multipolar ethnic-centred forms of transnationalism. The main example is the network of Peruvian male engineers, which is composed of classmates from the male-dominated engineering university in Peru who embarked on post-compulsory education abroad, and the Peruvian professors currently working in prestigious engineering departments of foreign universities (in Asia, North America and Europe) who act as mentors to promising young scholars. Many of those professors started their careers at the same university in Peru. The activation of these networks enhances the ability of the graduates to eventually reach the upper segments of the Swiss labour market. Considering the socio-spatial location of these co-national ties, they represent "vertical" bridges. They do not cross ethno-national lines but do cut cross other social cleavages such as social class, for instance.

There are also local mechanisms for integration, and these also have gendered outcomes. The combination of the Swiss migration and care regimes favours integration the socio-cultural, economic and legal integration of the Peruvian men who followed this combination of I/T patterns. The restricted access to work permits based on nationality reduces the chances for Peruvian graduates to find an employer who will file a "essential employment" request on their behalf. However, the chances of access to work permits are unequally distributed in the labour market and seem to favour graduates from STEM rather than SHS fields of study, particularly engineers (Seminario & Le Feuvre, 2017). This male-dominated pattern facilitiates access to jobs commensurate with skills for STEM male professionals.

Given the Swiss care regime, the pathway to the upper segments of the labour market depends on the capacity to delegate family caregiving, in order to invest in a full-time job. Employers in male-dominated employment sectors (e.g. engineering, finance, etc.) adhere to the culture of long working hours and around-the-clock availability and thus tend to foster the delegation of family caregiving to (female) household members, whatever their migrant or citizenship status. In bi-national marriages, the citizenship-based inequalities between spouses can be neutralised by the level of skills and quality of employment opportunities of the foreign spouse. Highly skilled Peruvian men tend to marry Swiss women with lower levels of qualification, in lower-paid occupations with reduced promotion prospects (e.g. in female-dominated employment sectors). The couple thus decides to invest in the (male) spouse's more promising career, while the Swiss partner dedicates herself to family caregiving. Interestingly, the male breadwinner role illustrates the continuity of gender norms across national borders (e.g. Peru and Switzerland). This pattern shows the mobilisation of a particular form of masculinity in order to succeed in the global labour market (e.g. choice of field of study and delegation of family caregiving) and to access legal rewards in work authorisations (e.g. direct pathway) and naturalisation (e.g. fast-track).

IV.13.2.3.2. The mainstream adaptation pattern of "super scientist" women

The second combination of I/T patterns indicates one possible route towards the upper segments of the Swiss labour market for Peruvian female graduates, thanks to stable ties. In contrast with the previous pattern, this form of transnationalism is characterised by fewer cross-border connections. However, relationships with host nationals and other migrants offer valuable resources, information and contacts to access jobs commensurate with skills. Here, the gendered outcomes of the Swiss care and migration regimes are, to some extent, neutralised by the fact of having a Swiss university degrees, long-term residence authorisation and more gender-balanced care arrangements at home.

As in the first pattern, access to the upper segments of the Swiss labour market starts with an urban middle-class background. These women adhere to a career-oriented femininity that is the increasingly popular in these segments of Peruvian society (e.g. by sharing caregiving with extended family members or hiring domestic employees). In this sense, aspirations to study abroad reflect the career ambitions of these women. Thanks to contacts, they have access to funds for pursuing post-compulsory education abroad. Here, these Peruvian women do not enjoy the sams multipolar networks of compatriots as in the previous I/T pattern, but rather ties with individuals and institutions in Switzerland (e.g. Swiss partners, extended-family members or scholarship donors).

When their student permit is due to expire, none of them have access to the "essential employment" clause. Like other Peruvian graduates, they overcome the restrictions for work permits by resorting to family reunification measures, through bi-national marriages. This is a female-dominated I/T pattern, where Peruvian women share family caregiving with their spouses. They combine shared family caregiving and full-time stable employment thanks to the support of spouses and employers, even after motherhood. Employment sectors, such as the HE sector, that have implemented gender equality policies provide institutional opportunities for continuous, full-time employment (e.g. access to crèches); but good personal relations with employers (e.g. negotiation of flexible work schedules, home-working, etc.) seem critical for maintaining these women on an upwardly mobile career path.

This pattern shows the ways in which local networks unsurprisingly enhance integration. However, reaching the upper segments of the Swiss labour market by means of these local networks depends on the ability to impose a more equal allocation of care duties within bi-national households. This is all the more important because the bi-national marriage route to long-stay residence authorisation creates objective inequalities between Swiss and foreign spouses. For Peruvian female graduates, the inequalities linked to citizenship (e.g. legal status dependent on the Swiss spouse) intersect with the traditional family gender roles in Switzerland. However, when the authorisation to work is obtained through family reunification channels, having a Swiss HE degree may provide positive employment prospects that can partially counteract citizenship and gender inequalities between Peruvian and Swiss spouses. The levels and origin of educational credentials and the building up of local professional networks enable them to impose a more equal allocation of family caregiving. During this time, they start to build up their local network with colleagues from the host country or other nationalities (e.g. through links to associations, spouses, colleagues and friends). By means of local networks, the Peruvian female graduates succeed in accessing jobs commensurate with their skills. Since the employment prospects of these women are equal to or better than those of their Swiss spouses, primary investment in their careers is deemed appropriate. Peruvian female graduates negotiate more gender-balanced caregiving arrangements with their host-country spouses on the basis of their promising or favourable employment conditions (e.g. job stability, pay and promotion prospects). In addition, employers influence gender equality in the private sphere. Employers who provide flexible working hours and family-friendly measures (e.g. Universities) seem to foster a more egalitarian distribution of unpaid care work within the household. Interestingly, the caregiving

arrangements adopted by these highly qualified Peruvian migrants in the early stages of the education-to-work transition appear to remain stable over time, including after parenthood.

This pattern is characterised by few cross-border ties. However, the respondents mobilise gender norms from Peru and Switzerland. Their transnational involvement has an important subjective dimension. These women narrate their occupational and family transitions by evoking career-oriented femininities learned prevalent in the urban middle-class of Peru and enacted in particular segments of the Swiss labour market that have adopted gender equality policies (e.g. HE institutions). These Peruvian female graduates succeed in distancing themselves from the normative Swiss care regime, by mobilising a "super scientist" narrative that refers to the Peruvian gender regime for the urban middle classes (see Chapter 9). Of course, this class-based gender identity from Peru has to be adapted to the Swiss context. Rather than the continuity of gender norms across borders, this form of transnationalism illustrates the ability of migrants to adapt to the host country cultural context by creating alternative, hybrid femininities.

IV.13.2.3.3. The mainstream adaptation pattern of female carers

The third combination of I/T combination patterns describes the female-dominated pathways of weak labour market participation in Switzerland and the predominance of local transient ties. As in the previous pattern, transnational connections and activities are rare. Instead of multipolar connections, contacts are circumscribed to Switzerland. However, in this case, local contacts with host nationals are not activated for professional purposes. Furthermore, transient in nature, the ties fade away with time and are unable provide resources, information or contacts consistently over time. This combination of integration and transnationalism is characterised by limited labour market participation and the accumulation of family caregiving. In contrast with the previous pattern, the negotiations with the Swiss or European spouse results in care arrangements that are detrimental to the labour market participation of the Peruvian partner.

The downward mobility that ensues does not result from a lack of educational qualifications, but rather from an excess of family care duties. On the one hand, entry to the Swiss labour market proves to be difficult from the beginning, with frequent spells of non-employment (e.g. sporadic fixed-term jobs). While these respndents had jobs commensurate with their skill levels prior to migration, they were unable to maintain their occupational status once they arrived in Switzerland. Here, the dependency on a Swiss spouse is two-fould: legally and economically. Beside the fact that women are assigned the lion's share of caregiving, the scarcity, schedules and/or cost of childcare

services in Switzerland negatively influence their labour market participation patterns. Thus, combination of the normative Swiss gender / carer regime and the absence of good professional prospects for these Peruvian women (e.g. validation of Peruvian educational credentials and/or job-hunting limitations), leads to the "rational" decision to favour the career opportiunities of the Swiss spouse. In cases where the employment prospects of the Swiss spouse are good, family care duties are entirely delegated to the Peruvian spouses, even when they have graduated from a Swiss HE institution (see Chapter 8). Importantly, the priority given to the career of the Swiss male partner at the beginning of married life has long-term detrimental effects on the employment trajectories of Peruvian female migrants. In this sense, the bi-national marriage path to long-term residental rights is associated with unfavourable outcomes for the migrant spouse's professional career. Thus, the combination of the Swiss migration and care regimes tends to neutralise Peruvian urban middle-class values of career oriented-femininities (Seminario, 2018).

On the other hand, local networks of contacts with host nationals are not helpful in supporting women's employment career, and cross-border ties are also limited. Apart from meeting their Swiss spouses, the ties with classmates in Swiss universities disappear after graduation. Consequently, these Peruvian women are not able to build up an occupational-oriented local network. These local ties do not provide any resources to assist in job-hunting, and the capitalisation on them is hindered by the limited duration of contacts. Since the spells of employment are dispersed over time, the respondents are not able to maintain stable relations with employers or colleagues. Moreover, their caregiving roles hinder work-oriented contact-making. They tend to maintain contact with other women, Peruvian or not, who are in the same situation as themselves. These networks provide emotional support rather than resources for job-hunting. In terms of cross-border connections, these Peruvian women only maintain ties back home with parents and siblings. However, family formation at the host country changes the frequency and meaning of these ties. The Swiss spouse and children are judged to be at the centre of closeness, while the other family members are placed at a greater distance

This combination of I/T patterns shows how local mechanisms can undermine integration and transnationalism simultaneously. The combination of the Swiss migration and gender regimes yields negative labour market outcomes for Peruvian women. They have restricted access to the Swiss labour market based on nationality, and on the accumulation of family caregiving duties. In combination with the Swiss care regime, bi-national marriage not only produces a legally dependent status, but also a socio-economic one. Family formation abroad weakens transnational family ties

and the socio-cultural dimension of transnational involvement is thus neutralised: rather than importing middle-class urban femininities from Peru, these women adhere to the normative main caregiver roles attributed to (middle-class, qualified) women in Switzerland.

IV.13.2.3.4. The ethnic-centred adaptation pattern of female economic entrepreneurs

This pattern of I/T is female-dominated and illustrates migrants' integration into the upper echelons of migrant-dominated employments sectors thanks to transnational connections that display ethnic-centred bipolar embedding practices. In this pattern, ethnic-centred forms of transnational involvement enable these Peruvian women to achieve forms of upward social mobility, even though these opportunities are restricted to migrant-dominated sectors of the Swiss labour market. The ethnicisation process begins with access to migrant-based employment sectors that also provide opportunities for climbing the socio-occupational ladder and act as a source for identity work in line with career-oriented femininities. This ethnic-based adaptation to the Swiss labour market illustrates the interaction of portable skills, access to long-term residential rights and more gender-balanced family caregiving arrangements.

The adaptation of female economic entrepreneurs is based on the recognition of their qualifications in migrant-dominated sectors of the labour market. Through their pre-migration training and employment experiences, these migrants arrive in Switzerland with qualifications that are valued in the host country. Ethnic business ventures (e.g. Peruvian restaurants, Peruvian products and trade of Peruvian art and handcrafts) enable them to gain largely informal recognition of qualifications linked to the homeland. Although they may have earned university degrees in Peru, these Peruvian women mobilise their expertise in Peruvian culture, crafts and gastronomy to embark on self-employment in Switzerland. In the face of difficulties with that validation or recognition of their educational credentials from Peru, they decided to create their own source of income through small-scale business ventures (e.g. restaurants, shops and trade business). Although they may spend spells in lower status jobs (e.g. catering services), they eventually move up the socio-occupational ladder to become self-employed businesswomen. The success of the business venture depends on access to residential and mobility rights and on the adoption of relatively gender-balanced family caregiving arrangements. Access to dual citizenship enables these Peruvian women to embark on frequent visits back home and to alternately mobilise their "Swissness" and "Peruvianness" in favour of their business aims. Here, bi-national marriage is also the main legal pathway to long-term sttlement; but, in contrast with the previous pattern, these Peruvian women enjoy more support from their Swiss

spouses for domestic and care activities at home. Furthermore, family contacts in the host country and at home also help these Peruvian women to redistribute caregiving within transnational families. Besides the family ties, the contacts with other compatriots are important for the success of the ethnic business. The ethnic-based adaptation pathway is thus orientated towards the homeland, which provides important resources and contacts, and to the host country, where the resources accumulated in Peru gain value and enable upward mobility.

The transnationalism is thus characterised by dynamic bipolar ethnic-centred connections. Cross-border networks of compatriots located in the homeland and the host country are activated for business purposes. These Peruvian women purposely foster ties with Peruvian family, friends and institutions (e.g. Cultural Ministry, Embassy and migrant associations) in both locations. Co-national networks are mobilised to create and sustain ethnic entrepreneurship abroad (Moret, 2016). Members of these networks represent the providers, clients and sponsors of ethnic business activities. The marketing of the products and services also depends on the (re)creation of ethnic-based brands (e.g. Peruvian gastronomy) and contact with the homeland for business innovation. The capitalisation on bi-focal ethnic-centred relations is combined with the ethic marking and marketing of services and products. The circulation of ethnic products and services across state borders increases their value. Thanks to dual citizenship, access to pendulum mobility (e.g. regular trips back and forth between the home and host countries) enhances business opportunities (Moret, 2016). The instrumental use of dual citizenship not only "opens" borders for mobility tactics but also serves to enhance prestige amongst compatriots in Peru, based on the "Swissness" of the business. Conversely, "Peruvianness" is mobilised for marketing purposes in the host country. The respondents also mobilise the fact of being business women from Switzerland to "open the doors" of Peruvian government institutions. Beside structural integration on the legal and employment fronts, these Peruvian women also (re)activate the gender identities of career-based femininities.

This pattern of I/T shows the enhancing influence of ethnic-centred transnational networks on integration. In contrast with the first I/T pattern, these networks do not provide direct assistance for job-hunting abroad, but rather promote the creation of cross-boarder value. Social mobility is achieved via alternatives to the upper echelons of the Swiss labour market. Compatriot-based networks provide the conditions for stable, continuous, full-time self-employment. The ability to capitalise on these resources varies somewhat over time, according to the economic cycles of business creation, consolidation and expansion.

IV.13.2.3.5. The ethnic-based adaptation pathway of female care workers

This type of I/T pattern corresponds to another female-dominated pathway linked to migrant-dominated sectors of the Swiss labour market (e.g. care and cleaning sectors), but that rests on ethnically heterogeneous and stable local ties. In this case cross-border connections are considerably fewer than in the previous ones. In this case, local contacts provide valuable resources for gaining residential rights and for improving employment and working conditions in highly feminised and migrant-dominated employment sectors in Switzerland. For instance, access to regularisation depends on their past work experience and has positive effects on subsequent employment outcomes (see Chapter 5). These Peruvian women mobilized contacts, information and resources in preparation for their applications for residential rights under the *cas de rigueur* clause. They experienced a gender-specific work-citizendship matrix: by fulfilling normative feminine roles (lone transnational motherhood and employment in paid care services) they were able to conform to the gendered frames of deservingness in the regularisation procedures, and to enhance their subsequent labour-market integration opportunities.

The upwardly mobile careers of these Peruvian women are also circumscribed to migrant-dominated sectors. Mobility is characterised by the shift from unauthorised, undeclared home-based unstable jobs to formal, full-time, skilled jobs in institutional settings. Regardless of their social background, these Peruvian women began their time in Switzerland by working in home-based care and cleaning jobs. Their lack of residential rights (e.g. fixed-term permits dependent on employers and overstaying visas) restricted their employment opportunities to the most precarious jobs (e.g. poorly paid, long-working hours, limited social protection). However, often after many years of working in the same employment sectors, these Peruvian women were able to capitalise on their relationship with a particular employer to undertake the administrative steps towards regularisation. Importantly, these one-to-one relationships with a sympathetic employer improved their ability to survive as undocumented migrants and their chances of successfully applying for recognition (e.g. some employers may offer declared jobs, pay social insurance contributions and provide proof of employment for regularisation requests to unauthorised migrants). In addition, these women accumulate information, contacts and resources to build up their cases for rights (Bloemraad, 2017; Schwenken, 2013).

Although these Peruvian women have very few cross-border connections, except with close family. However, the ethnically heterogeneous stable ties they create locally provide them with valuable

resources for ultimately improving their employment opportunities abroad. They establish and maintain close ties with employers who are host nationals. Besides the individual ties with employers, the ties with host nationals and migrants from other countries, particularly in voluntary organisations, enable these Peruvian women to establish strong cases for regularisation. For example, participation in political mobilisations and collective requests for regularisation provide them with free legal counselling and knowledge about jurisprudence. They use the legal knowledge and awareness learned in these networks when negotiating individually with state officials and even employers for rights abroad. Local gender norms seem to favour the fulfilment of the female (migrant) caregiver role: transnational family caregiving and provision of care services. In this sense, these respondents are able to capitalise on their individual and collective ties with host nationals at the local level, principally for citizenship and professional purposes. These Peruvian women are eventually able to leave the most precarious segments of the care sector and to progress on to more skilled, better paid jobs in public or private-sector care institutions.

This I/T pattern shows how local contacts can enhance integration even when cross-border connections are low. Access to stable ties with host-country nationals and institutions enables these Peruvian women to eventually overcome non-citizenship status and to exit precarious jobs. Although they remained in highly-feminised and migrant-dominated employment sectors such as care, they eventually achieved full-time, stable and skilled jobs.

IV.13.2.3.6. The ethnic-centred adaptation pathway of the female social entrepreneur

This I/T pattern shows an ethnic-centred adaptation pathway thanks to ethnic-centred and bipolar forms of transnationalism. These respondents demonstrate continuity of class-based gender identities (career-oriented femininities) imported from the Peruvian context, not through access to highly-skilled jobs, but through volunteering in migrant associations. Regardless of the Swiss or Peruvian origin of their educational credentials, these Peruvian women are unable to reach the upper echelons of the Swiss labour market. Instead of full-time jobs commensurate with skills, they re-deploy their occupational skills to the voluntary sector and gain local prestige amongst their migrants compatriots on the basis of this alternative integration pattern.

These Peruvian women experience downward occupational mobility abroad. They come from the urban middle class where women are encouraged to undertake higher education. On arrival in Switzerland, their employment outcomes do not correspond to their expectations. Nevertheless, these Peruvian women find other ways of gaining local prestige and achieving a certain form of

class continuity. Once their children have grown up and/or their family caregiving duties diminished, they become actively involved in Peruvian migrant associations (see Chapter 6). Interestingly, these Peruvian women tend to occupy positions on the Boards of these associations that are commensurate with their (previous) areas of professional expertise: those with a public relations background become president whereas those with training in the Humanities act as Cultural secretary. Although these roles are unpaid and their abilities sometimes contested, they find an alternative source of social class identity through volunteering. Instead of assuming the female caregiver role, they manage to conform to middle-class career-oriented femininities through an alternative route to the formal labour market.

In doing this, these Peruvian women actively mobilise networks of compatriots in the home and host countries. The ethnic-centred bipolar transnationalism enables them to take on responsibilities as leaders in migrant associations. The voluntary work includes the organisation and coordination of fundraising events and also the provision of poverty relief in Peru. Consequently, the networks of compatriots back home are important sources of knowledge about the most deserving recipients of Swiss resources. Drawing on their family members, former classmates and colleagues, the ties with compatriots provide trustworthy information and contacts with institutions in Peru. They have to provide proof of the appropriate investment of the funds collected to the association's sponsors and members in Switzerland. Consequently, the successful fulfilment of the leadership roles in migration associations depends on the capitalisation of networks in the homeland and in the host country. These Peruvian women develop frequent cross-border connections for voluntary work purposes and adopt ethnic-based adaption pathways.

Besides cross-border connections, the socio-cultural dimension of transnationalism influences their integration. Despite the limited opportunities for qualified work after migration, these Peruvian women express feelings of continuity. Through their leadership positions in migrant associations, they gain local recognition amongst their compatriots. They mobilise transnational frames of reference to establish a form of class continuity. Considering their urban middle-class background, these highly-skilled Peruvian emphasise the use of their knowledge and know-how in an unpaid, non-professional capacity. They are thus able to enact the career-oriented femininities of their home county, whilst conforming to the gendered expectations of the Swiss gender regime.

This pattern shows another way in which ethnic-centred bipolar transnational networks enhance integration, at the socio-cultural rather than the structural level. Transnational networks enable

these respondents counteract the to potential effects of downward occupational mobility abroad. Despite their educational credentials, these Peruvian women struggle in the labour market and with the Swiss gender and care regimes. While the Swiss migrant and care regimes hinder their access to stable highly skilled jobs, the network of compatriots in the homeland and in the host country enable them to achieve leadership roles, demonstrate their competences and enact alternative social class-based femininities.

IV.13.1.3.4. The ethnic-based adaptation pathway of the male main breadwinner

This pattern of I/T corresponds to a male-dominated ethnic-based adaptation pathway that mobilises ethnically heterogeneous stable local ties with little transnational involvement. Despite exercising low-skilled and poorly paid jobs in migrant-dominated sectors, these respondents also develop gender-based strategies to combat the potential risk of downward social mobility. The socio-cultural dimensions of integration and transnationalism enhance each other. Subjective identification with a male main breadwinner normative social identify provides a source of self-esteem and recognition by others. The focus is, however, on the home country. These respondents predominantly mobilise family networks located in the home country rather than networks of compatriots, for example, via migrant associations in the host country. Consequently, these Peruvian men develop feelings of continuity.

This pattern of I/T is characterised by a continuity of employment in male-dominated, blue-collar/manual jobs, before and after migration (see Chapter 7). The pre-migration employment history helps to understand the ways in which these respondents achieve employment stability. In this case, they begin their stay in the host country by seeking a job, rather than training. The context-dependent recognition of qualifications depends to a large extent on the existence of migrant-dominated employment sectors (Vasey, 2016), where vocational qualifications, including those obtained abroad, are recognised. These are portable skills limited to specific sectors of the labour market (e.g. construction). Thanks to long-term residence, the accumulation of experience in these employment sectors yields positive employment outcomes, regardless of legal status. These respondents achieve quite stable job positions, which enable then to continue acting as the main breadwinner for their families.

Although these respondents have few transnational activities, their ethnically heterogeneous stable local ties provide them with valuable resources, which enable them to counteract any feelings of status downgrading. Due to specific transnational family dynamics, these migrants were under

considerable pressure to send money back home and therefore to accept the first job that they could find on arrival abroad. Ties with compatriots and/or migrants from other countries provide access to these job offers, which are almost always in sectors dominated by migrant labour. In addition, these Peruvian men also maintain good relations with host nationals, such as employers, who provide them with stable full-time jobs. The employers recognise their pre-migration experiences, on-the-job training and seniority to provide them with steady jobs in sectors characterised by high turnover rates. Furthermore, these Peruvian men develop gendered feelings of continuity by emphasising their capacity to send remittances to family back home and to fulfil the main breadwinner role for their families in Switzerland.

This pattern of I/T show the ways in which ethnically heterogeneous stable local ties (e.g. with co-workers and employers) enhance socio-cultural dimensions of integration and transnationalism. This ethnic-based adaptation pathway is characterised by access to stable and full-time jobs that are considered a source of validation for oneself and by others across local and transnational contexts. Family and co-worker networks thus provide settings for self-positioning according to transnational frames of reference. These ethnicisation processes counteract potential feelings of downgrading linked to working in migration-dominated employment sectors.

IV.13.2.3.8. The ethnic-based adaptation pathway of onward migrants

This pattern of I/T illustrates forms of downgrading in the current destination country that activate ethnic-centred multipolar ties due to economic crisis in prior destinations. Following the 2008 economic recession in Spain, Peruvian men and women who lost their jobs and had mortgage debts were looking for solutions to their difficult situations. The mobility rights earned with naturalisation in Spain represented a valuable resource in this porcess. After several years of settlement in Spain, they activated "dormant" ties in Switzerland, a country with a stable economy, to embark on onward migration. However, the sporadic activation of these geographically scattered compatriot networks lead information and contacts that only enabled access to precarious jobs at the new destination.

Once in Switzerland, these Peruvian migrants worked in migrant-dominated sectors as they had already done so in Spain. While they had achieved better job positions in migrant-dominated sectors in Spain, the patterns of onward migrantion to Switzerland revealed the precarity of migrants' positions locally and globally. The Spanish migrant-dominated sectors suffered the most during the crisis, and entry into Switzerland (again) led migrants to the most precarious jobs in the same sectors. Thus, the instability of migrant-dominated employment sectors influences migrants' job

prospects at successive destinations, regardless of length of stay or citizenship status. The professional experiences and credentials obtained in Spain were rarely recognised in Switzerland. The urgency to remit and their previous debts encouraged these Peruvian men and women to accept the first job offers they received. Besides language-based difficulties, age and caregiving responsibilities influenced their conditions of entry into the Swiss labour market. Those Peruvians who re-emigrated from Spain to Switzerland in the late 2000s were generally aged over 40 years and were expected to help out their unemployed adult children and grandchildren in Spain.

This form of transnationalism that spreads through more than one destination shows the limits to the activation of "dormant" ties for job-hunting purposes. Although they have geographically scattered ties and mobility rights in the European region, these Peruvian men and women were unable to counteract the risk of status downgrading after arrival. The resources available through these scattered ties depended on the location. Here, individual contacts with compatriots involved friends and acquaintances who provisionally helped with housing and information about the hist country. However, they did not provide job-hunting assistance. It seems that the lower degree of closeness of these explains this absence. Furthermore, the highly competitive nature of migrant-dominated employment sectors hinders solidarity between newcomers and long-settled migrants. This form of transnationalism illustrates the sporadic and restricted role of some co-national networks.

This pattern has specific undermining mechanisms working against integration: the combination of multi-staged journeys triggered by economic crisis and the limited ability to capitalise on a number of geographically scattered contacts. Regardless of EU mobility rights, the labour market returns on these ties iare limited. Of course, the right to trans-national mobility (e.g. by having a Spanish passport) puts the onward migrants in a potentially better position for job-hunting. Re-emigration to Switzerland triggered by an economic crisis failed to produce the desired outcomes, notably because of the migrants' depleted resources (e.g. years of un-employment, mortgage debts, etc.). In contrast to female economic entrepreneurs, their cross-border movements are fuelled by urgency rather than by strategies to capitalise on existing resources (Mas Giralt, 2017; Ramos, 2017). Along with the structural dimensions (e.g. employment) of onward migration, these respondents also experienced socio-cultural ambiguities regarding integration. The onward migrants aspired to return to the first destination rather than to the homeland. The idea of returning to Spain at some point in the future provided a way to handle feelings of downgrading in the current destination. In this sense, integration referred to plural locations.

IV.13.2.3.9. The ethnic-based adaptation pathway of precarious workers

The last I/T pattern illustrates the risk of downward mobility that Peruvian men and women face, despite mobilising ethnic-centred bipolar ties. In contrast with the previous pattern, these Peruvian men and women are long-settled residents in Switzerland who remain in precarious jobs in migrant-dominated sectors. They maintain family and friendship ties with compatriots in Switzerland and in Peru, but the resources available through these networks are not helpful for improving their labour market situation. Their downgrading in the Swiss labour market results from a combination of factors, including: the lack of recognition of their foreign qualifications, the uncertainty of their residency rights and the accumulation of family caregiving duties.

This pattern is characterised by downward social mobility (see Chapter 7). Regardless of social background, arrival in Switzerland started with the urgency of remitting back home to pay debts and/or fulfil family responsibilities. Regardless of their length of stay and Peruvian educational credentials, these respondents have remained for decades in precarious jobs in the migrant-dominated employment sectors. They have changed employers several times, but have always remained in the same type of jobs (fixed-term contracts in the construction, cleaning or domestic care sectors). The combination of the Swiss migration and care regimes has been detrimental to a their legal and occupational trajectories. For these respondents, access to long-term residential rights is highly restricted and regularisation remains out of reach, even after a prolonged period of residence (Della Torre, 2017). Here, the gendered framing of deservingness tends to hinder the regularisation process of Peruvian men, since working in precarious jobs leads them to be judged as "failed breadwinners" (see Chapter 5). In addition, the Peruvian women in the most precarious jobs of the care sector do not have the opportunity to build up cases for *"cas de rigueur"* regularisation applications: they rarely interact with compatriots and other migrants, and their relationships with their previous and current employers are highly exploitative. This pattern shows the local mechanisms that can act to undermine integration.

These respondents are involved in networks of compatriots in the homeland and at destination. Although they had family and friends who helped them to migrate to Switzerland, the network did not provide sufficient resources for job-hunting beyond the most precarious employment sectors. The social status of the contacts is similar to their own: co-workers in migrant-dominated sectors. The family ties in the homeland seem to be more important than those in the host country. The bipolar network is thus adapted to family cycles: when the remittances are no longer needed (e.g.

when children have finished university education), these Peruvian men and women aspire to return home. In this sense, they are more focused on the homeland.

After presenting the nine I/T patterns of Peruvian men and women in Switzerland, we can see that gender and class divisions are more important than ethno-national ones. The combinations also show positive relationships between both phenomena, such as the upward mobility of male breadwinners, the ethnic-based mobility pathways of female economic entrepreneurs and the class continuity of female social entrepreneurs. However, other patterns illustrate the importance of ethnically diverse local ties (e.g. Swiss spouses, employers, co-workers and migrant associations) for upward mobility (e.g. the super scientist women) and ethnic-based continuous adaptation (e.g. the female care workers and the male breadwinners). In this sense, it is impossible to assume that particular patterns of transnationalism are conducive to particular forms of integration. To understand whether transnationalism influenced integration positively or not, I now go on to discuss the stratification processes amongst Peruvian migrants in relation to both phenomena and their interactions.

IV.13.2.3.10 Explaining stratification in I/T patterns

Based on the data collected for this dissertation, these patterns of I/T shed light on three dimensions of the stratification processes at work in migration experiences.

The first dimension refers to the portability of skills. While inequalities based on skills (e.g. level and origin of qualifications) have been used to explain the labour market integration of migrants in the past, I found that highly skilled Peruvian women with Swiss HE degrees sometimes experienced downwardly mobile occupational trajectories, involving relatively long periods of inactivity or with undesired part-time jobs. In contrast, their less skilled counterparts may have had upwardly mobile trajectories in female- and migrant-dominated employment sectors. The national origin of educational credentials is not enough to explain whether or not Peruvian migrants experienced upwardly or downwardly mobile adaptation to the Swiss labour market. The portability of skills refers to the extent to which qualifications are recognised in the destination county. This is a context-dependent and time-contingent process. It depends on the employment sector (mainstream vs. migrant-dominated, STEM vs. SSH), the national gender regime and the timing of job-hunting (transitions and length of stay). The interaction of gender and nationality-based segregations in the labour market provides unequal opportunities for the portability of skills. However, social background (e.g. qualifications linked to the homeland) and length of stay (e.g. trust relations with

employers) can counteract the entrapment of migrants in precarious employment, without necessarily providing them with access to the upper segments of the host labour market.

The portability of skills also refers to the subjective dimensions of social class positionings at the local and transnational levels. I observed how Peruvian migrant men and women use their qualifications (e.g. university degrees) as distinction markers, in combination with gender and citizenship, to (re)create intra-group hierarchies. Class background also provides narratives to give meaning to social mobility in the host country. In this sense, feelings of social downgrading are overcome in transnational settings by (self-)positioning narratives that involve co-national ties at home and in the host country (e.g. transnational families and migrant associations). The example of Peruvian female social entrepreneurs sheds light on the alternative ways to counteract downward adaptation through volunteering in migrant associations that also provide settings to exercise professional skills and enable self-positioning in terms of social class. The mobilisation of bipolar ethnic-centred networks reinforces the opportunities of these women to successfully fulfil leadership roles and gain local prestige amongst compatriots. In this sense, these Peruvian women find ways to distance themselves from traditional gender roles, irrespective of their labour market participation patterns in Switzerland.

The second dimension of stratification refers to citizenship status. Instead of creating a dichotomy of unauthorised and legal migrants, the analysis of access to long-term settlement rights highlights the complex interaction between structure and agency. The Swiss migration regime undoubtedly has the largest impact on transitions from short-term to long-term residential authorisations, and on access to regularisation processes. The framework of deservingness shows that conditions for regularisation are shaped by gender- and class-specific models of citizenship (Chauvin et al., 2013a). Migrants negotiate informal and formal residential rights locally and transnationally (Bloemraad, 2017; Goldring & Landolt, 2013a). Considering the length of stay and experience abroad, they accumulate information, contacts and resources to obtain residential and mobility rights abroad (Harpaz, 2018; Harpaz & Mateos, 2018). Importantly, naturalisation does not automatically give migrants equal rights to host nationals, nor does it imply that unauthorised migrants are completely devoid of rights. While upwardly mobile adaptations are dependent on access to long-term residential rights, the downwardly mobile ethnic-based adaptation paths of onward migrants offer an example of thwarted adaptation, despite EU citizenship. Interestingly, both cases mobilise ethnic-centred cross-border connections, but with varying results.

Citizenship dynamics, i.e. the shifts between legal categories in the non/citizenship continuum, influence occupational and family trajectories. In addition, the labour market returns on citizenship are neither automatic or direct. They depend on cycles of economic prosperity and downturn in the host country, and on care arrangements within the transnational family network. Consequently, citizenship dynamics do not happen in a vacuum but depend on national contexts and on biographical moments. Beside access to long-term residence rights, upwardly mobile adaptation paths depend on the delegation or gender-balanced allocation of family caregiving duties, locally and transnationally.

The third dimension to consider are national care regimes. Based on a modified male breadwinner/ female caregiver and part-time worker model, the Swiss gender regime influences all women in the country (Le Goff & Levy, 2016), but the combination with the Swiss migration regime produces specific outcomes for migrant women and men (Riaño, 2011). In bi-national households, caregiving arrangements have a direct impact on the labour market participation patterns of male and female migrants, but not necessarily in identical directions. The relative employment prospects of the two spouses play an important role in determining the employment outcomes of migration, irrespective of gender or ethnicity. The foreign spouse with better employment prospects can delegate the lion's share of caregiving to the national spouse. Of course, this frequently happens along gender lines, but Peruvian women with continuous, full-time employment histories in stable jobs can at least negotiate some contribution of the male partner to the daily household duties and care activities, particularly when their partner is unable to fulfil a normative "breadwinner" role. In this sense, the ethnically heterogeneous stable local ties of the Peruvian women (e.g. the super scientist women) who achieve upwardly mobile adaptation refer to their Swiss spouses' willingness to share family caregiving but also the building up of professional networks that enable them to achieve good employment prospects.

The family models at the host country and in the homeland influence the narratives for explaining existing care arrangements. Interestingly, some highly skilled Peruvian women may neutralise the professionally-oriented urban middle-class femininities of their home country. Yet they do not necessarily adhere to traditional caregiver roles. They find alternative ways of coherent self-positioning, beyond paid employment. For instance, the highly skilled Peruvian women who embark on social entrepreneurship exercise their occupational skills and gain local prestige as leaders of migrant associations. However, the alternative narratives about family models that emerge locally and transnationally do not question the unequal distribution of care duties within bi-

national households. Here, the socio-cultural dimensions of adaptation and transnational involvement interact to reinforce traditional gender norms and create alternative sources for femininities and masculinities along social class divides.

These three dimensions are present in each of the patterns and interact differently to explain the interactions between integration and transnationalism.

IV.13.3. Concluding remarks

Peruvians' I/T patterns shed light on two phenomena: the intersecting stratification processes in migration experiences beyond ethno-national markers and the multiple combinations of integration and transnationalism. The analytical exercise of classifying the migration experiences within the same national group enables us to question the ethnic-centred lens. The unequal outcomes of I/T combinations do not correspond to ethno-national divisions. Other social divisions such as social class, gender and citizenship status play an important role in understanding the interactions between integration and transnationalism.

The I/T combinations also illustrate the tensions that yield positive and negative outcomes in migration experiences. Transnationalism can act as an enhancing mechanism for integration whereas integration pathways can negatively influence migrants' transnational connections. One example of this is the continuity of gendered social class positionings that can be observed among female social entrepreneurs and male main breadwinners. Migrants develop tactics to counteract feelings of downgrading, relying on networks of compatriots locally and transnationality. An example of the synergy of integration and transnationalism can be observed when migrants manage to captralise on their ties with geographically scattered compatriots to find jobs that are commensurate with their skills. Here, ties with compatriots act as "vertical bridges" for upward mobility. Lastly, an example of antagonistic relationship between integration and transnationalism can be observed with the neutralisation of the career-oriented femininities of urban middle class Peruvian women who accumulate family caregiving and are unable to access the higher echelons of the Swiss labour market, desite their educational credentials. The Swiss care regime plays an important role here. Consequently, I/T patterns reveal stratification processes along gender, class and citizenship lines.

Whereas some forms of adaptation differ along gender lines, others reflect multiple plural ethnicisation processes. The upwardly mobile ethnic-based adaptation pathways, in combination

with transnational involvement, yield full-time and stable employment and counteract feelings of downgrading. These processes illustrate the ability of migrants to capitalise on ethnic-based relations for identity work and negociating better employment outcomes. Relationship with compatriots not only shape the routes into migrant-dominated employment sectors, but also provides the opportunities to create value across state borders. Products and services linked to the homeland (e.g. the ethnic marketing of Peruvian gastronomy) increase their value and create opportunities for self-employment. The narrative of continuity provides sources of continuous self-positioning between the homeland and the destination against feelings of downgrading. By contrast, onward migrants who lost the status achieved and resources accumulated at their initial destination and have to re-enter precarious jobs in the new host country illustrate the downward ethnic-based adaptation pathway. Their experiences are similar to those of Peruvian men and women who find themselves trapped in precarious jobs in a wide array of migrant-dominated employment sectors. Regardless of skill levels and citizenship status, quick entry into migrant-centred employment sectors appears to hinder the capacity of migrants to subsequently break through into mainstream employment sectors or simply to achieve better working conditions in migrant jobs at (new) destination.

Conclusions to Part IV

This part of the thesis has discussed the balancing acts between transnationalism and integration of Peruvian men and women in Switzerland. Drawing on time-sensitive and SNA approaches, I have analysed the dynamic interactions between the two processes. In doing this, the assumptions about the role of ethnicity in migrants' transnational networks and integration outcomes were discussed. Likewise, the linear and static conceptualisations of social and physical movements across borders were challenged. The interactions between transnationalism and integration are plural and multi-directional: migrants' networks change and adapt locally and globally, as do their practices and aspirations for settlement abroad. The conceptual tool of embedding patterns helped me to understand these dynamic interactions.

The concept of embedding practices offers an alternative way to analyse the multiple life domains, spatial-temporal features and subjectivities of migrants' networks. In combination with the life-course, the concept of embedding practices complements the idea of interacting life domains: family, employment, migration and citizenship. Like trajectories, the formation, evolution and activation of ties in each life domain may show unique features and rhythms, but they may also influence one another. Furthermore, the attention given to spatial and temporal dimensions allows us to understand the effects of evolving individual biographies and settings abroad on social and physical mobility. Moreover, the ways in which migrants give meaning to local and cross-border practices display the self-positioning and positioning of others (re)creating markers from "here" and "there". In this sense, the concept of embedding practices sheds light on stratification processes locally and globally. Drawing on the analysis of embedding practices, the analysis of money circulation and post-migration mobility provides further illustration of the ability of migrants to capitalise on their ties with geographically scattered compatriots.

The results of embedding practices illustrates the pattern of migrant inflows. The analysis of chain migration of siblings reveals the mechanisms that facilitate not only migration of family members but also the coordination between mobile and non-mobile members for caregiving across borders. However, not all migrants are bridgeheads: half of the participants in this study were not followed by another member of the family. Here, gender and generation explained practices of gatekeeping: while the migrants helped prospective migrants within the same generation, this was not the case across generations. The distribution of family caregiving along gender lines also has an impact on gatekeeping between mobile and non-mobile members of the family. Beside gatekeeping, Peruvian

men and women in highly competitive employment sectors also develop distance-making tactics towards compatriots and migrants from different countries.

Other network mechanisms are time-sensitive, such as the transient ties with host-country nationals and the reactivation of "dormant" ties with geographically scattered compatriots. The former show the important role played by contacts during transitions. The second shows that ties may not play an important role permanently but represent a potential that can be used if necessary. These networks influence money circulation and mobility patterns: sibling chain migration shows the coordination of flows for caregiving – remittances and hands-on care – between mobile and non-mobile siblings, and multi-staged mobility patterns show the reactivation of ties with compatriots in potential future destinations. Furthermore, generation and social class also explain the forms of reversed and boomerang remittances, where parents in the upper-middle classes in Peru sent money for their children enrolled in Swiss HE institutions. However, the flow stopped after graduation for those from the lower classes in Peru.

The embedding practices show that network composition does not necessarily follow the social categorisations of ties. In other words, the composition of networks in terms of contacts' nationality and place of residence does not coincide with the discourses of boundary-making enacted by migrants. Although the networks with compatriots play an important role in all phases of migration, the forms of self-positioning and positioning of others reflect in-group stratification processes, beyond ethno-national markers. Social class seems to be an important marker for closure – for instance, the processes of identification based on occupations and levels of qualifications that cross ethno-national markers (the university-educated vs. the technical-trained). Another marker is the length of stay that divides long-term migrants from newcomers in highly competitive employment sectors. In addition, Peruvian business owners judge their Peruvian clientele according to gender and social class divides: the young Peruvian women married to Swiss men do not have the "taste" for purchasing paintings, whereas (male) diplomats are the preferred clientele of a Peruvian restaurant. In this sense, the focus on the network composition is not sufficient to understand the embedding practices and stratification processes at hand. Therefore, the ethnicity lens might fail to detect boundary-making within the migrant population and group formation between the migrant and non-migrant populations.

Ethno-national markers are not the only or most important factor for understanding embedding practices. Beside the assessments of ethnic dis/similarity, access to novel and valuable resources,

information and contacts is transmitted through networks with compatriots. Depending on the social location of these compatriots locally and globally, these ties in multiple locations and advanced stages of careers can yield upward occupational mobility. This form of intra-ethnic bridging sheds light on the interactions of generation and social class to foster ego's social and physical mobility. In addition, forms of inter-ethnic bridging do not necessarily include host-country nationals rather than migrants from other countries . Although these ties cannot be used for upward mobility, they provide the migrant ego with valuable information, contacts and resources to access migrant-dominated employment sectors after arrival. In this sense, the ideal of socio-economic integration by means of progressive contact-making with host-country nationals is not as effective as often suggested.

Beside socio-economic integration, embedding practices show forms of integration in legal and cultural dimensions that cross borders. The post-migration mobility patterns show the ways in which dual citizenship is used to counteract downgrading at moments of crisis by exercising mobility rights to another destination. Integration in terms of citizenship status at the first destination enables migrants to achieve socio-economic integration in a second destination. Interestingly, the place of socio-economic integration does not necessarily coincide with the aspirations for integration abroad. Instead of the home country, migrants might be attached to prior destinations rather than the current host country. Consequently, the mobilisation of transnational networks influences migrants' practices and discourses about integration: they capitalise on citizenship from one place to find stable employment elsewhere, but the feelings of belonging remain in-between multiple places.

Beside the struggles for integration during crisis, dual citizenship is also used to foster ties between home and host country. Instead of family caregiving, pendulum mobility (e.g. frequent visits back home) can also foster upward mobility by means of ethnic business ventures. In this sense, ethnicity is a valuable resource based on the differential value from one place to another rather than the homogeneity of networks. Furthermore, money circulation does not always follow one direction: Peruvian family members can invest in business ventures in Switzerland, for example.

The principal findings of this part of the thesis suggest that migrants' embedding practices are not necessarily ethnic-centred, nor do they involve one linear relocation from home to destination. Therefore, analytical frameworks should enable us to consider the multi-directionality of relocations and the evolving cross-border practices and subjectivities. This challenges static ideas about

transnationalism and integration. Migrants adapt their transnational and local networks as well as feelings of attachment according to biographical transitions and settings abroad.

Conclusions

This dissertation addresses some of the outstanding issues I have identified in the broad field of Migration Studies, notably with regard to the plurality of migration experiences, due to stratification processes along gender, class and citizenship lines. In this concluding section, I propose to summarize the contributions of this dissertation to what I see as the main challenges facing Migration Studies at the beginning of the 21st century.

First, I see the need to move beyond the dichotomies that are often mobilised to describe migration experiences, such as legal versus unauthorised migrants or highly skilled versus less skilled migrants. To address this challenge, I propose an innovative analytical framework – an integrative approach to migration - that explores the experiences of all migrants through a common lens (e.g. by considering the legal trajectories of highly skilled migrants and not only those of their undocumented counterparts). This approach enables me to question some of the over-simplified categorisation processes that abound in Migration Studies. For this purpose, I chose to focus on the diverse implications of different citizenship statuses, as well as the consequences of having different levels and types of qualifications for Peruvian migrants living in Switzerland. To operationalize this analytical endeavour, I adopted and adapted the methodological tools of life-course, narrative and network analysis. This dissertation is thus able to shed more light on the intersecting and multiple stratification processes that influence migration experiences.

Secondly, I believe that the field of Migration Studies needs to challenge a marked tendency to rely uncritically on naturalised categories of analysis. For example, much research in this field is based on an opposition / comparison between migrant and non-migrant populations, often on the basis of ethno-national markers. This ethnic-centred approach tends to ignore or underestimate the other social divisions that cut across mobile and nonmobile populations and that also operate within migrant groups, such as gender and social class. In order to address this challenge, I adopt an intersectional lens that aims to understand whether and when ethnonational markers are effectively central to migrant experiences and how they intersect with other social divisions. For example, the findings show that the Swiss permit system segregates migrant population not only in terms of nationality (e.g. EU vs. non-EU citizens) but also in terms of gender and class-based ideals of citizenship, as in the "essential employment clause".

Finally, I think it is important for Migration Studies to integrate a broader and more inclusive vision of exactly what counts as migration, and more awareness of the diversity of experiences that can be encapsulated under this heading. For example, it is still very common for migration to be thought of exclusively as a one-off relocation from a homeland to a destination country. In this dissertation, I seek to challenge the idea that migration experiences involve two geographical focal points and just one direction of movement. My analysis of onward migration experiences and my interest in the multifocal transnational involvements of Peruvians in Switzerland has shown that migrants sometimes embark on journeys to multiple, successive destinations and that they develop cross-border practices that may change direction over time (e.g. transnational cash transfers) and that they can be simultaneously connected with people who are geographically scattered beyond the homeland/host country dyad. These results contribute to the analysis of local and cross-border connections in relation to migrant's patterns of incorporation abroad. In this sense, this thesis offers an analysis of the plural combinations of integration and transnationalism in migration experiences.

In the following section, I return to these three challenges in more detail and summarize the most important findings of each chapter. In each case, I discuss the main contributions of my thesis to the field of Migration Studies, by showing how the findings of each chapter provide new insights into the diversity of migration experiences. Finally, I present the limitations of this dissertation and identify some of the questions that emerged during the research process.

1. Challenges to Migration Studies

At the beginning of this dissertation (see Chapter 1), I identified three of the challenges currently facing Migration Studies: a) the need to overcome simplistic conceptual dichotomies; b) the need to avoid using naturalised analytical categories and c) the need to avoid assumptions about migration as a one-off, unidirectional relocation from a homeland to a host country.

1.2. Overcoming Conceptual Dichotomies in Migration Studies

The need to overcome simplistic conceptual dichotomies is based on the observation that Migration Studies scholars tend to compartmentalise their research topics. This hinders the dialogue between scholars and creates blind spots in the development of this field of study. For example, certain issues appear to be frequently associated with certain groups of migrants, while they are rendered invisible or considered to be irrelevant for other groups. Thus, for example, valuable research about unauthorised migration has led to promising theoretical developments that are rarely applied to

studies of the trajectories of migrants with other citizenship statuses. Likewise, valuable research on the dynamics of transnational migrant families tends to focus predominantly on less privileged migrants, rather than on those from more favourable backgrounds. I believe that the insights provided into the cross-border care arrangements of poorer migrants could help to better understanding the experiences of all migrants, irrespective of their social status.

The compartmentalisation of research topics leads a somewhat stunted analysis of migration experiences. The dichotomies in Migration Studies emerge when the experiences of some migrants are opposed analytically to those of other migrants. Here, differences between groups of migrants are presupposed rather than demonstrated empirically. The presupposed differences thus justify the analytical focus on one group of migrants. In this way, the theoretical and methodological advancements in Migration Studies are hindered in at least two ways. First, the pertinence of the frameworks developed to analyse the experiences of one category of migrants is rarely tested in relation to the experiences of another group. Secondly, there is a tendancy to overestimate the differences and divisions between different categories of migrants and may render invisible any similarities or commonalities between them. In other words, there is a tendency to reify analytical categories instead of questioning them. I believe that testing the pertinence of analytical categories across a range of migration experiences would strengthen their explanatory powers.

My contribution to this process is based on the systematic comparison of plural migration experiences, in order to re-assess the categorisations proposed in most Migration Studies. Instead of compartmentalisation, I proposed an integrative approach, which operates on three levels: theoretically, analytically and empirically. The first level involves testing widespread theories in Migration Studies in the analysis of different groups of migrants in order to advance a common lens rather than reinforcing dichotomies. The second level implied analytical choices. There are at least two ways of adopting a common lens across all types of migration. The first involves adopting more time-sensitive methodological approaches and the second requires taking migrant's social networks into account. In this dissertation, I compared migration experiences at different moments and locations, in order to elaborate classifications and typologies focused on processes and sequences rather than on states and formal statuses. The third level refers to data sampling, which aimed at in-group heterogeneity and negative cases in order to strengthen analytical interpretations. Drawing on the systematic comparison of life stories and networking accounts, this thesis shows that the usual binary oppositional categories of migrants actually display internal differences and share commonalities between them.

1.2.1. The Integrative approach

In this thesis, I proposed a methodological contribution to the debate around binary categorizations such as undocumented migrants versus documented migrants and highly skilled migrants versus low-skilled migrants.

1.2.1.1. Undocumented versus legal migration

Some very valuable research on the role of legal status in migration experiences has predominantly focused on the situation of undocumented migrants. Thus, struggles to obtain settlement rights and labour market authorisations tends to be associated with this particular group of migrants. Without underestimating the precariousness experienced by those migrants who struggle with an undocumented / illegal status, I propose to analyse their experiences in relation to the citizenship and professional issues of other group of migrants.

In order to illustrate the benefits of resisting this type of compartmentalisation, I decided to study the experiences of a very wide range of Peruvian migrants in Switzerland, covering the whole spectrum of those with non-citizenship status and those who have the right to reside in the host country, sometimes with full citizenship status (e.g. through naturalization). I also use a theoretical framework that was initially elaborated to study undocumented migrants: non-citizenship theory. Such an analytical framework is based on an encompassing view of the experiences of migrants in relation to state-defined categories of access (or lack thereof) to residential authorisation and services abroad (Goldring & Landolt, 2013a). The idea of a continuum of noncitizen and citizen statuses sheds light on the plural experiences of migrants in relation to state-defined categories and the ways in which they develop tactics to cope with the potential lack of entitlements abroad. This theoretical lens thus adopts a bottom-up perspective: it focusses on the ways in which migrants formally and informally negotiate with state authorities and nonstate actors to gain rights, as well as the use of dual citizenship to exercise mobility rights. It also provides conceptual tools that are useful for grasping the dynamic nature of legal statuses, by recognizing that migrants are not permanently assigned to one status, but rather move between various categories across time and space. In this dissertation, my aim is to understand the multidirectional legal trajectories of Peruvian men and women along the non-citizenship / citizenship legal continuum.

This theoretical objective has methodological implications. The data sampling techniques adopted here aim to cover the legal situations already found in Migration Studies such as naturalised and

unauthorised migrants, but also to seek for other cases that do not neatly fit into that dichotomy. Here, the successful regularisation of domestic workers by the means of the "*cas de rigueur" procedure* and the case of Peruvians with EU citizenship status who are working illegally in Switzerland serve as negative examples. This methodological strategy enables me to broaden and strengthen my interpretation of the non/citizenship spectrum. In addition, the LIVES life calendars and biographical narrative data collection strategies enable me to simultaneously analyse the legal and professional trajectories, whilst also taking into account the meaning given by migrants to shifts in legal status. Chronologically, I identify the multiple ways in which citizenship events relate to professional ones and *vice versa*. In this sense, the theoretical idea of the work-citizenship matrix is applied in the analysis. Subjectively, the analysis of migrants' narratives provides information about the different ways in which migrants identify barriers, capitalize on resources and plan action. Here, I mobilise the theoretical ideas of migrants' legal consciousness and claim-making tactics. Moreover, network data collection provides innovative insights into the contacts and resources that facilitate and hinder the claim-making process of migrants.

Contrary to prior assumptions, noncitizen statuses are not restricted to unqualified migrants. I also identify Peruvian graduates from Swiss higher education (HE) institutions with fixed-term permits. The comparison of multiple experiences in the non-citizenship / citizenship continuum paves the way to disentangling another overarching dichotomy in Migration Studies: that often presumed to exist between highly skilled and low-skilled migrants.

1.2.1.2. Adopting a Common Lens on Highly- and Low-Skilled Migration

In much the same vein, the burgeoning literature on highly skilled migration has rarely taken advantage of the analytical advances made on the occupational mobility and family dynamics of unskilled migrants. First, with some valuable exceptions (Chicha & Deraedt, 2009; Liversage, 2009b, 2009a; Riaño et al., 2015), research on highly skilled migration is principally focused on the labour market outcomes of migrants, and particularly on their ability to access jobs that are commensurate (in terms of pay and employment conditions) with their skill levels prior to arrival in the destination country. Researchers rarely address pre-migration phases, employment transitions after arrival (e.g., moving into/out of employment and/or precarious jobs), and the long-term effects of migration on subsequent occupational mobility (e.g., path-dependent or accumulation effects) (Reyneri & Fullin, 2011). The latter are important analytical dimensions of recent occupational mobility approaches that do not systematically compare migration experiences with different qualifications.

Drawing on the theoretical advances concerning the occupation mobility of migrants, I used a time-sensitive lens to understand the occupational trajectories of migrants with different levels and types of qualification. The idea was to study the changes and continuities between pre- and postmigration experiences in relation to diverse occupational situations. Instead of assuming a smooth "brain circulation" for qualified migrants, the comparison of the occupational trajectories of highly skilled and less-skilled migrants revealed a series of stratification processes that cannot be reduced to differences in educational credentials alone.

Secondly, the interactions between professional and family trajectories have rarely been examined in detail for highly skilled migrants, whereas this topic has attracted considerable attention in the study of their lesser skilled counterparts. Although more recent studies (Creese et al., 2011; Riaño et al., 2015; Schaer et al., 2016a) have started to analyse the ways in which couples of all class backgrounds negotiate care arrangements in the home and host countries, the impact of family events such as partnership and parenthood on professional outcomes abroad is less often considered. This is despite the fact that research on transnational families has long been interested in the local and cross-border care arrangements between mobile and nonmobile family members according to gender, age and legal status (Baldassar & Merla, 2014b). However, middle and upper class transnational families have attracted relatively little research attention to date (Baldassar & Wilding, 2014).

In order to illustrate the advantages of adopting a common lens, I use the theoretical frameworks developed for the study of transnational families in order to analyse the interactions of professional and family trajectories of low-skilled and highly skilled Peruvian migrants alike. The combined focus on local (e.g., between spouses) and transnational (e.g., amongst siblings) care arrangements reveals the gender dimensions of the employment–family interface. I suggest that understanding the feminisation of highly skilled migration would benefit from a framework that considers transnational family dynamics more systematically. Therefore, in order to analyse the gendered employment outcomes of Peruvian men and women in Switzerland, I choose to consider occupational mobility in combination with the dynamics of family caregiving.

The study of occupational mobility and transnational family dynamics is also possible thanks to the combination of time-sensitive and network data collection. The visualisation of family, educational and employment trajectories is central to the elaboration of my analytical typologies. Based on the LIVES life calendars, I designed a notation system called "lifelines" in order to summarize and

display the main events of the three life domains across time and space simultaneously. Therefore, the proposed ideal-types convey the intersection of family and professional events and their short and long-term effects. In addition, the dynamic analysis of networks enables me to understand the changes in family composition based on partnership and parenthood that have an impact on local and transnational care arrangements. The proposed sociograms portray changes in the composition of contacts and in the direction of relations in the family sphere in order to grasp the reorientation of migrants' networks after a divorce, for example. Finally, the narrative accounts of family and professional transitions enable me to grasp the ways in which migrants interpreted their social mobility globally: not only on the bais of their objective labour market positions, but also in terms of social class belongings and gender ideologies. Both forms of data visualisation that summarize multi-dimensional and dynamic social processes could be replicated in other studies of migrants' life-course and networks. Although the typologies adopt the form of trichotomies, they portray the complex effects of family and professional transitions that yield plural forms of social mobility and prevent automatically attributing one ideal-type to high-skilled migrants and other ideal-type to less-skilled counterparts, or based on gender categories alone.

In contrast to binary conceptions of migrant groups, the results of the integrative approach shed light on the heterogeneity of migration experiences in a systematic manner. The proposed classifications and typologies explain the logics of differentiation and stratification of migrants' life-courses and networks. The intersectional lens strengthens my interpretation of these processes.

1.2. Avoiding Naturalised Migration-Related Categories

Another challenge to Migration Studies that I address in this dissertation concerns the need to avoid the naturalisation of migration-related categories. The history of Migration Studies depends to a large extent on the emergence of nation-states and their associated border controls. Thus, the difference between migrant and non-migrant populations, in combination with ethnic-based views of integration, was defined as a priority for early Migration Studies scholars (Dahinden, 2016). Such studies run the risk of taking those state-defined differences for granted, notably by selecting migrant groups based on nationality as units of research and thus by potentially reinforcing an ethnic-centred approach. Of course, ethnonational markers and migrant backgrounds are important criteria for the differentiation of rights, achieving a sense of belonging and discrimination in a given host country. The state-defined (legal) categories have a tangible impact on migrants' experiences. However, these criteria might not always be central to every migration experience. Seen through

the intersectional lens (Bilge, 2010; Lykke, 2010b), other categories of difference, such as social class and gender, intersect with ethnonational markers to produce social processes, practices, and subjectivities that are not wholly reliant on nationality or ethnicity. The main question is whether and in which context the categories of difference are relevant to migration experiences. Although I focus on one national group and a single host country, I nevertheless seek to provide original insights as to the interactions between social class, gender and citizenship status in migration experience and outcomes. In addition, I use the concept of transnational frames of references (Fresnoza-Flot & Shinozaki, 2017; P. F. Kelly, 2012), which refers to forms of self-positioning and positioning of others across borders, in order to understand the identification processes of migrants.

Using the intersectional lens, this dissertation explains the ways in which gender, class and citizenship operate in specific moments, relations and spaces during migration experiences. First, my analysis of the effects of citizenship statuses on migration outcomes demonstrates how the "essential employment clause" in Swiss migration regime mobilises gender-based hierarchies of occupations and models of citizenship in order to recognize certain education credentials and professional experiences and to ignore others. This migration regime may contradict or reinforce migrant's class positions and sense of belonging. The study of the feminisation of highly skilled migration shows that, in the family and professional spheres, gender plays an important role in defining plural forms of social mobility moderated by education credentials, labour market positions and class identifications. It is thus highly useful to consider class in cultural and economic terms (Bonjour & Chauvin, 2018; Fresnoza-Flot & Shinozaki, 2017; Skeggs, 1997b; Van Hear, 2014). Studying the directions and stages of transnational mobility finally shows how ethno-national markers interact with gender and class. This enables us to better understand chain migration -when migrants help other potential migrants to arrive to destination- and upward mobility in theoretically unexpected manners. Migrants do not always play the role of bridgeheads with family members at home. Likewise, contacts with compatriots can provide useful resources for successful economic integration abroad.

1.2.1. Intersectional dynamics

I propose to present the main findings of intersectional dynamics in Peruvian migration in Switzerland following the structure of Parts II, III and IV. For each part, I explain the situations where the ethno-national markers interact with citizenship statuses, gender and social class; then I provide an explanation of how they operate.

1.2.1.1. The Heterogeneous Effects of Citizenship Statuses on the Migration Experience

The heterogeneous effects of citizenship statuses on migration experiences (Part II) enable me to identify the intersectional dynamics at work in situations as varied as: the "essential employment clause", the cas de rigueur regultation procedure and leadership roles in migrant associations. The effects of citizenship are moderated by gender and class in three ways: the mobilisation of the gender-based hierarchy of occupations and model of citizenship of the male breadwinner/female caregiver during migrants' claim for residential rights as well as the mobilisation of legal-inspired categories (e.g. being involved in sham marraiges and unauthorised migration) to select leaders of migrant associations.

1.2.1.1.1. The "essential employment clause"

The first example of intersectional dynamics studied in this dissertation is the "essential employment clause" to obtain a work permit in Switzerland. In order to deconstruct the equation that is usually presumed to exist between undocumented migration (i.e. non-citizenship) and low-skilled migrants, I analyse the school-to-work transition of Peruvian graduates from Swiss HE institutions (Chapter 4). This transition generally coincides with changes to the migrants' legal status, with student permits being revoked on graduation. It is thus a good example of the dynamics of the work–citizenship matrix that refers to the interactions between employment and non-citizenship statuses in migration experiences (Goldring & Landolt, 2011).

The access to a work permit for non-EU citizens in Switzerland depends on the fulfilment of the "essential employment clause". The meaning of this clause in the Swiss permit system is not only about the non-EU vs. EU citizens divide. It is also about a gender-based hierarchy of occupations. The findings reveal a clear gender bias in the access to work permits and jobs commensurate to skills. In contrast to their female counterparts, Peruvian men in male-dominated professions such as engineering were able to obtain work permits fairly easily, notably through the official "essential employment" criterion. The lesser value given to female-dominated occupations (e.g. Social Sciences and Humanities - SSH) hampers the opportunities for Peruvian women to obtain authorisations to work in the country, even after graduation from a Swiss HE institution.

The comparison of the legal trajectories of Peruvian graduates who obtained the work permit and those who did not shows that - regardless of having Swiss education credentials - what counted as "essential employment" greatly depends on gender stereotypes. Consequently, having Swiss educational credentials does not automatically translate into access to the upper segments of the

labour market. Instead of considering highly skilled migration as a homogeneous and static "elite", the effects of citizenship status on work-to-school transitions shows how gender inequalities can produce a dissonance between education credentials and labour market positions abroad.

Those Peruvian graduates, predominantly women, who can't use the "essential employment clause" to access a work permit after graduation, nevertheless found ways to circumvent this legal impasse. However, the consequences of these alternative strategies, notably marriage wit a Swiss or EU-citizen, illustrate the intersections between gender and class in the Swiss permit system. My study explains how these Peruvian graduates, who had often met Swiss or EU partners during the course of their studies, make tactical use of family reunification procedures by entering into binational marriages before or after graduation. The effects of the binational marriage pathway to legal settlement are nevertheless very different for Peruvian female and male graduates. Peruvian women have to deal with the normative attribution of family caregiving to wives by state authorities (e.g. Job Centre staff) and this tends to hamper their access to the Swiss labour market. On the contrary, those of their male counterparts who adhered to the normative male breadwinner role (e.g., by engaging in full-time, well-paid jobs) seem to be rewarded with fast-track naturalisation. Consequently, the Swiss models of citizenship mobilizes class-based gender norms to reward or penalized Peruvian graduates in terms of legal residential rights. The middle-class breadwinner model of highly-valued occupations and/or successful careers is rewarded with work permits and passports – a similar result was recently found by Kofman (2018) in the family reunification criteria for other European countries. Consequently, the equation between highly-skilled migration and "smooth circulation" is subject to gender-based conditions.

It is thus possible to conclude that, regardless of the levels and origin of qualifications, education credentials are not enough to guarantee an "elite" form of migration. Although valuable research has concluded that earning degrees in the host country is favourable for migrant's careers abroad, I have been ble to show that the specific host country migration regimes moderates school-to-work transitions. The restrictive time-lines, or temporal boundaries, imposed on non-EU citizens for obtaining the right to remain in Switzerland after graduation, produces differences based not on skill levels as such, but rather on a global and gendered hierarchy of professions and family models, which prevented some (but not all) Peruvian graduates from Swiss HE institutions from reaching the upper segments of the Swiss labour market. Here, the legal impasses encountered by Peruvian graduates went beyond the EU/non-EU divide and enabled us to illustrate the influence of gender on the recognition of degrees and access to the labour market. For a group of highly-skilled

migrants, class belongings based on cultural capital (i.e. education credentials) do not correspond to class positions based on the economic capital, such as wages (Bonjour & Chauvin, 2018). These heterogeneous effects of citizenship statuses confirm the mediation of gender-based hierarchies of occupation and models of citizenship in the reproduction or revision of middle-class identifications for highly skilled migrants.

1.2.1.1.2. Citizenship models: female caregiver and male breadwinner

Although the prior findings predominantly corroborated citizenship rewards for male-dominated occupations and family roles, they do not automatically lead to legal penalties for all migrant women. The same gender-based citizenship model provided a pathway to legal security for a specific group of migrant women, while refusing the same advantages to their male counterparts . The comparison of successful and unsuccessful claims for regularisation by the means of hardship cases provides insights about who are deemed as "deserving" migrants in the Swiss migration regime. This model of citizenship considers migrant women who adhere to the caregiving role as more "deserving" of residential rights than the migrant men who did not attain the middle-class male breadwinner ideal.

 The findings in Chapter 5 question the gender dimensions of the shifts between citizen statuses by focusing on the ways in which unauthorised Peruvian migrant men and women develop tactics to claim residential authorisation and other services in Switzerland. In order to improve their chances of regularisation, Peruvian migrants mobilise information, contacts, and resources locally and transnationally, particularly during their encounters with state authorities. In this sense, the unauthorised migrants develop a form of "legal consciousness", a concept that refers to processes through which migrants learn about the laws, regulations, jurisprudence, legal loopholes, and so on during their stay abroad (Moffette, 2014; Schwenken, 2013). Peruvian migrants learnt to deal with gender stereotypes, which define the characteristics of migrants who are deemed to "deserve" residential rights. Employability criteria seem to penalize unauthorised Peruvian men working in the cleaning sector, since they are not seen to conform to male main breadwinner expectations, preferably with salaries equivalent to a "family wage". However, unauthorised Peruvian women who can demonstrate an aptitude for caregiving (either through transnational lone motherhood and/or by providing professional paid care services in the host country) are more likely to be rewarded with regularisation. I was thus able to show how the employment situations of migrants influence access to regularisation pathways based on middle-class gender norms enacted in the Swiss models of citizenship.

Consequently, this gender-based citizenship model influences the shifts between authorised residence and non-authorised residence spells for Peruvian men and women in Switzerland. In particular, the encounters with state actors and the results of their regularisation claims show the mobilisation of gender stereotypes. Here, the growing importance of the employment criteria in regularisation processes had different consequences for defining "deserving" migrant men and women according to middle-class ideals (Chauvin et al., 2013a; Kofman, 2018). Indirectly, this citizenship model seems to penalize working-class masculinities more than femininities. Similar results have been find in the case of the Italian migration regime where low-skilled feminine migration would appear to be favoured in the contemporary context (Bonizzoni, 2018)

1.2.1.1.3. "Permits and degrees": adaptations of middle-class femininities and masculinities abroad
In local contexts, Peruvian men and women also adapt their gender-based social class positioning by mobilizing the legally-inspired categories of the Swiss migration regime. In Peruvian migrant associations, the female and male leaders - and also the members - negotiate sources of recognition that provide local prestige and economic opportunities. In doing this, they did not use references to middle-class femininity and masculinity that they developed in Peruvian urban contexts. They adapt those references according to their experiences of coping with the Swiss migration and gender regimes.

In Chapter 6, I analyse the ways in which citizenship statuses are used by migrants to create local in-group gender and class hierarchies. They represent markers of distinction, which can be used to gain prestige amongst compatriots in local migrant associations. The struggles for recognition in migrant associations are important because they represent potential platforms for the development of ethnic entrepreneurship, as well as alternative sources of professional recognition abroad. Citizenship statuses are used to discredit or enhance the reputation of female and male volunteers.

When observing interactions in professional migrant associations, we saw that naturalised male participants used their Swiss education credentials to pursue careers in Peru and counteract feelings of downgrading based on precarious employment conditions in Switzerland ("we have degrees, but no money"). Having Swiss educational credentials is a source of prestige in these migrant associations independently of employment conditions in the Swiss labour market. However, the suspicion of being involved in unauthorised migration and/or sham bi-national marriages could destroy the reputation of the association members. While the education credentials enable Peruvian men to achieve leadership roles and re-produced a sense of middle-class belonging, Peruvian

women who were suspected of cheating on legally-inspired rules or expectations were automatically excluded from leadership roles and sometimes even from membership. However, participating in social-oriented associations – providing support for orphans or the elderly - still represented a source of middle-class respectability for Peruvian women in Switzerland. The emic concept of *toxic* femininities is used to dismiss the leadership potential of women in *suspicious* binational marriages (e.g. suspected sham marriages) and the membership of women without legal residential authorisation.

The concept of *toxic femininities* was thus particularly useful for shedding light on the complex intersections of citizenship, social class, and gender within migrant associations abroad. Migrant associations represent local settings where Peruvian men and women mobilise transnational references to develop particular forms of self-positioning and positioning of others in terms of qualities for leadership and legitimacy for membership. They reinterpret the non-citizenship and citizenship markers circulating in the destination country along gender and social class divides. Therefore, volunteering represented a space of social class positioning: middle-class belongings were claimed very differently by Peruvian men and women. Professional dimensions (e.g. educational credentials) were more important for men than for women who predominantly received recognition for their caregiving roles. Furthermore, the construction of undesired forms of feminities is based on the re-interpretation of beliefs about what "well-married women and good female citizens" should look like in middle-class segments of Peruvian and Swiss society.

The heterogeneous effects of citizenship influence forms of class and gender positioning amongst compatriots abroad. Middle-class masculinities and femininities were not automatically imported in the destination country. They were re-adapted by Peruvian men and women mobilising non-citizenship statuses to reproduce in-group hierarchies.

1.2.2. The Feminisation of Highly-Skilled Migration

In Part III of this dissertation (Chapters 7 to 9), I address the feminisation of highly skilled migration using the notions of occupational mobility and transnational families. These findings revealed another set of intersectional situations. Although gender plays an important role in the analysis of occupational mobility, the results show that there is no automatic bifurcation into downward or upward mobile careers based on gender solely. Consequently, I explain the ways in which gender operates with other social divisions such as citizenship status and social class. As seen previously, the Swiss model of citizenship encourages a normative male breadwinner/ female caregiver family

model. Migrant women share this context with their Swiss counterparts. However, the legal conditions for family reunification and the risk of ending up in migrant-dominated employment sectors has a greater influence on migrants' social mobility.

Comparing the experiences of Peruvian women with qualifications from Swiss HE institutions, those with Peruvian degrees, and their male counterparts enables me to disentangle the impact of different kinds of education credentials on the occupational mobility of migrants. Inspired by a life-course approach, I focus my analysis on the pre- and post-migration occupational experiences as well as the transitions into and out of employment and into and out of precarious jobs (Fullin, 2011; Kogan & Weißmann, 2013; Reyneri & Fullin, 2011). In addition, I analyse employment transitions and outcomes in relation to transnational family dynamics and care arrangements in the light of gender and social class divides. Drawing on the concept of transnational frames of references, I analyse the ways in which Peruvian men and women gave meaning to their social mobility. I am thus able to study whether and how migration represents a turning point in their social mobility. In this sense, it is important to focus not only on occupational trajectories and employment outcomes, but also on social class belongings.

In contrast to the human capital thesis (Chiswick et al., 2005), I find that the accumulation of educational credentials, experience, and contacts in the host country did not necessarily translate into access to the upper segments of the Swiss labour market. It is interesting to note the outcomes of the employment transitions reflect time-related mechanisms and gendered family trajectories. Besides the accumulation of resources related to the length of residence, there are scarring effects, whereby the first steps in the Swiss labour market leave durable traces on the future career paths. In addition, transitions to partnership and parenthood influence gendered care arrangements locally and transnationally.

For example, I devise ideal-types to display the plurality of social mobility amongst Peruvian men and women by showing the role of class-based gender norms in couple's negotiations and employment prospects independently of Swiss education credentials. This analysis of social mobility also considers the dynamics of class positioning in situations where cultural and economic dimensions do not necessarily coincide and are re-interpreted according to migrant-dominated employment sectors and family reunification issues (Bonjour & Chauvin, 2018; Kofman, 2018; Villares-Varela, 2018)

1.2.2.1. Migrant-dominated sectors and gender: upwardly mobile women

The findings of Chapter 7 show continuous, upwardly and downwardly social mobility patterns, which are organised along gender and social class lines. Here, the analysis was limited to Peruvian men and women without Swiss university degrees. The first pattern identified was the male-dominated occupational trajectory that show continuity between pre- and post-migration phases, with similar types of low-skilled jobs in equivalent employment sectors. These Peruvian men adapted the male breadwinner role abroad – something that is associated with working rather than middle class norms in Peru - to counteract feelings of social disqualification linked to working in poorly paid jobs. In contrast, the second pattern reflects female-dominated occupational trajectories characterised by upward mobility in terms of job status and working conditions in migrant-dominated sectors (e.g., from unskilled to skilled jobs or from salaried to independent small business status). These Peruvian women mobilised class-based femininities, by adhering to the urban middle-class career-oriented figure of femininity imported from the Peruvian context. Both patterns relied on the cross-border delegation of family caregiving and/or shared local care arrangements with a spouse and siblings. In contrast, the last pattern of social mobility is characterised by the progressive exit of Peruvian women and men from the Swiss labour market. Their trajectory is marked by a steady diminution of employment rates and the increased of frequency and length of non- or unemployment spells. Noncitizenship statuses and the accumulation of family caregiving duties are associated with this downward mobility pattern. The migrants concerned by these patterns display aspirations for alternative forms of recognition (e.g., through volunteering) and plans for geographical mobility, either back to Peru or to one of their prior destinations.

These three types of social mobility show the ways in which gender played a role in the informal recognition of pre-migration competences (e.g. construction for men and caring and cooking for women), that counteract downwardly mobile careers and even lead to better job positions abroad, circumscribed in migrant-dominated employment sectors. It seems that the gender segregation in the migrant-dominated employment sectors favoured Peruvian women who achieved skilled care jobs or become owners of ethnic businesses (e.g. restaurants). Considering these employment prospects, Peruvian women negotiate the distribution of caregiving responsibilities amongst transnational family members. They also put to the fore middle-class (i.e. career-oriented) femininities, while their male counterparts readapt the male breadwinner ideal in working-class terms abroad. In this sense, labour market positions in migrant-dominated sectors are not equally interpreted based on migrants' social class (Villares-Varela, 2018).

1.2.2.2. Employment prospects and family caregiving abroad

The findings of Chapter 8 identify three distinct occupational mobility patterns in relation to the family dynamics of Peruvian graduates from Swiss HE institutions. I focus on the interactions of two transitions: the university to work transition and the family formation transition (partnership and parenthood). Each of these patterns of mobility is associated with the delegation or sharing of care arrangements. Only one of the mobility patterns involved a direct pathway to jobs commensurate with skills. The other two patterns are mediated by binational marriages, leading to unequal, gendered employment outcomes. The first pattern is male-dominated and exemplified by the upward mobility of Peruvian male engineering graduates who obtained work permits and reached the upper segments of the Swiss labour market, while delegating most of care responsibilities to female family members. The second pattern of mobility is gender-mixed and illustrates the ways in which binational marriage represents a strategy to circumvent temporal boundaries (Axelsson, 2016; Mezzadra & Neilson, 2013). Peruvian men and women not only gained residential permissions but also time to enhance their chances in the Swiss labour market (e.g., by taking language courses, developing their networks, etc.). Although they have longer out-of-employment spells and worked in jobs that don't require a degree, they eventually reach the upper segments of the Swiss labour market. In the second pattern, the negotiations in the transnational family included members born at the host country (i.e. the spouse and/or children), but care arrangements do not hamper the labour market participation of Peruvian spouses. In contrast, the third pattern of mobility involves Peruvian female graduates who never succeed in transforming their educational credentials into permanent and stable employment opportunities, notably because they become the principal family caregivers after marriage to a Swiss or EU national. Although these Peruvian women only achieve access to precarious and involuntary part-time jobs and fixed-term contracts, they seek and achieve alternative forms of recognition, notably through volunteering.

The types of social mobility amongst Peruvian graduates from Swiss HE show the complicated relations between cultural and economic dimensions of class positioning influenced by gender ideologies in the citizenship, professional and family spheres. Besides the impact of the "essential employment clause", the gender-based family model at destination play a role in care arrangements after bi-national marriages. Provided the institutional features of the Swiss care regime, bi-national couples -as other couples in Switzerland – negotiate who assumes the role of principle caregiver. The limited employment prospects of Peruvian spouses based on nationality and gender (e.g. lack

of language skills, lower salaries and worse job conditions) lead to an accumulation of caregiving responsibilities. However, the influence of the Swiss care regime is not homogeneous, and some Peruvian spouses share caregiving and achieve jobs commensurate to skills. While accumulating caregiving, Peruvian women struggle the most to have their Swiss credentials recognize and to exercise their professional occupations. For them, the fulfilment of career-oriented femininities as middle-class identification is not possible. They search for alternative ways to revendicate middle-class identities, though.

1.2.2.3. Gender-based class belongings: re-adaptations

In Chapter 9, I examine the narratives of Peruvian graduates from Swiss HE about their employment and family transitions abroad. Here, Peruvian men and women mobilize transnational references for gender and social class self-positioning. The Peruvian male graduates evoke multiple and contradictory features of the male breadwinner role. For instance, some of them present full-time well-paid jobs as being contrary to conjugal well-being (i.e. as a source of high divorce rates). Those Peruvian men who struggle in the occupational sphere develop an alternative masculinity, by claiming a care-based figure of fatherhood. It seems that the gender identities based on class belongings influence the narratives of the transitions abroad: care-based masculinities have recently been mobilized amongst the urban middle class in Peru (N. Fuller, 2000b, 2000a). The Peruvian female graduates also belong to the urban middle class back in Peru, where career-oriented femininities have become increasingly widespread (Cieza, 2016; N. Fuller, 2005). Those female graduates who are successful in reaching the upper segments of the Swiss labour market evoke a discourse of super-femininity in terms of work-life balance, whereas those who are unsuccessful professionally evoke alternative forms of femininity (e.g. through volunteering). Interestingly, these women identify the traditional family roles in Switzerland as a barrier to their careers in the destination country. Although the female caregiver role is not directly questioned in either case, these women enact alternative rather than traditional forms of femininities in relation to their social background, including the alternative route to recognition of their (middle class) social status through investment in migrant associations. In this sense, the social mobility patterns amongst Peruvian graduates show not only multiple pathways but also interpretations that confirm or challenge class-based gender references across national borders.

The findings of Part III show the different ways in which gender moderates class positions and belongings in the social mobility experiences of Peruvian migrants with different educational

credentials. Besides the continuous, upwardly mobile or downgrading pathways during the pre- and postmigration phases, the meaning given by migrants to turning points and transitions sheds light on cross-border subjectivities. The relationship between family and occupational trajectories produce gendered outcomes, in so far as local and cross-border care arrangements influence labour market participation in Switzerland. The effect of transnational family relations on employment outcomes can either be positive (e.g. as a resource for ethnic business ventures) or or negative (e.g. through the accumulation of caregiving duties). The Swiss care regime influences the delegation, sharing, or accumulation of family caregiving along gender lines. Interestingly, the aspirations for career-oriented femininities amongst the Peruvian graduates from the urban middle classes can be neutralized in the Swiss care regime. Some Peruvian men also mobilize alternative gender identities, such as those based on care-centred masculinity, in reaction to the barriers they face in the Swiss labour market.

1.2.3. Directions and Stages of Transnational Mobility

The findings of Part IV (Chapters 10 to 13) of this dissertation, inspired by an intersectional perspective, illustrate the potentially diverse directions of cross-border connections. The combination of life-course and social network analysis (SNA) methods enables me to study the evolution of the migrants' ties and journeys over time. Contrary to the conclusions of ethnic dis/similarity network theory, I am able to show how the transnational networks of compatriots provide leverage for the social and geographical mobility of Peruvians in Switzerland. In a first case, Peruvian male engineers activate their professional contacts across the globe to help find jobs commensurate to their skills in Switzerland. In a second case, family networks (i.e. the middle-class parents and siblings in Peru) act as a source of financial resources for undertaking studies or launching business ventures in Switzerland. A third case, networks of compatriots enable migrants to pursue diverse forms of mobility beyond one-off relocations such as pendulum mobility to create value across borders as well as accumulating series of destinations to improve employment conditions. These three exemples show how local and transnational contacts with compatriots rather than host country nationals can enhance the economic integration of migrants at destination
.

Drawing on the SNA literature, my aim is to analyse the composition and evolution of migrants' relationship networks, as well as the capitalization of the resources associated with these ties for occupational and caregiving purposes. Beyond the ethno-national markers, I seek to disentangle

assumptions about ethnic-based dis/similarity in networks by considering the social location of contacts in terms of ethnicity, social class and gender (Umut Erel, 2015; Ryan, 2011). In addition, I hypothesise that the actual composition of migrant's social networks doesn't necessarily reflect their accounts of group membership. I find that the dis/similarity between network composition and subjective group identification doesn't only depend on ethno-national markers, but rather on class and gender boundary-making narratives (Wimmer, 2014).

1.2.3.1. Networks of compatriots for upward mobility

The analysis of migrants' networks for caregiving and job-hunting showed that gender and class influence the activation of contacts and capitalization on the resources provided by these ties. Chapter 10 shows the embedding patterns of Peruvian men and women based on the composition of their networks during the pre- and post-migration phases, as well as their boundary-making narratives. I identify three distinct embedding patterns: bifocal and ethnic-centred networks, multi-focal and ethnically diverse networks and multifocal ethnic re-centred networks. The first two patterns are rather stable across time, whereas the third is sensitive to life-altering events (e.g., divorce or economic downturns in receiving countries).

The first pattern is characterised by a network of compatriots with stable involvement in their homeland and host country, whereas the second one is based on an ethnically heterogeneous network made up of ties with geographically scattered compatriots. The first embedding pattern shows the bridgehead and gatekeeper roles played by migrants in relation to prospective migrants in transnational families (Collyer, 2005; de Haas, 2010). Having a stable network of compatriots doesn't necessarily promote migration, it can also hinder it (cf. Peruvian migrants are more reluctant to help younger generations in the family to migrant than those in the same generation). In addition, "keeping one's distance" from certain compatriots in the Swiss context can sometimes be used to avoid the depletion of resources (e.g., in-group conflicts between newly arrived and long-settled Peruvians), particularly in the most highly competitive migrant-dominated employment sectors (Grzymała-Kazłowska, 2005; Hellermann, 2006).

The second pattern illustrates the potential role played by compatriots with dissimilar social characteristics. It is compatriots rather than host nationals who most frequently act as "vertical bridges" towards the upper segments of the Swiss labour market. Likewise, it is ties with other non-Peruvian migrants that provide "horizontal bridges" to migrant-dominated employment sectors (Ryan, 2011). Thus ties with compatriots who occupy favorable positions in the global labour

market represent powerful resources for upward mobility, whereas relationships with migrants of other nationalities do not necessarily provide valuable resources. Instead of ethno-national markers alone, the idea is that dis/similarity depends on the social locations of people and is constructed in relation to other markers such as social class (e.g., transnational ties amongst engineers or local ties amongst co-workers in migrant-dominated sectors).

I also identify a third embedding pattern, which shows the need to adopt a time-sensitive approach in SNA on migrant populations. In this case, I identify a change in the composition of migrant's social networks - from local ties with host nationals to contacts with compatriots spread over a variety of geographical locations - following life-altering biographical events (e.g. divorce). Here, biographical turning points trigger the reactivation of "dormant" ties (e.g., with family and friends in Peru). Although the importance of contact with compatriots increase in such contexts, this is not automatically associated with a shared feeling of national belonging, but rather reflects class positioning stretgies (e.g. ethnic business' owners favour well-qualified Peruvian clients over other compatriots).

By comparing the evolution of network composition with the narratives about boundary making, the three embedding patterns reveal time-sensitive networking mechanisms and the migrants' perceptions of dis/similarity beyond ethno-national markers.

1.2.3.2. Reversed remittances

Another finding illustrates the ways in which transnational networks of compatriots foster money circulation to alleviate, or even improve, the employment conditions of Peruvians abroad. It also depends on generation, gender and class positionings.

We are able to show that remittances do not represent a stable or one-directional practice. The analysis of remittances in Chapter 11 shows that money circulation does not always follow the expected direction from destination to the homeland; the opposite direction is also observed at particular stages in the family life-cycle and in the case of ethnic entrepreneurship. Beyond the expected mother–children dyad, transnational networks of siblings coordinate and adapt the circulation of money to family life-cycle stages (e.g., ageing parents). Likewise, negotiations within bi-national couples can produce barriers or opportunities for money circulation. When the Peruvian male spouse does not adhere to the male breadwinner model (e.g., by having a well-paid job), the Swiss spouse tends to have a negative perception of the remittances sent to the family back home.

Since the Peruvian husband does not provide the main income, the remittances are seen as competing with the family's well-being in Switzerland. Peruvian female spouses don't have the same problems. It seems that there are no expectations about their financial contributions to the family well-being in Swizerland and they are free to send money back home, even when they don't contribute to their own family finances, as long as they provide an appropriate level of caregiving to their immediate family members. Generation and gender thus influence the patterns of money circulation.

In another case, social class explains reverse remittances (Mobrand, 2012; Singh & Cabraal, 2014). Parents in Peru sent remittances to their children pursuing university studies in Switzerland. Although most of them belong to the urban middle classes, children from the upper middle classes continue to receive remittances from Peru even after graduation, whereas those from the lower middle classes start "boomerang" remittances (e.g., sending money back to Peru) as soon as they have found a job in Switzerland. To show another direction of remittances, the analysis of entrepreneurship depicts the circularity of money flows between Peru and Switzerland. Transnational family members engage in ethnic entrepreneurship as a strategy to resist the social downgrading of the migrant in Switzerland. In this sense, transnational compatriot networks represented a resource for class positioning abroad.

1.2.3.3. Back-and-forth between homeland and destination: creation of value

The study of migration shows the relations between socioeconomic mobility and geographical movements of people and objects (e.g., products, expertise) to create value across borders. Many of the ethnic business ventures I observed also involved mobility between the homeland and destination and this was moderated by the citizenship resources of Peruvian men and women. Chapter 12 provides another example of the geographical spread and multiple directions of the cross-border involvements of Peruvians in Switzerland, by analysing the successive destinations in the migrants' journeys. Interestingly, the migrants accumulated information, resources and contacts at each destination (A. M. Paul, 2011, 2015). One example is the acquisition of citizenship in one destination, which then enables them to exercise mobility rights and access other services in another country: Peruvian migrants with Spanish nationality were able to access the Swiss labour market. Even after migration to Switzerland, these Peruvian migrants embarked on frequent visits back home. The movements back and forth fostered ethnic entrepreneurship ambitions. In this sense,

migrants' feelings of belonging might not necessarily be linked to a single place (i.e. the country of birth, citizenship, or residence), but rather to a combination of locations.

1.2.3.4. Intersectional views on settlement abroad and transnational relations

Inspired by the work of Eva Morawska (2004), in Chapter 13, I classify the plural patterns of settlement and cross-border connections of Peruvian men and women in Switzerland along gender, class and citizenship lines.

Studying cross-border movements in stratified spaces reveals the relations to people and places that enhance or hinder socioeconomic status and provide frameworks for transnational processes of identification. The geographical movements are accompanied by the circulation of references for self-positioning and the positioning of others across borders. This represents the transnational frames of reference for migrants' identity work along gender, social class and citizenship divides. Cross-border movements not only influence socioeconomic mobility, but also (re)create social positionings transnationally (Slootman, 2018).

I thus interpreted social mobility in relation to gendered social class positionings, encompassed in the figures of the male breadwinner, female caregiver, career-oriented female worker, etc. The focus on simultaneity helped me to understand the locally bound references that circulate across borders. For instance, ties with compatriots reinforce and transform class belongings along gender and citizenship lines (e.g., transnational families and migrant associations). Although the gender division of labour is rarely contested within bi-national or Peruvian couples in Switzerland, migrant associations can provide the opportunity to contest gender stereotypes and for women (and to some extent men) to adopt alternative femininities / masculinities. However, the adaptations of gender-based class belongings in migration reinforce legally-inspired hierarchies between "deserving and undeserving citizens".

Besides the influence of non/citizenship statuses, the different forms of adaptation to local settings is clearly gendered. Paradoxically, mainstream integration for Peruvian women means either full-time house-making or employment with shared caregiving in Switzerland. This is not the case for their male counterparts. Peruvian women predominantly have access to migrant-dominated employment sectors where they might achieve better employment outcomes thanks to ties with compatriots in Peru and Switzerland. In contrast, Peruvian men have either to achieve access to the upper reaches of the Swiss labour market thanks to geographically scattered ties with compatriots

or remain in low-skilled poorly paid jobs in migrant-dominated sectors based on local ties with other migrants. In this sense, the forms of ethnic-path adaptation are plural: from geographically-scattered contacts with compatriots, to relations with migrants from other nationalities that share the same workplace. The different combinations shed light on the enhancing mechanisms of transnational socio-cultural involvement (e.g. contacts and mobility) for economic integration in a specific national location. In turn, legal integration abroad (e.g. dual citizenship) may also enhance socio-cultural and economic transnational involvement such as back-and-forth mobility between Peru and Switzerland for ethnic businesses, which enhances economic integration abroad.

Contrary to theories of (neo)assimilation, the analysis of Peruvians' connections to people and places sheds light on the plural relations between transnationalism and integration. Instead of assuming homogeneity of a national group, the analysis shows that other social divisions explain better those relations than ethno-national markers. The findings thus shed light on the differences and commonalities between mobile and nonmobile populations who are differently affected by migration but nevertheless share other stratification processes.

1.3. Moving Beyond a Vision of Migration as a One-Off Relocation

The last challenge to Migration Studies that I discuss in this dissertation concerns the frequent tendency to think of migration as a one-off relocation from a homeland to a host country. Even though authors who adopted the so-called "transnational lens" had already criticised the confinement of the study of migration experiences to a single host country, researchers generally continue to follow the nation-states' borders, at best simply adding one more country -the homeland- to their analytical framework. However, my idea is to understand the plurality of migrants' movements and multidirectional connections to people in a range of geographical locations, including the home and host countries.

Thanks to the adoption of a so-called "mobility lens" (Cresswell, 2010; Sheller & Urry, 2006), Migration Studies are now shifting from a bipolar and unidirectional focus on a one-off movement from a home to a destination country to a focus on multiple geographical poles and directions of cross-border movements and connections. These theoretical advancements shed light on the multiple stages in migrant's journeys and on the power differentials they experience in access to mobility and settlement (Jeffery & Murison, 2011; Schapendonk & Steel, 2014). In this sense, cross-border movement ceases to be considered as something that is intrinsically positive (the opposite

is clear in the case of forced migration, for example) since the authorisations to settlement are also valuable for migrants.

Expanding the geographical focus of study opens the way for considering migrants' cross-border connections beyond the home/host dichotomy. The networking practices of migrants are not circumscribed to host country nationals and compatriots in the homeland and at the host country. They can take the form of geographically scattered contacts in a series of (potential) locations (Ahrens et al., 2014; M. Kelly & Hedman, 2016). These connections might enable migrants to embark on multi-stage journeys from one destination to another, or to mobilise resources in countries where they never reside.

In this dissertation I seek to analyse the multiple stages, geographical poles, and directions of cross-border movements and connections of Peruvian migrants in Switzerland (Jeffery & Murison, 2011; M. Kelly & Hedman, 2016; Moret, 2016). Instead of a study of one-off relocation, the focus was on journeys composed of multiple stages and evolving directions.

My study of multi-staged migration patterns shows how the migrants adapted to opportunities and limitations to embark on cross-border movements. Some of the Peruvian migrants I met had passed through other destinations in South America and Europe before reaching Switzerland. My study reveals particular forms of multi-staged migration for this group (e.g., from Peru to Argentina, then to Spain and finally to Switzerland) and a degree of pendulum movement (e.g., between Peru and Switzerland) that reflects evolutions in the political and legal contexts of reception and transitions in the migrants' biographies. I show that the ability to capitalize on geographically scattered social ties provides migrants with contacts, resources, and information to plan their travels and cope with settlement challenges. In addition, I analyse the multiple and evolving directions of cross-border practices such as care arrangements and remittances.

Thanks to geographically scattered ties, multi-staged mobility refers to frequent visits back home for ethnic business or onward migration to escape economic downturns in prior destinations (Moret, 2016; Ramos, 2017). Family and conational friendship ties across the homeland, the host country, and alternative destinations enable multistage journeys to improve the occupational situation of migrants abroad. Here, the analysis of integration is less straightforward. Since integration is supposed to be bound to one location – either the homeland or the destination country – the fragmented journeys of migrants show that different dimensions of integration might be achieved in series of destinations, such as naturalisation in one country and employment in

another. Moreover, feelings of belonging might not be circumscribed to one location – the homeland or the new land—but extended to multiple locations.

The study of these mobility patterns shows that settlement abroad or return to the homeland are not permanent decisions, but rather evolving stages of increasingly fragmented journeys (Collyer & De Haas, 2012). Since the patterns of settlement are not straightforward, migration involves multiple geographical poles and directions, where structural and subjective dimensions of integration may be achieved in more than one location (e.g., citizenship and employment). Furthermore, the connection with people in series of destinations enables mobility patterns and help with installation in new destinations.

1.3.1. Tensions Between Integration and Transnationalism

The theoretical debates around integration and transnationalism have often been treated separately in Migration Studies. However, the renewed interest in the interactions of the two phenomena provides a promising analytical framework to capture their combinations in the case of Peruvians in Switzerland. Both concepts have normative connotations. However, this dissertation provides definitions that are adapted to a sociological perspective. Integration and transnationalism are considered as multi-layered and dynamic processes of adaptation that influence the daily lives of migrants, albeit on different socio-spatial levels: across borders and locally.

I find plural forms of integration and transnationalism in terms of social class, gender and citizenship divides. Given the Swiss care regime, a form of mainstream adaptation can be illustrated by Peruvian women who assume the role of main caregivers (in a similar way to many Swiss women), whereas ethnic paths of adaptation are associated with the social and economic entrepreneurship of Peruvian women thanks to local and cross-border networks of compatriots. Given the urban middle-class background of Peruvian migration to Switzerland, the achievement of upward mobility and fulfilment of career-oriented femininities by Peruvian women are highly dependant on networks of compatriots. However, transnational connections are not the same for all migrants: limited forms of legal integration (e.g. lack of residential and mobility authorisations abroad) hinder the transnational connections of migrants. All in all, the discussion of the multiple forms of combination between integration and transnationalism show, once again, how ethno-national markers intersect with citizenship, gender and social class to produce a diversity of migration experiences.

4. Refuting an Ethnic-Centred Approach

One of the limitations of this research is the selection of participants based on nationality. However, the focus was in-group heterogeneity. My own positioning as a Peruvian woman living in Switzerland as well as the snowball sampling outcomes demanded on-going reflexivity. The participants constantly assessed my positioning as a Peruvian female migrant in relation to themselves and others. Based on age, gender, class, and citizenship lines, these identification processes influenced my fieldwork decisions and analytical endeavours. My own social profile as an international student and volunteer in several migrant associations enabled me to access a certain group of Peruvians. In addition, snowball sampling always runs the risk of missing in-group differences, since the participants frequently introduced me to others in similar positions to themselves. For instance, despite several attempts to contact Peruvian men and women without residence permits in the German-speaking cantons of Switzerland, only close long-term friends in the French-speaking cantons could partially help me in this endeavour. However, coverage of all in-group differences was not the goal of this research.

Regarding the choice of research subjects, the risks of an ethnic-centred lens was always present. However, the full acknowledgement of this in all phases of the research enabled me to develop strategies to deal with the origins and consequences of this focus. My strategic choice to study Peruvians in Switzerland does not imply any claim regarding a nationality-based uniqueness of this migrant group but an accumulation of fieldwork experiences that facilitated my access to and interpretation of the data. Although group ethnography is beyond the scope of this research, I demonstrate that Peruvians in Switzerland represent an appropriate illustration for questioning the ideas of dichotomic categorisations, ethnic-centred lens and one-off relocations in Migration Studies. Drawing on my personal biography and prior research experience (Seminario, 2011), I was able to address the multi-layered and evolving experiences of transnationalism and the integration of Peruvian men and women in Switzerland. The choice of participants was theoretically informed by and contrasted with unfolding fieldwork interactions. In line with an intersectional approach, my epistemological position put multiple and intersecting power relations at the centre of my theoretical questionings and methodology.

4. Further Research Questions

In line with the intersectional lens adopted throughout this dissertation, three further questions about ethno-national markers in migration experiences emerge from this study. The first two questions refers to the intersections between citizenship status, gender and social class in Latin American migration experiences in Europe. The last one is linked to questions about local and global processes of racialisation.

Firstly, although the Swiss care regime is predominantly based on a male breadwinner/female caregiver model, it would be interesting to build on the class-specific practices identified among Peruvian migrants to better recognize the potential diversity of gender arrnagements that may exist within Swiss households (Le Goff & Levy, 2016). It would also be interesting to analyse and compare the experiences of Peruvian migrants with those of groups of migrants from less privileged social backgrounds in Switzerland. The idea is to understand other forms of gender normativity and their changes (or lack thereof) in the processes of adaptation to the Swiss gender regime. In addition, Swiss gender norms probably display a certain degree of diversity along rural/urban divides. Consequently, it would be enriching to systematically compare the experiences of migrants living in rural and urban regions. The goal is to provide a more complete picture of the intersections between social class and gender in migration experiences.

Secondly, analysing Latin American migration in Europe could contribute to analysing further the limitations and opportunities of EU citizenship. It would be wrong to assume that the free circulation of EU citizens only affects "the culturally-close" neighbouring countries. As shown in the Peruvian case, mobility rights in the European region enable me to identify the tactics developed by naturalised migrants from different parts of the world to enhance their life chances. This may help to question definitions of citizenship that are primarily based on feelings of attachment and territoriality. Dual citizenship may be used to enhance mobility opportunities rather than settlement in the country where nationality was granted. In addition, the encounters of new waves of dual-nationality Latin Americans with long-settled unauthorised Latin American migrants has alterted me to the need to study stratification processes that go beyond ethno-national markers. More research about this phenomenon would be highly enriching.

Another emerging question addresses racialisation processes locally and across borders. We need understand how migrants' perceptions of racial orders from the homeland interact with their personal experiences of being racialised by others abroad. The concept of racial remittances sheds light on the revival, refusal, and creation of racial orders across borders (Bonfanti, 2017; Zamora,

2016). The racial references of migrants might also involve experiences and perceptions in a series of destinations rather than in the homeland/destination dyad. In this sense, research on this issue would also make a valuable contribution to questions about racialisation in local and global contexts.

Finally, my work has brought to light the complexity of stratification processes along gender, citizenship status and social divides and has proposed a new way to understand migration experiences that emphasises the dynamic and intersectional nature of these processes. Thanks to the combination of time-sensitive and network approaches, I have discussed some of the main challenges in contemporary Migration Studies: moving beyond the binary categorisation of migrants, removing the ethnic-centred lens on migration processes, recognising the complexity of migrants' journeys and connections. The integrative approach adopted in this dissertation has enabled me to better understand inequalities and multiple lines of segregation within a single national group of migrants in a shared destination country, and to stress commonalities between mobile and non-mobile populations. In so doing, I believe that this dissertation confirms the essential contribution that Migration Studies can make to the understanding contemporary societies.

References

Ackers, L. (2004). Citizenship, migration and the valuation of care in the European Union. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *30*(August 2015), 373–396. http://doi.org/10.1080/1369183042000200759

Addati, L., Cassirer, N., & Gilchrist, K. (2014). *Maternity and paternity at work. Law and practice across the world.* Geneva.

Adhikari, R. (2013). Empowered Wives and Frustrated Husbands: Nursing, Gender and Migrant Nepali in the UK. *International Migration*, *51*(6), 168–179. http://doi.org/10.1111/imig.12107

Afonso, A. (2013). Social concertation in times of austerity: European integration and the politics of labour market governance in Austria and Switzerland. Retrieved from http://cadmus.eui.eu//handle/1814/27777

Ager, A., & Strang, A. (2008). Understanding integration: A conceptual framework. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, *21*(2), 166–191. http://doi.org/10.1093/jrs/fen016

Ahmad, A. N. (2008). Dead men working: time and space in London's (`illegal') migrant economy. *Work, Employment & Society*, *22*(2), 301–318. http://doi.org/10.1177/0950017008089106

Ahrens, J., Kelly, M., & van Liempt, I. (2014). Free Movement? The Onward Migration of EU citizens Born in Somalia, Iran and Nigeria. *Population, Space and Place*, *98*(June), 84–98. http://doi.org/10.1002/psp

Ainsworth, S., Batty, A., & Burchielli, R. (2014). Women Constructing Masculinity in Voluntary Firefighting. *Gender, Work and Organization*, *21*(1), 37–56. http://doi.org/10.1111/gwao.12010

Åkesson, L. (2013). The queue outside the embassy: Remittances, inequality and restrictive migration regimes. *International Migration*, *51*(SUPPL.1), 1–12. http://doi.org/10.1111/imig.12045

Akkaymak, G. (2016). Social network development experiences of immigrants from Turkey to Canada. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *42*(15), 2602–2619. http://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2016.1164589

Al Ariss, A., & Crowley-Henry, M. (2013). Self-initiated expatriation and migration in the management literature: Present theorizations and future research directions. *Career Development International*, *18*, 78–96. http://doi.org/10.1108/13620431311305962

Al Ariss, A., Vassilopoulou, J., Ozbilgin, M., & Game, A. (2013). Understanding career experiences of skilled minority ethnic workers in France and Germany. *The International Journal of Human Resource Management*, *24*(6), 1236–1256. http://doi.org/10.1080/09585192.2012.709190

Alba, R., & Nee, V. (1997). Rethinking Assimilation Theory for a New Era of Immigration Rethinking Assimilation Theory for a New Era of Immigration. *The International Migration Review*, *31*(4), 826–874.

Alberti, G. (2014). Mobility strategies, "mobility differentials" and "transnational exit": the experiences of precarious migrants in London's hospitality jobs. *Work, Employment & Society*. http://doi.org/10.1177/0950017014528403

Alberti, G., Holgate, J., & Tapia, M. (2013). Organising migrants as workers or as migrant workers? Intersectionality, trade unions and precarious work. *International Journal of Human Resource Management*. Taylor & Francis. http://doi.org/10.1080/09585192.2013.845429

Alcalde, M. C. (2010). Violence across borders: Familism, hegemonic masculinity, and self-sacrificing femininity in the lives of Mexican and Peruvian migrants. *Latino Studies*, *8*(1), 48–68. http://doi.org/10.1057/lst.2009.44

Alwin, D. F. (2012). Integrating Varieties of Life Course Concepts, *67*, 206–220. http://doi.org/10.1093/geronb/gbr146.Advance

Ambrosini, M. (2015). Irregular but tolerated: Unauthorized immigration, elderly care recipients, and invisible welfare. *Migration Studies*, *3*(2), 199–216. http://doi.org/10.1093/migration/mnu042

Anderson, B. (2010). Migration, immigration controls and the fashioning of precarious workers. *Work, Employment & Society*, *24*(2), 300–317. http://doi.org/10.1177/0950017010362141

Anderson, B. (2010). Mobilizing migrants, making citizens: Migrant domestic workers as political agents. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *33*(1), 60–74. http://doi.org/10.1080/01419870903023660

Anderson, B. (2015). Migrant Domestic Workers: Good Workers, Poor Slaves, New Connections. *Social Politics*, *22*(4), 636–652.

Ansion, J., Mujica, L., Piras, G., & Villacorta, A. M. (2013). *Redes y maletas. Capital social en familias de migrantes*. Lima: FIUC/PUCP.

Anthias, F. (2007). Ethnic ties: Social capital and the question of mobilisability. *Sociological Review*, *55*(4), 788–805. http://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-954X.2007.00752.x

Anthias, F. (2013). Moving beyond the Janus face of integration and diversity discourses: Towards an intersectional framing. *Sociological Review*, *61*(2), 323–343. http://doi.org/10.1111/1467-954X.12001

Apitzsch, U., & Inowlocki, L. (2000). Biographical analysis: a "German" School? In *The Turn to Biographical Methods in Social Science. Comparative issues and exemples* (pp. 53–71). London: Routledge.

Aratnam, G. J. (2012). *Les personnes hautement qualifiées issues de la migration*. Bern.

Armingeon, K., Bertozzi, F., & Bonoli, G. (2004). Swiss worlds of welfare. *West European Politics*, *27*(1), 20–44. http://doi.org/10.1080/01402380412331280793

Auer, D., Bonoli, G., & Fossati, F. (2015). *It's Discrimination, Stupid : Labour Market (Re-) Entry Difficulties among Different Immigrant Groups in Switzerland* (Working Paper No. 2). Neuchâtel.

Auer, D., Bonoli, G., & Fossati, F. (2017). Why do immigrants have longer periods of unemployment? Swiss evidence. *International Migration*, *55*(1), 157–174. http://doi.org/10.1111/imig.12309

Auer, D., Bonoli, G., Fossati, F., & Liechti, F. (2016). The matching hierarchies model : Evidence from a survey experiment on employers ' hiring intent of immigrant applicants. *Social Science Research Network*, (May), 1–29. Retrieved from https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2750794

Axelsson, L. (2016). Living within temporally thick borders: IT professionals' experiences of Swedish immigration policy and practice. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *9451*(June), 1–17. http://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2016.1200966

Baghdadi, N. (2010). *Care-Work arrangements of parents in the context of family policies and extra-familial childcare provision in Switzerland* (Research reports No. 3&4). Geneva.

Bailey, A., & Boyle, P. (2004). Untying and retying family migration in the New Europe. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *30*(August 2015), 229–241. http://doi.org/10.1080/1369183042000200678

Bailey, A., & Mulder, C. H. (2017). Highly skilled migration between the Global North and South: gender, life courses and institutions. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *0*(0), 1–15. http://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2017.1314594

Baldassar, L., & Merla, L. (2014a). Locating Transnational Care Circulation in Migration and Family studies. In *Transnational Families, Migration and the Circulation of Care. Understanding Mobiliy and Absence in Family Life* (pp. 25–58). New York: Routledge.

Baldassar, L., & Merla, L. (2014b). *Transnational Families, Migration and the Circulation of Care. Understanding Mobility and Absence in Family Life*. New York: Routledge.

Baldassar, L., & Wilding, R. (2014). Middle-Class Transnational Caregiving. The Circulation of Care between Family and Extended Kin Networks in the Global North. In *Transnational Families, Migration and the Circulation of Care. Understanding Mobiliy and Absence in Family Life* (pp. 233–251). New York: Routledge.

Baldi, G., Goodman, S. W., Baldi, G., & Goodman, S. W. (2015). Migrants into Members : Social Rights , Civic Requirements , and Citizenship in Western Europe Migrants into Members : Social Rights , Civic Requirements , and Citizenship in Western Europe. *West European Politics*, *2382*, 1–22. http://doi.org/10.1080/01402382.2015.1041237

Banfi, L., & Boccagni, P. (2011). Transnational family life and female migration in Italy: One or multiple patterns? In *Gender, generations and the family in international migration* (pp. 287–311). Amsterdam: IMISCOE/Amsterdam University.

Barbiano di Belgiojoso, E. (2017). The occupational (im)mobility of migrants in Italy. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *0*(0), 1–24. http://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2017.1414585

Batnitzky, A., McDowell, L., & Dyer, S. (2009). Flexible and Strategic Masculinities: The Working Lives and Gendered Identities of Male Migrants in London. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration*

Studies, *35*(8), 1275–1293. http://doi.org/10.1080/13691830903123088

Beck-Gernsheim, E. (2007). Transnational lives, transnational marriages: A review of the evidence from migrant communities in Europe. *Global Networks*, *7*(3), 271–288. http://doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-0374.2007.00169.x

Beckert, J. (2007). The great transformation of embeddedness: Karl Polanyi and the new economic sociology. *Market and Society*, 38–55. http://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511581380.003

Berg, U. D. (2010). El Quinto Suyo: Contemporary Nation Building and the Political Economy of Emigration in Peru. *Latin American Perspectives*, *37*(5), 121–137. http://doi.org/10.1177/0094582X10380392

Berg, U. D. (2015). *Mobile selves. Race, Migration and Belonging in Peru and the US*. New York: New York University Press.

Berger, M., Galonska, C., & Koopmans, R. (2004). Political Integration by a Detour? Ethnic Communities and Social Capital of Migrants in Berlin. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *30*(3), 491–507. http://doi.org/10.1080/13691830410001682052

Bermudez, A. (2010). The transnational political practices of Colombians in Spain and the United Kingdom: Politics "here" and "there." *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *33*(1), 75–91. http://doi.org/10.1080/01419870903125838

Bernardi, L. (2011). *A mixed-method social networks study design for research on transnational families* (LIVES Working Paper No. 3). Lausanne.

Bertolani, B., Rinaldini, M., & Tognetti Bordogna, M. (2013). Combining Civic Stratification and Transnational Approaches for Reunited Families: The Case of Moroccans, Indians and Pakistanis in Reggio Emilia. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *00*(00), 1–18. http://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2013.868302

Bessin, M., Bidart, C., & Grossetti, M. (2009a). Introduction générale. L'enquête sur les bifurcations: une présentation. In *Bifurcations. Les sciences sociales face aux ruptures et à l'événement* (pp. 7–19). Paris: La Découverte "Recherches."

Bessin, M., Bidart, C., & Grossetti, M. (2009b). Les bifurcations, un état de la question en sociologie.

In *Bifurcations. Les sciences sociales face aux ruptures et à l'événement.* (pp. 23–35). Paris: La Découverte "Recherches."

Bilge, S. (2010). Beyond Subordination vs. Resistance: An Intersectional Approach to the Agency of Veiled Muslim Women. *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, *31*(1), 9–28. http://doi.org/10.1080/07256860903477662

Bilge, S. (2013). Intersectionality Undone. *Du Bois Review: Social Science Research on Race*, *10*(2), 405–424. http://doi.org/10.1017/S1742058X13000283

Blinder, S., & Jeannet, A.-M. (2014). Numbers and waves, the illegal and the skilled: The effects of media portrayals of immigrants on public opinion in Britain. *Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association*, *0*(0), 1–19. http://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2017.1412253

Bloemraad, I. (2017). Theorising the power of citizenship as claims-making. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *9451*(December 2017), 1–23. http://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2018.1396108

Boccagni, P. (2015). Burden, blessing or both? On the mixed role of transnational ties in migrant informal social support. *International Sociology*, *30*, 250–268. http://doi.org/10.1177/0268580915570508

Bochner, A. P., & Riggs, N. A. (2014). Practicing Narative Inquiry. In *The Oxford Handbook of Qualitative Research* (p. 785). Oxford: Oxford University Press. http://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199811755.001.0001

Boeri, T., Brücker, H., Docquier, F., & Rapoport, H. (2012). *Brain drain and brain gain: The global competition to attract high-skilled migrants. Brain Drain and Brain Gain: The Global Competition to Attract High-Skilled Migrants.* http://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199654826.001.0001

Bolíbar, M., Martí, J., & Verd, J. M. (2015). Just a question of time? The composition and evolution of immigrants' personal networks in Catalonia. *International Sociology*, *30*(6), 579–598. http://doi.org/10.1177/0268580915579925

Bolzman, C., Carbajal, M., & Mainardi, G. (2007). Introduction. In *La Suisse au rythme latino* (pp. 11–40). Genève: Edition ies.

Bolzman, C., Gakuba, T.-O., & Minko, S. (2016). Résidents inattendus ?: trajectoires, dilemmes et situations de vie des Africains et Latino-Américains âgés en Suisse francophone. *Vie Sociale*, *16*(4), 79–90. http://doi.org/10.3917/vsoc.164.0079

Bonfanti, S. (2017). A taste of "Brownies": Shifting color lines among Indian diasporas in southern Europe. *Transnational Social Review*, *7*(3), 258–272. http://doi.org/10.1080/21931674.2017.1360034

Bonizzoni, P. (2011). Civic stratification, stratified reproduction and family solidarity. Strategies of Latino families in Milan. In *Gender, generations and the family in international migration* (pp. 313–334). Amsterdam: University of Amsterdam Press.

Bonizzoni, P. (2015). Uneven Paths: Latin American Women Facing Italian Family Reunification Policies. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 1–20. http://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2015.1037257

Bonizzoni, P. (2018). Looking for the Best and Brightest ? Deservingness Regimes in Italian Labour Migration Management. *International Migration*. http://doi.org/10.1111/imig.12447

Bonjour, S., & Chauvin, S. (2018). Social Class , Migration Policy and Migrant Strategies : An Introduction. *International Migration*, *56*(4). http://doi.org/10.1111/imig.12469

Bordoloi, S. D. (2015). "I Am Standing Still": The Impact of Immigration Regulations on the Career Aspirations of Wives of International Students in the USA. *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, *16*, 607–624. http://doi.org/10.1007/s12134-014-0354-4

Borgatti, S. P., & Lopez-Kidwell, V. (2011). Network Theory. In J. Scott & P. J. Carrington (Eds.), *The Sage Handbook of Social Network Analysis* (pp. 40–54). London: Sage Publications.

Boucher, A., & Gest, J. (2014). Migration studies at a crossroads: A critique of immigration regime typologies. *Migration Studies*, *3*(2), 1–17. http://doi.org/10.1093/migration/mnu035

Bourdieu, P. (1979). Les trois états du capital culturel. *Actes de La Recherche En Sciences Sociales*, *30*(1), 3–6. http://doi.org/10.3406/arss.1979.2654

Bourdieu, P. (1980). Le capital social. *Actes de La Recherche En Sciences Sociales*, *31*(31), 1–3. http://doi.org/10.7328/jurpcb201328577

Boyd, M. (1989). Family and Personal Networks in International Migration : Recent Developments and New Agendas. *International Migration Review*, *23*(3), 638–670.

Brannen, J., & Nilsen, a. (2011). Comparative Biographies in Case-based Cross-national Research: Methodological Considerations. *Sociology*, *45*(4), 603–618. http://doi.org/10.1177/0038038511406602

Brekke, I. (2013). How Do Husbands Affect the Labour Market Participation of Majority and Immigrant Women? *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *39*(10), 1639–1657. http://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2013.833693

Brites, J. (2014). Domestic service, affection and inequality: Elements of subalternity. *Women's Studies International Forum*, *46*(C), 63–71. http://doi.org/10.1016/j.wsif.2014.03.009

Britton, M. L. (2013). Latino Spatial and Structural Assimilation: Close Intergroup Friendships among Houston-Area Latinos. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *00*(00), 1–25. http://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2013.858017

Brubaker, R. (2001). The return of assimilation? Changing perspectives on imigration and its sequels in France, Germany and the United States. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *24*(4), 531–548. http://doi.org/10.1080/0141987012004977

Bühlmann, F., Elcheroth, G., & Tettamanti, M. (2016). Le premier enfant en contexte-l'institionalisation du conflit? In *Devenir parents, devenir inégaux. Transition à la parentalité et inégalités de genre* (pp. 262–269). Zurich/Genève: Seismo.

Cabrera, E. F. (2007). Opting out and opting in: understanding the complexities of women's career transitions. *Career Development International*, *12*(3), 218–237.

Caglar, A. (2006). Hometown associations, the rescaling of state spatiality and migrant grassroots transnationalism. *Global Networks*, *6*(1), 1–22. http://doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-0374.2006.00130.x

Calavita, K. (2006). Borders and Bridging Disciplines Gender , Migration , and Law : Crossing Borders and Bridging Disciplines. *International Migration Review*, *40*(1), 104–132.

Caponio, T. (2015). Paths of Legal Integration and Migrant Social Networks: The Case of Filipina

and Romanian Female DomesticWorkers in Italytle. In *Migrant Capital. Networks, Identities and Strategies* (pp. 172–187). London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Carbajal, M. (2007). Entre normalité et anormalité: que signifie vivre dans un contexte d'imprévisibilité? In *La Suisse au rythme latino* (pp. 171–184). Genève: Edition ies.

Carbajal, M., & Ljuslin, N. (2010). Jeunes sans-papiers d'Amérique latine en Suisse ou devenir adulte sur fond de recomposition de rôles. *Lien Social et Politiques*, (64), 125. http://doi.org/10.7202/1001404ar

Carling, J., Erdal, M., & Ezzati, R. (2013). Beyond the insider–outsider divide in migration research. *Migration Studies*, *2*(1), 1–19. http://doi.org/10.1093/migration/mnt022

Carling, J., & Pettersen, S. V. (2014). Return Migration Intentions in the Integration-Transnationalism Matrix. *International Migration*, *52*(6), 13–30. http://doi.org/10.1111/imig.12161

Carreras, L. (2008). Travailleuses domestiques "sans papiers" en Suisse: comment s'en sortir, rester et résister? *Nouvelles Questions Féministes*, *27*(2), 84–98.

Castañeda, E. (2013). Living in limbo: Transnational households, remittances and development. *International Migration*, *51*(SUPPL.1). http://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2435.2012.00745.x

Cebulko, K. (2014). Documented, undocumented, and liminally legal: Legal status during the transition to adulthood for 1.5-generation brazilian immigrants. *Sociological Quarterly*, *55*(1), 143–167. http://doi.org/10.1111/tsq.12045

Cerna, L., & Czaika, M. (2016). European Policies to Attract Talent: The Crisis and Highly Skilled Migration Policy Changes. In *High-Skill Migration and Recession: Gendered Perspectives* (pp. 22–43). London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Charmaz, K. (2014a). Focused Coding and Beyond. In *Constructing Grounded Theory* (pp. 138–161). London: SAGE.

Charmaz, K. (2014b). Memo-writing. In *Constructing Grounded Theory2* (pp. 162–191). London: SAGE.

Charmaz, K. (2014c). The logic of Grounded Theory Coding Practices and Initial Coding. In

Constructing Grounded Theory (2nd ed., pp. 107–137). London: SAGE.

Charmaz, K. (2014d). Theoretical Sampling, Saturation, and Sorting. In *Constructing Grounded Theory* (2nd ed., pp. 192–224). London: Sage Publications.

Chase, S. (2005). Narrative Inquiry. Multiple lenses, Approaches, Voices. In *The Sage Handbook of the Qualitative Research* (Third, pp. 651–676). Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Chauvin, S., & Garcés-Mascareñas, B. (2014). Becoming less illegal: Deservingness frames and undocumented migrant incorporation. *Sociology Compass*, *8*(4), 422–432. http://doi.org/10.1111/soc4.12145

Chauvin, S., Garcés-Mascareñas, B., & Kraler, A. (2013a). Employment and Migrant Deservingness. *International Migration*, *51*(6), 80–85. http://doi.org/10.1111/imig.12123

Chauvin, S., Garcés-Mascareñas, B., & Kraler, A. (2013b). Working for Legality: Employment and Migrant Regularization in Europe. *International Migration*, *51*(6), 118–131. http://doi.org/10.1111/imig.12109

Chernilo, D. (2006). Social theory's methodological nationalism: Myth and reality. *European Journal of Social Theory*, *9*(1), 5–22. http://doi.org/10.1177/1368431006060460

Chicha, M.-T., & Deraedt, E. (2009). *Genre, migration et déqualification : des trajectoires contrastées. Etude de cas de travailleuses migrantes à Genève. Cahier des migrations internationales*. Genève.

Chiswick, B. R. (1978). The Effect of Americanization on the Earnings of Foreign-born Men. *Journal of Political Economy*. http://doi.org/10.1086/260717

Chiswick, B. R. (1984). Illegal Aliens in the United States Labor Market: Analysis of Ocupational Attainment and Earnings. *International Migration Review*, *18*(3), 714–732.

Chiswick, B. R., Lee, Y. L., & Miller, P. W. (2005). A longitudinal analysis of immigrant occupational mobility: A test of the immigrant assimilation hypothesis. *International Migration Review*, *39*(2), 332–353. http://doi.org/10.1111/j.1747-7379.2004.tb00211.x

Christensen, K. (2014). The Life Trajectories of Migrant Care Workers. In *Migrant Care Workers. Searching for New Horizons* (pp. 41–62). London: Ashgate.

Cieza, K. (2016). *Representaciones Sociales de la Maternidad y los Significados que le asignan las Mujeres Jóvenes Universitarias de Estratos Medios Bajos de Lima Metropolitana en la Construcción de las Feminidades e Identidades Femeninas*. PUCP.

Clerge, O., Sanchez-Soto, G., Song, J., & Luke, N. (2015). 'I Would Really Like to Go Where You Go': Rethinking Migration Decision-Making Among Educated Tied Movers. *Population, Space and Place*, n/a-n/a. http://doi.org/10.1002/psp.1990

Cohler, B., & Hostetler, A. (2003). Linking Life Course and Life Story. In *Handbook of the Life Course* (pp. 555–576). New York: Springer US.

Coleman, J. S. (1988). Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital. *American Journal of Sociology*, *94*, s95–s120. http://doi.org/10.1037/0012-1649.22.6.723

Collyer, M. (2005). When Do Social Networks Fail to Explain Migration? Accounting for the Movement of Algerian Asylum-Seekers to the UK. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *31*(4), 699–718. http://doi.org/10.1080/13691830500109852

Collyer, M., & De Haas, H. (2012). Developing dynamic categorisations of transit migration. *Population, Space and Place*, *18*(4), 468–481. http://doi.org/10.1002/psp.635

Connor, P., & Massey, D. (2010). Economic Outcomes among Latino Migrants to Spain and the United States: Differences by Source Region and Legal Status. *The International Migration Review*, *44*(4), 802–829. http://doi.org/10.1111/j.1747-7379.2010.00826.x

Contreras, C., Incio, J., López, S., Mazzeo, C., & Mendoza, W. (2016). *La desigualdad de la distribución de ingresos en el Perú. Orígines históricos y dinámica política y económica*. Lima: PUCP Fondo Editorial.

Cooke, F. L. (2007). "Husband's career first": renegotiating career and family commitment among migrant Chinese academic couples in Britain. *Work, Employment & Society*, *21*(1), 47–65. http://doi.org/10.1177/0950017007073615

Cooklin, a. R., Westrupp, E. M., Strazdins, L., Giallo, R., Martin, A., & Nicholson, J. M. (2014). Fathers at Work: Work-Family Conflict, Work-Family Enrichment and Parenting in an Australian Cohort. *Journal of Family Issues*, 1–15. http://doi.org/10.1177/0192513X14553054

Cordero-Guzmán, H. R. (2005). Community-Based Organisations and Migration in New York City.

Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, *31*(5), 889–909. http://doi.org/10.1080/13691830500177743

Córdova Alcaraz, R. (2012). *Rutas y dinámicas migratorias entre los países de América Latina y el Caribe (ALC), y entre ALC y la Unión Europea.* Bruselas: OIM.

Corluy, V., Marx, I., & Verbist, G. (2011). Employment chances and changes of immigrants in Belgium: The impact of citizenship. *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, *52*(4), 350–368. http://doi.org/10.1177/0020715211412112

Correa, N., & Roopnaine, T. (2013). *Pueblos Indigenas & Programas de Transferencias Condicionadas. Estudio etnografico sobre la implementacion y los efectos socioculturales del Programa Juntos en seis comunidades andinas y amazonicas de Peru.* Lima. Retrieved from http://sic.cultura.gob.mx/lista.php?table=grupo_etnico&disciplina=&estado_id=

Courtis, C., & Pacecca, M. I. (2014). Domestic work and international migration in Latin America: Exploring trajectories of regional migrant women in domestic service in Argentina. *Women's Studies International Forum*, *46*, 24–32. http://doi.org/10.1016/j.wsif.2014.01.002

Crawley, H., & Skleparis, D. (2017). Refugees, migrants, neither, both: categorical fetishism and the politics of bounding in Europe's 'migration crisis.' *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *0*(0), 1–17. http://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2017.1348224

Creese, G., Dyck, I., & McLaren, A. T. (2008). The "flexible" immigrant? Human capital discourse, the family household and labour market strategies. *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, *9*(3), 269–288. http://doi.org/10.1007/s12134-008-0061-0

Creese, G., Dyck, I., & Tiger Mc Laren, A. (2011). The problem of "human capital": Gender, place and immigrant household strategies of reskilling in Vancouver. In *Gender, generations and the family in international migration* (pp. 141–161). Amsterdam: IMISCOE/Amsterdam University.

Cresswell, T. (2010). Towards a politics of mobility. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, *28*(1), 17–31. http://doi.org/10.1068/d11407

Crul, M. (2015). Super-diversity vs. assimilation: how complex diversity in majority–minority cities challenges the assumptions of assimilation. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *9451*(January), 1–15. http://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2015.1061425

Crul, M., & Schneider, J. (2010). Comparative integration context theory: participation and belonging in new diverse European cities. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *33*(7), 1249–1268. http://doi.org/10.1080/01419871003624068

Cruz-Martinez, G. (2014). Welfare State Development in Latin America and the Caribbean (1970s–2000s): Multidimensional Welfare Index, Its Methodology and Results. *Soc. Indic. Res*, (119), 1295–1317. http://doi.org/10.1007/s11205-013-0549-7

Cruz-Martinez, G. (2017). Welfare State Development , Individual Deprivations and Income Inequality : A Cross-Country Analysis in Latin America and the Caribbean. *Soc. Indic. Res*, (134), 955–979. http://doi.org/10.1007/s11205-016-1465-4

Csedő, K. (2008). Negotiating Skills in the Global City: Hungarian and Romanian Professionals and Graduates in London. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *34*(5), 803–823. http://doi.org/10.1080/13691830802106093

Cvajner, M., & Sciortino, G. (2010). Theorizing Irregular Migration: The Control of Spatial Mobility in Differentiated Societies. *European Journal of Social Theory*, *13*(3), 389–404. http://doi.org/10.1177/1368431010371764

Czaika, M., & de Haas, H. (2016). The Effect of Visas on Migration Processes. *International Migration Review*, (Fall), 1–34. http://doi.org/10.1111/imre.12261

Dahinden, J. (2005). Contesting transnationalism? Lessons from the study of Albanian migration networks from former Yugoslavia. *Global Networks*, *5*(2), 191–208. http://doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-0374.2005.00114.x

Dahinden, J. (2009). Are we all transnationals now? Network transnationalism and transnational subjectivity: the differing impacts of globalization on the inhabitants of a small Swiss city. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *32*(8), 1365–1386. http://doi.org/10.1080/01419870802506534

Dahinden, J. (2013). Cities, Migrant Incorporation, and Ethnicity: A Network Perspective on Boundary Work. *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, *14*(1), 39–60. http://doi.org/10.1007/s12134-011-0224-2

Dahinden, J. (2016). A plea for the 'de-migranticization" of research on migration and integration.' *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *39*(13), 2207–2225. http://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2015.1124129

Dahinden, J. (2017). Transnationalism reloaded: the historical trajectory of a concept. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *40*(9), 1474–1485. http://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2017.1300298

Daiute, C. (2014a). Character Mapping and Time Analysis. In *Narrative Inquiry. A Dynamic Approach* (pp. 190–224). New York: Sage Publications.

Daiute, C. (2014b). Plot Analysis. In *Narrative Inquiry. A Dynamic Approach* (pp. 114–149). New York: Sage Publications.

Dannefer, D. (2012). Enriching the Tapestry : Expanding the Scope of Life Course Concepts, *67*, 221–225. http://doi.org/10.1093/geronb/gbr148.

de Bruine, E., Hordijk, M., Tamagno, C., & Sánchez Arimborgo, Y. (2013). Living Between Multiple Sites: Transnational Family Relations from the Perspective of Elderly Non-Migrants in Junín, Peru. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *39*(3), 483–500. http://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2013.733865

De Certeau, M. (1980). *L'invention du quotidien. Les arts de faire*. Paris: Gallimard.

de Federico de la Rua, A. (2007). Networks and Identifications. *International Sociology*, *22*(6), 683–699. http://doi.org/10.1177/0268580907082247

de Haas, H. (2010). The Internal Dynamics of Migration Processes: A Theoretical Inquiry. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *36*(10), 1587–1617. http://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2010.489361

de Miguel Luken, V., & Tranmer, M. (2010). Personal support networks of immigrants to Spain: A multilevel analysis. *Social Networks*, *32*(4), 253–262. http://doi.org/10.1016/j.socnet.2010.03.002

del Rey Poveda, A., & De Vilhena, D. V. (2014). Marrying after arriving: The role of individuals' networks for immigrant choice of partner's origin. *Advances in Life Course Research*, *19*(1), 28–39. http://doi.org/10.1016/j.alcr.2013.10.003

Della Torre, L. (2017). *State's Discretion and the Challenge of Irregular Migration – the Example of Permanent Regularization Practices in Spain and Switzerland* (Working Paper No. 12). Neuchâtel.

Della Torre, L. (2018). Opération Papyrus – un bilan à mi- parcours. Retrieved from http://blog.nccr-onthemove.ch/operation-papyrus-un-bilan-a-mi-parcours/

Demireva, N., & Kesler, C. (2011). The curse of inopportune transitions: The labour market behaviour of immigrants and natives in the UK. *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, *52*(4), 306–326. http://doi.org/10.1177/0020715211412116

Denave, S. (2009). Les ruptures professionnelles : analyser les événements au croisement des dispositions individuelles et des contextes. In *Bifurcations. Les sciences sociales face aux ruptures et à l'événements* (pp. 168–175). Paris: La Découverte "Recherches." Retrieved from http://www.cairn.info/bifurcations--9782707156006-page-168.htm

Dicken, P., Kelly, P. F., Olds, K., & Wai-Chung Yeung, H. (2001). Chains and networks, territories and scales: towards a relational framework for analysing the global economy. *Global Networks*, *1*(2), 89–112. http://doi.org/10.1111/1471-0374.00007

Dixon, M. (2016). Migration of Engineers and the Gender Dimension. In *High-Skill Migration and Recession: Gendered Perspectives* (pp. 124–159). London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Dobry, M. (2009). 4. Le politique dans ses états critiques : retour sur quelques aspects de l'hypothèse de continuité. In *Bifurcations. Les sciences sociales face aux ruptures et à l'événement* (pp. 64–88). Paris: La Découverte "Recherches." Retrieved from http://www.cairn.info/bifurcations--9782707156006-page-64.htm

Docquier, F., & Marfouk, A. (2002). International Migration by Education Attainment, 1990-2000. In *Brain Drain, Brain Gain, Brain Waste* (pp. 151–199).

Domínguez, S., & Maya-Jariego, I. (2008). Acculturation of host individuals: immigrants and personal networks. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, *42*(3–4), 309–27. http://doi.org/10.1007/s10464-008-9209-5

Domínguez, S., & Watkins, C. (2003). Creating Networks for Survival and Mobility : Social Capital Among African- American and Latin-American Low-Income Mothers. *Social Problems*, *50*(1), 111–135.

Donato, K. M., Carrico, A. R., Sisk, B., & Piya, B. (2016). Different but the Same: How Legal Status Affects International Migration from Bangladesh. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of*

Political and Social Science, *666*(1), 203–218. http://doi.org/10.1177/0002716216650843

Donato, K. M., & Massey, D. (2016). Twenty-First-Century Globalization and Illegal Migration. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, *666*(1), 7–26. http://doi.org/10.1177/0002716216653563

Donato, K. M., Piya, B., & Jacobs, A. (2014). The double disadvantage reconsidered: Gender, immigration, marital status, and global labor force participation in the 21st century. *International Migration Review*, *48*(s1), S335–S376. http://doi.org/10.1111/imre.12142

Dubach, P. (2015). *La relève scientifique dans les universités suisses : indicateurs statistiques concernant les conditions de travail et les perspectives de carrière*. Bern.

Dubois-Shaik, F., & Fusulier, B. (2016). *Experiences of Early Career Researchers/Academics: a Qualitative Research on the Leaky Pipeline and Interrelated Phenomena in six European Countries* (Working paper No. 11). Trento.

Dumitru, S. (2014). From "brain drain" to "care drain" : Women's labor migration and methodological sexism. *Women's Studies International Forum*, *47*(PB), 203–212. http://doi.org/10.1016/j.wsif.2014.06.006

Dumitru, S. (2015). De quelle origine êtes-vous ? Banalisation du nationalisme méthodologique. *Terrains/Théories*, *3*. Retrieved from https://teth.revues.org/567?lang=en

Dumitru, S., & Marfouk, A. (2015). Existe-t-il une féminisation de la migration internationale? Féminisations de la migration qualifiée et invisibilité des diplômes. *Hommes et Migrations*, *1311*(2), 31–41. Retrieved from http://www.cairn.info/revue-hommes-et-migrations-2015-3-page-31.htm

Durand, J. (2010). The Peruvian diaspora: portrait of a migratory process. *Latin American Perspectives*, *37*(5), 12–28. http://doi.org/10.1177/0094582X10379103

Durand, J., & Massey, D. (2010). New World Orders: Continuities and Changes in Latin American Migration. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, *630*(1), 20–52. http://doi.org/10.1177/0002716210368102

Durand, J., Massey, D., & Pren, K. A. (2016). Double Disadvantage: Unauthorized Mexicans in the

U.S. Labor Market. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, *666*(1), 78–90. http://doi.org/10.1177/0002716216643507

Düvell, F. (2011). Paths into Irregularity: The Legal and Political Construction of Irregular Migration. *European Journal of Migration and Law*, *13*(3), 275–295. http://doi.org/10.1163/157181611X587856

Dyer, S., McDowell, L., & Batnitzky, A. (2011). Migrant work, precarious work-life balance: What the experiences of migrant workers in the service sector in greater London tell us about the adult worker model. *Gender, Place & Culture*, *18*(5), 685–700. http://doi.org/10.1080/0966369X.2011.601808

Ebner, C., & Helbling, M. (2015). Social distance and wage inequalities for immigrants in Switzerland. *Work, Employment & Society*, 1–19. http://doi.org/10.1177/0950017015594096

Eggebø, H. (2013). A Real Marriage? Applying for Marriage Migration to Norway. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *39*(5), 773–789. http://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2013.756678

Elder, G. J., & Giele, J. (2009). Life Course Studies. An evolving Field. In *The Craft of the lifecourse Research* (pp. 1–24). New York: The Guilford Press.

Erdal, M. B., & Oeppen, C. (2013). Migrant Balancing Acts: Understanding the Interactions Between Integration and Transnationalism. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *39*(6), 867–884. http://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2013.765647

Erel, U. (2010). Migrating Cultural Capital: Bourdieu in Migration Studies. *Sociology*, *44*(4), 642–660. http://doi.org/10.1177/0038038510369363

Erel, U. (2015). Thinking Migrant Capitals Intersectionality: Using a Biographical Approach. In *Migrant Capital. Networks, Identities and Strategies* (pp. 18–32). London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Escrivá, A. (2000). ¿Empleadas de por vida? Peruanas en el servicio doméstico de Barcelona. *Papers: Revista de Sociologia*, *60*, 327–342.

Escrivá, A. (2003). *Conquistando el Espacio Laboral Extradomestico. Peruanas en España* (Documento de Trabajo No. 05–04). Cordoba.

Escrivà, A. (2004). Migrants Coping With Legality: The Views and Experiences of Older Peruvians

and Moroccans. *Journal of Spatial and Organizational Dynamics*, *II*(2), 161–175.

Escrivá, A., Santa Cruz, U., & Bermúdez, A. (2010). Migration, Gender, and Politics. The 2006 Peruvian Elections Abroad. *Latin American Perspectives*, *37*(5), 106–120. http://doi.org/10.1177/0094582X10380391

Esping-Andersen, G. (1990). *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Esser, H. (2004). Does the "New" Immigration Require a "New" Theory of Intergenerational Integration?, *38*(3), 1126–1159.

Ewig, C. (2010). *Second-wave neoliberalism: gender, race, and health sector reform in Peru*. Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press.

Faist, T., Fauser, M., & Reisenauer, E. (2013). Three Transnationals: Transnationalization, Transnational Spaces and Transnationality. In *Transnational Migration* (Immigratio, pp. 1–17). Cambridge: Polity Press.

Falcon, J. (2012). Temporal Trends in Intergenerational Social Mobility in Switzerland: A Cohort Study of Men and Women Born Between 1912 and 1974. *Swiss Journal of Sociology*, *38*(2), 153–176.

Fawcett, J. T. (1989). Networks , Linkages , and Migration Systems. *International Migration Review*, *23*(3), 671–680.

Fennema, M., & Tillie, J. (1999). Political participation and political trust in Amsterdam: Civic communities and ethnic networks. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *25*(4), 703–726. http://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.1999.9976711

Fernandez, N. T., & Jensen, T. G. (2013). Intimate Contradictions: Comparing the Impact of Danish Family Unification Laws on Pakistani and Cuban Marriage Migrants. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, (August 2015), 1–18. http://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2013.854692

Fibbi, R., Kaya, B., & Piguet, E. (2003). *Le Passeport ou le Diplôme? Etude des Discriminations à l'Embauche des Jeunes issus de la Migration. Forum suisse pour l'étude des migrations et de la population* (Vol. 31). Neuchatel.

Findlay, A., McCollum, D., Coulter, R., & Gayle, V. (2015). New mobilities across the life course:

A framework for analysing demographically linked drivers of migration. *Population, Space and Place*, *21*(4), 390–402. http://doi.org/10.1002/psp.1956

Fischer-Rosenthal, W. (2000). Biographical work and biographical structuring in present-day societies. In *The Turn to Biographical Methods in Social Science. Comparative issues and exemples* (pp. 109–123). London: Routledge.

Fischer, C., & Dahinden, J. (2016). *Changing Gender Representations in Politics of Belonging : A Critical Analysis of Developments in Switzerland* (Working Papers No. 6). Neuchâtel.

Fischer, P., & Gerhard Ortega, S. (2015). *Les étudiant-e-s internationaux dans les hautes écoles suisses.* (FSO, Ed.). Neuchâtel.

Fischer, W., & Goblirsch, M. (2007). Biographical structuring: Narrating and reconstructing the self in research and professional practice. In *Narrative, state of the art* (pp. 37–46). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

FitzGerald, D. S., Cook-Martín, D., García, A. S., & Arar, R. (2017). Can you become one of us? A historical comparison of legal selection of 'assimilable' immigrants in Europe and the Americas. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *44*(1), 1–21. http://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2017.1313106

Fleischer, A. (2011). Marriage across space and time among male migrants from Camerron to Germany. In *Gender, generations and the family in international migration* (pp. 243–264). Amsterdam: IMISCOE/Amsterdam University.

Fleischmann, F., & Dronkers, J. (2010). Unemployment among immigrants in European labour markets: an analysis of origin and destination effects. *Work, Employment & Society*, *24*(2), 337–354. http://doi.org/10.1177/0950017010362153

Flückiger, Y., Luzzi, G. F., Urantowka, W., & OUE. (2012). *Analyse du travail clandestin et de son évolution à Genève.* Genève.

Flückiger, Y., & Pasche, C. (2005). *Analyse du travail clandestin dans l'économie domestique à Genève.* Genève.

Fog Olwig, K. (2012). The Care Chain, Children's Mobility and the Caribbean Migration Tradition.

Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, *38*(6), 933–952. http://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2012.677175

Fog Olwig, K. (2014). Migration and Care. Intimately Related Aspects of Caribbean Family and Kinship. In *Transnational Families, Migration and the Circulation of Care. Understanding Mobiliy and Absence in Family Life* (pp. 133–148). New York: Routledge.

Fong, E., & Chan, E. (2010). The Effect of Economic Standing, Individual Preferences, and Co-ethnic Resources on Immigrant Residential Clustering 1. *International Migration Review*, *44*(1), 111–141. http://doi.org/10.1111/j.1747-7379.2009.00800.x

Fong, E., & Shen, J. (2016). Participation in Voluntary Associations and Social Contact of Immigrants in Canada. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 1–20. http://doi.org/10.1177/0002764216632833

Fouron, G., & Schiller, N. G. (2001). All in the Family: Gender, Transnational Migration, and the Nation-State. *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power*, *7*, 539–582. http://doi.org/10.1080/1070289X.2001.9962678

Franzoni, J. M. (2008). Welfare regimes in latin America: Capturing constellations of markets, families, and policies. *Latin American Politics and Society*, *50*(2), 67–100. http://doi.org/10.1111/j.1548-2446.2008.00013.x

Freeman, L. C. (2011). The Development of Social Network Analysis - with an Emphasis on Recent Events. In J. Scott & P. J. Carrington (Eds.), *The Sage Handbook of Social Network Analysis* (pp. 26–39). London: Sage Publications.

Fresnoza-Flot, A. (2014a). Men's Caregiving Practices in Filipino Transnational Families. In *Transnational Families, Migration and the Circulation of Care. Understanding Mobiliy and Absence in Family Life* (pp. 170–184). New York: Routledge.

Fresnoza-Flot, A. (2014b). The Bumpy Landscape of Family Reunification: Experiences of First- and 1.5-generation Filipinos in France. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, (August), 1–20. http://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2014.956711

Fresnoza-Flot, A. (2017). Gender-and social class-based transnationalism of migrant Filipinas in binational unions. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, (March).

http://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2016.1274562

Fresnoza-Flot, A., & Shinozaki, K. (2017). Transnational perspectives on intersecting experiences: gender, social class and generation among Southeast Asian migrants and their families. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *43*(6), 867–884. http://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2016.1274001

Freyre Valladolid, M., & Lopez Mendoza, E. (2011). *Brechas de Género en Uso del Tiempo*. Lima.

FSO. (2015). *Le bénévolat en Suisse 2013/2014*. Neuchâtel. Retrieved from https://www.bfs.admin.ch/bfs/fr/home/statistiques/population/migration-integration/indicateurs-integration/tous-indicateurs/education-formation/niveau-acheve.html

FSO. (2016a). Migration et intégration - données détaillées. Retrieved January 1, 2016, from http://www.bfs.admin.ch/bfs/portal/fr/index/themen/01/07/blank/data/01.html

FSO. (2016b). STAT-TAB. Retrieved June 27, 2016, from https://www.pxweb.bfs.admin.ch/default.aspx?px_language=en

FSO. (2016c). *Taux de chômage au sens du BIT et revenu une année et cinq ans après l'obtention du diplôme. Actualités OFS*. Neuchâtel.

FSO. (2017a). Mariages mixtes. Retrieved January 3, 2017, from https://www.bfs.admin.ch/bfs/fr/home/statistiques/population/migration-integration/indicateurs-integration/tous-indicateurs/famille-demographie/mariages-mixtes.html

FSO. (2017b). Occupation activity rate. Retrieved February 3, 2018, from https://www.bfs.admin.ch/bfs/fr/home/statistiques/situation-economique-sociale-population/egalite-femmes-hommes/activite-professionnelle/taux-activite-professionnelle.html

FSO. (2017c). Underemployment. Retrieved February 3, 2018, from https://www.bfs.admin.ch/bfs/fr/home/statistiques/population/migration-integration/indicateurs-integration/tous-indicateurs/marche-travail/surqualification.html

Fuentes, F., & Reyes Campos, N. (2003). *Feminización de las migraciones en América Latina. Las que migran de Sur a Sur: Las inmigraciones intra-regionales de mujeres Peruanas hacia Chile*. Santiago.

Fuertes Medina, P. (2013). *Trabajo doméstico remunerado en el Perú. Situación y perspectivas en función del Convenio 189 y la Recomendación 201 de la OIT*.

Fuller, N. (1993). *Dilemas de la Femineidad, Mujeres de clase media en el Perú*. Lima: Fondo Editorial PUCP.

Fuller, N. (2000a). Significados y prácticas de paternidad entre varones urbanos del Perú. In N. Fuller (Ed.), *Paternidades en América Latina* (pp. 35–89). Lima: PUCP Fondo Editoria.

Fuller, N. (2000b). Work and masculinity among Peruvian urban men. *The European Journal of Development Research*. http://doi.org/10.1080/09578810008426767

Fuller, N. (2001). Maternidad e identidad femenina: relato de sus desencuentros. In S. Donas Burak (Ed.), *Adolescencia y juventud en America Latina* (pp. 225–242). Cartago: Libro Universitario Regional. http://doi.org/10.4067/S0718-22362004000200004

Fuller, N. (2005). Cambios y Permanencias en las Relaciones de Género en el Perú. In T. Valdés & X. Valdés (Eds.), *Familia y vida privada ¿Transformaciones, tensiones, resistencias y nuevos sentidos?* (Series Lib, pp. 107–129). Santiago: FLACSO-Chile/CEDEM/UNFPA.

Fuller, S., & Martin, T. F. (2012). Predicting Immigrant Employment Sequences in the First Years of Settlement. *International Migration Review*, *46*(1), 138–190. http://doi.org/10.1111/j.1747-7379.2012.00883.x

Fullin, G. (2011). Unemployment trap or high job turnover? Ethnic penalties and labour market transitions in Italy. *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, *52*(4), 284–305. http://doi.org/10.1177/0020715211412111

Gafner, M., & Schmidlin, I. (2007). Le genre et la législation en matière de migration. *Nouvelles Questions Féministes*, *26*(1), 16–37.

Garavito, C. (2017). Oferta de Trabajo del Hogar Remunerado en el Perú: 2007-2014. *Cuadernos de Economía*, *36*(72), 265–299. http://doi.org/10.15446/cuad.econ.v36n72.57471

Garavíto, C. (2010). Vulnerabilidad en el empleo, género y etnicidad en el Perú. *Economía*,

XXXIII(66), 89–127.

Garavito, C., & Carrillo, M. (2004). *Feminización de la Matrícula de Educacion Superior y Mercado de Trabajo en el Perú: 1978-2003*. Lima.

Garavito, C., & Carrillo, M. (2005). Feminización de la matricula de education superior y mercado de trabajo en el Perú: 1978 - 2003, 1ç77. Retrieved from http://cataleg.uji.es/record=b1139077~S1*cat

Gathmann, C. (2015). Naturalization and citizenship: Who benefits? *IZA World of Labor*, (February), 1–10. http://doi.org/10.15185/izawol.125

Gauthier, J.-A., & Valarino, I. (2016). L'activation du statut maître sexué lors de la transition à la parentalité - approche séquentielle multidimensionnelle. In *Devenir parents, devenir inégaux. Transition à la parentalité et inégalités de genre* (pp. 48–75). Zurich: Seismo.

Gavanas, A. (2013). Migrant domestic workers, social network strategies and informal markets for domestic services in Sweden. *Women's Studies International Forum*, *36*, 54–64. http://doi.org/10.1016/j.wsif.2012.08.004

Geddie, K. (2013). The transnational ties that bind: Relationship science and engineering research students relationship considerations for graduating international students. *Population, Space and Place*, *19*(November 2012), 196–208. http://doi.org/10.1002/psp

Gerstel, N. (2000). The third shift: Gender and care work outside the home. *2Qualitative Sociology*, *23*(4), 467–483. http://doi.org/10.1023/A:1005530909739

Gfeller, F., & Weiss, A. (2015). *Les personnes diplômées des hautes écoles sur le marché du travail. Premiers résultats de l'enquête longitudinale 2013*. Neuchâtel.

Giele, J. (2009). Life Stories to Understand Diversity. Variations by Class, Race and Gender. In *The Craft of the lifecourse Research* (pp. 236–257). New York: The Guilford Press.

Gil Araujo, S., & González-Fernández, T. (2014). International migration, public policies and domestic work. Latin American migrant women in the Spanish domestic work sector. *Women's Studies International Forum*, *46*, 13–23. http://doi.org/10.1016/j.wsif.2014.01.007

Giralt, R. M., & Bailey, A. J. (2010). Transnational familyhood and the liquid life paths of South

Americans in the UK. *Global Networks*, *10*(3), 383–400. http://doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-0374.2010.00294.x

Giraud, O., & Lucas, B. (2009). Le renouveau des régimes de genre en Allemagne et en Suisse : bonjour 'néo maternalisme' ? *Cahiers Du Genre*, *46*(1), 17–46. http://doi.org/10.3917/cdge.046.0017

Giudici, F. (2016). Le poids du passé: Types de parcours avant la naissance du premier enfant et leur impact lors de la transition à la parentalité. In *Devenir parents, devenir inégaux. Transition à la parentalité et inégalités de genre* (pp. 24–17). Zurich/Genève: Seismo.

Giudici, F., & Gauthier, J. (2009). Différentiation des trajectoires professionnelles liées à la transition à la parentalité en Suisse. *Swiss Journal of Sociology*, *35*(2), 253–278.

Giudici, F., & Widmer, E. (2015). Gendered Occupational Shifts in the Transition to Parenthood: The Influence of Personal Networks. *Sociology*, 0038038515601857. http://doi.org/10.1177/0038038515601857

Gleeson, S. (2014). Undocumented workers' transitions: legal status, migration, and work in Europe. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *37*(5), 892–894. http://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2013.819108

Glick Schiller, N., Basch, L., & Szanton Blanc, C. (1995). From Immigrant to Transmigrant: Theorizing Transnational Migration. *Anthropological Quarterly*, *68*(1), 48–63.

Glick Schiller, N., & Salazar, N. B. (2013). Regimes of Mobility Across the Globe. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *39*(2), 183–200. http://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2013.723253

Goldring, L., & Landolt, P. (2011). Caught in the Work–Citizenship Matrix: the Lasting Effects of Precarious Legal Status on Work for Toronto Immigrants. *Globalizations*, *8*(3), 325–341. http://doi.org/10.1080/14747731.2011.576850

Goldring, L., & Landolt, P. (2013a). *Producing and negotiating non-citizenship: precarious legal status in Canada.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press. http://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2014.928340

Goldring, L., & Landolt, P. (2013b). The conditionality of Legal Status and Rights: Conceptualizing

Precarious Non-citizenship in Canada. In *Producing and Negotiating Non-citizenship. Precarious Legal Status in Canada* (pp. 15–33). Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Gordon, M. (1964). *Assimilation in the American life*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Granovetter, M. (1973). The Strength of Weak Ties. *American Journal of Sociology*, *78*(6), 1360–1380.

Granovetter, M. (1985). Economic Action and Social Structure : The Problem of Embeddedness. *American Journal of Sociology*, *91*(3), 481–510.

Grenier, G., & Xue, L. (2011). Canadian Immigrants' Access to a First Job in Their Intended Occupation. *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, *12*(3), 275–303. http://doi.org/10.1007/s12134-010-0159-z

Griga, D. (2014). Participation in Higher Education of Youths with a Migrant Background in Switzerland. *Swiss Journal of Sociology*, *40*(3), 370–400.

Grigoleit-Richter, G. (2017). Highly skilled and highly mobile? Examining gendered and ethnicised labour market conditions for migrant women in STEM-professions in Germany. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *9451*(July). http://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2017.1314597

Grillo, R. (2007). Betwixt and Between: Trajectories and Projects of Transmigration. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *33*(2), 199–217. http://doi.org/10.1080/13691830601154138

Grossetti, M. (2006). L'imprévisibilité dans les parcours sociaux. *Les Cahiers Internationaux de Sociologie*, (120), 5–28. http://doi.org/10.3917/cis.120.0005

Grzymala-Kazlowska, A. (2005). From Ethnic Cooperation to In-Group Competition: Undocumented Polish Workers in Brussels. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *31*(4), 675–697. http://doi.org/10.1080/13691830500109787

Grzymala-Kazlowska, A., & Phillimore, J. (2017). Introduction: rethinking integration. New perspectives on adaptation and settlement in the era of super-diversity. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *9451*(December 2017), 1–18. http://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2017.1341706

Guarnizo, L. E., Sanchez, A. I., & Roach, E. M. (1999). Mistrust, fragmented solidarity, and

transnational migration: Colombians in New York City and Los Angeles. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *22*(2).

Guetto, R., & Azzolini, D. (2015). An Empirical Study of Status Exchange through Migrant / Native Marriages in Italy, *41*(13), 2149–2172. http://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2015.1037725

Guissé, I., & Bolzman, C. (2015). *Etudiants du Sud et internationalisation des hates écoles: entre illusions et espoirs*. Genève: IES.

Gutierrez-Rodriguez, E. (2014). Domestic work–affective labor: On feminization and the coloniality of labor. *Women's Studies International Forum*, *46*, 45–53. http://doi.org/10.1016/j.wsif.2014.03.005

Halfacree, K. (2004). Untying migration completely: ce-gendering or radical transformation? *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *30*(August 2015), 397–413. http://doi.org/10.1080/1369183042000200768

Handy, F., & Greenspan, I. (2009). Immigrant Volunteering. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, *38*(6), 956–982. http://doi.org/10.1177/0899764008324455

Harding, S. (1993). Rethinking Standpoint Epistemology: "What is Strong Objectivity?" In L. Alcoff & E. Potter (Eds.), *Feminist Epistemologies* (pp. 49–79). New York: Routledge.

Harpaz, Y. (2018). Compensatory citizenship : dual nationality as a strategy of global upward mobility. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *0*(0), 1–20. http://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2018.1440486

Harpaz, Y., & Mateos, P. (2018). Strategic citizenship : negotiating membership in the age of dual nationality. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *0*(0), 1–15. http://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2018.1440482

Harvey, W. S. (2008). Brain circulation? British and Indian Scientist in Boston, Massachussetts, USA. *Asia Population Studies*, *4*(November 2008), 293–308. http://doi.org/10.1080/17441730802496516

Hawthorne, L. (2014). Indian students and the evolution of the study-migration pathway in

Australia. *International Migration*, *52*(2), 3–19. http://doi.org/10.1111/imig.12110

Hawthorne, L., & To, A. (2014). Australian employer response to the study-migration pathway: The quantitative evidence 2007-2011. *International Migration*, *52*(3), 99–115. http://doi.org/10.1111/imig.12154

Heering, L., van der Erf, R., & van Wissen, L. (2004). The role of family networks and migration culture in the continuation of Moroccan emigration: a gender perspective. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *30*(2), 323–337. http://doi.org/10.1080/1369183042000200722

Hélardot, V. (2009). 8. Vouloir ce qui arrive ? Les bifurcations biographiques entre logiques structurelles et choix individuels. In *Bifurcations. Les sciences sociales face aux ruptures et à l'événement* (pp. 160–167). Paris: La Découverte "Recherches." Retrieved from http://www.cairn.info/bifurcations--9782707156006-page-160.htm

Hellermann, C. (2006). Migrating alone: Tackling social capital? Women from Eastern Europe in Portugal. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *29*(6), 1135–1152. http://doi.org/10.1080/01419870600960396

Hercog, M. (2017). *The Privileged and Useful Migrant : An Evaluation of Changing Policy and Scholarly Approaches Towards High-skilled Migration* (Working Paper No. 16). Neuchâtel.

Hercog, M., & van de Laar, M. (2016). Europe as unlikely immigrant destination: location choice for internationally mobile students in India. *European Journal of Higher Education*, *0*(0), 1–16. http://doi.org/10.1080/21568235.2016.1231581

Hernández-Carretero, M. (2015). Renegotiating Obligations through Migration: Senegalese Transnationalism and the Quest for the Right Distance. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *41*(12), 2021–2040. http://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2015.1045462

Herz, A. (2015). Relational constitution of social support in migrants' transnational personal communities. *Social Networks*, *40*, 64–74. http://doi.org/10.1016/j.socnet.2014.08.001

Herz, A., & Olivier, C. (2012). Transnational Social Network Analysis. *Transnational Social Review*, *2*(1), 11–29. http://doi.org/10.1080/21931674.2012.10820711

Hess, M. (2004). 'Spatial' relationships? Towards a reconceptualization of embedded ness. *Progress*

in Human Geography, *28*(2), 165–186. http://doi.org/10.1191/0309132504ph479oa

Hewison, K. (2016). Precarious work. In *The SAGE Handbook of the Sociology of Work and Employment* (pp. 428–443). London: SAGE.

Hibbins, R. (2005). Migration and gender identity among Chinese skilled male migrants to Australia. *Geoforum*, *36*(2 SPEC. ISS.), 167–180. http://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2003.10.003

Hite, J. (2005). Evolutionary Processes and Path of Embedded Network Ties in Emerging Entrepreneurial Firms. *Entrepreneurship: Theory and Practice*, 113–144. http://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-6520.2005.00072.x

Hite, J. M. (2003). Patterns of multidimensionality among embedded network ties: a typology of relational embeddness in emerging entrepreneurial firms. *Strategic Organization*, *1*(1), 9–49.

Ho, E. L.-E. (2016). Incongruent migration categorisations and competing citizenship claims: 'return' and hypermigration in transnational migration circuits. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *9451*(July), 1–16. http://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2016.1205802

Hochschild, A. (2001). Global Care Chains and Emotional Surplus Value. In Vintage (Ed.), *On the Edge. Living with Global Capitalism* (pp. 130–146). London.

Hondagneu-Sotelo, P. (2001). *Domestica. Immigrant workers cleaning and caring in the shadows of affluence.* California: University of California Press.

Horn, V. (2017). Situating transnational activities: Peruvian migrants' family visits in a comparative perspective. *Transnational Social Review*, *7*(1), 1–17. http://doi.org/10.1080/21931674.2016.1261585

Huber, L., & Lamas, L. (2017). *Deconstruyendo el rombo. Consideraciones sobre la nueva clase media en el Perù.* Lima: IEP.

Huddleston, T., Niessen, J., Ni Chaoimh, E., & White, E. (2011). *Migrant Integration Policy INDEX III. Suisse. Migrant Integration Policy INDEX III.* Bruxelles.

Huschke, S. (2014). Performing deservingness. Humanitarian health care provision for migrants in Germany. *Social Science and Medicine*, *120*, 352–359. http://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2014.04.046

Hustinx, L. (2010). Institutionally Individualized Volunteering: Towards a Late Modern Re-Construction. *Journal of Civil Society*, *6*(2), 165–179. http://doi.org/10.1080/17448689.2010.506381

Hustinx, L., Cnaan, R. A., & Handy, F. (2010). Navigating Theories of Volunteering: A Hybrid Map for a Complex Phenomenon. *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour*, *40*(4), 410–434. http://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-5914.2010.00439.x

INEI. (2007). Diferenciales de Género en Educación. Retrieved April 26, 2017, from http://proyectos.inei.gob.pe/web/biblioineipub/bancopub/Est/Lib0905/anexo05.htm

INEI. (2010). *Perú: Estadísticas de la Emigración Internaciona de Peruanos e Inmigración de Extranjeros 1990-2009*. Lima.

INEI. (2011). *II Censo Nacional Universitario 2010*. Lima. Retrieved from http://rpu.edu.pe/wp-content/uploads/2015/07/II-Censo-Nacional-Universitario.pdf

INEI. (2015a). *Encuesta Nacional de Egresados Universitarios y Universidades 2014*. *Principales resultados*. Lima: INEI. http://doi.org/10.1007/s13398-014-0173-7.2

INEI. (2015b). Profesiones o Carreras Universitarias. In *Peru: Indicadores de Educacion por Departamentos, 2004-2014* (pp. 113–124). Lima: INEI.

INEI. (2016a). *Perú: Brechas de Género 2016*. *Avances hacia la igualdad de mujeres y hombres*. Lima.

INEI. (2016b). *Perú: Estadísticas de la Emigración Internacional de Peruanos e Inmigración de Extranjeros, 1990-2015*. Lima: INEI, MIGRACIONES, OIM.

Instituto Nacional de Estadística. (2017a). *Cifras de Población al 1 de julio de 2017*. *Estadística de Migraciones. Primer semestre 2017*. (Vol. Notas de p).

Instituto Nacional de Estadística. (2017b). *Estadística de Adquisiciones de Nacionalidad Española de Residentes (ANER)* (Vol. Notas de p).

IPSOS Peru. (2016). *Perfiles Socioeconómicos Lima Metropolitana 2016*. Lima.

Iredale, R. (2005). Gender , immigration policies and accreditation : valuing the skills of professional women migrants. *Geoforum*, *36*, 155–166. http://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2004.04.002

Isaakyan, I., & Triandafyllidou, A. (2016). Female High-Skill Migration in the 21st Century: The Challenge of the Recession. In *High-Skill Migration and Recession: Gendered Perspectives* (pp. 3–20). London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Isaksen, L. W. (2012). Transnational spaces of care: Migrant nurses in Norway. *Social Politics*, *19*(1), 58–77. http://doi.org/10.1093/sp/jxr029

Itzigsohn, J. (2000). Immigration and the Boundaries of Citizenship: The Institutions of Immigrants' Political Transnationalism. *International Migration Review*, *34*(4), 1126–1154.

Izaguirre, L., & Anderson, J. (2012). *Implicancias de la migración laboral feminina peruana en las mujeres migranes y sus familias*. Lima: UNFPA.

Jacobs, D., Phalet, K., & Swyngedouw, M. (2004). Associational membership and political involvement among ethnic minority groups in Brussels. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *30*(3), 543–559. http://doi.org/10.1080/13691830410001682089

Jacobs, D., & Tillie, J. (2004). Introduction: social capital and political integration of migrants. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *30*(3), 419–427. http://doi.org/10.1080/13691830410001682016

Jeffery, L., & Murison, J. (2011). The temporal, social, spatial, and legal dimensions of return and onward migration. *Population, Space and Place*, *17*(2), 131–139. http://doi.org/10.1002/psp.606

Joppke, C. (2018). The instrumental turn of citizenship. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 1–21. http://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2018.1440484

Kelly, M., & Hedman, L. (2016). Between Opportunity and Constraint: Understanding the Onward Migration of Highly Educated Iranian Refugees from Sweden. *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, *17*(3), 649–667. http://doi.org/10.1007/s12134-015-0422-4

Kelly, P. F. (2012). Migration, transnationalism, and the spaces of class identity. *Philippine Studies: Historical and Ethnographic Viewpoints*, *60*(2), 153–186. http://doi.org/10.1353/phs.2012.0017

Kilkey, M. (2010). Men and Domestic Labor: A Missing Link in the Global Care Chain. *Men and Masculinities*, *13*(1), 126–149. http://doi.org/10.1177/1097184X10382884

Kilkey, M. (2014). Polish Male Migrants in London. In *Transnational Families, Migration and the Circulation of Care. Understanding Mobiliy and Absence in Family Life* (pp. 185–199). New York: Routledge.

Kilkey, M., Perrons, D., & Plomien, A. (2013). *Gender, Migration and Domestic Work: Masculinities, Male Labour and Fathering in the UK and USA.* (205th ed.). London: Palgrave Macmillan.

King, R., & Raghuram, P. (2013). International Student Migration: Mapping the Field and New Research Agendas. *Population, Space and Place*, *19*(2), 127–137. http://doi.org/10.1002/psp.1746

Kirk, K., Bal, E., & Janssen, S. R. (2017). Migrants in liminal time and space: an exploration of the experiences of highly skilled Indian bachelors in Amsterdam. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *9451*(July), 1–17. http://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2017.1314600

Kofman, E. (2000). Female Migrants and Gender Relations in Studies of Skilled Migration in Europe, *59*.

Kofman, E. (2004). Family-related migration: a critial review of European Studies. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *30*(August 2015), 243–262. http://doi.org/10.1080/1369183042000200687

Kofman, E. (2013). Gendered Labour Migrations in Europe and Emblematic Migratory Figures. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *39*(4), 579–600. http://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2013.745234

Kofman, E. (2018). Family Migration as a Class Matter. *International Migration*, *56*(4), 33–46. http://doi.org/10.1111/imig.12433

Kofman, E., & Raghuram, P. (2005). Gender and skilled migrants : into and beyond the work place. *Geoforum*, *36*, 149–154. http://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2004.06.001

Kofman, E., & Raghuram, P. (2006). Gender and Global Labour Migrations: Incorporating Skilled Workers. *Antipode*, *38*(2), 282–303. http://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8330.2006.00580.x

Kofman, E., & Raghuram, P. (2015). *Gendered Migrations and global social reproduction*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Kofman, E., Saharso, S., & Vacchelli, E. (2015). Gendered perspectives on integration discourses and measures. *International Migration*, *53*(4), 77–89. http://doi.org/10.1111/imig.12102

Kogan, I. (2003). Ex-Yugoslavs in the Austrian and Sweden labour markets: The significance of the period of migration and the effect of citizenship acquisition. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *29*(4), 595–622. http://doi.org/10.1080/1369183032000123413

Kogan, I. (2011). The price of being an outsider: Labour market flexibility and immigrants' employment paths in Germany. *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, *52*(4), 264–283. http://doi.org/10.1177/0020715211412113

Kogan, I., & Weißmann, M. (2013). Immigrants' initial steps in Germany and their later economic success. *Advances in Life Course Research*, *18*(3), 185–198. http://doi.org/10.1016/j.alcr.2013.04.002

Kontos, M. (2013). Negotiating the Social Citizenship Rights of Migrant Domestic Workers: The Right to Family Reunification and a Family Life in Policies and Debates. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *39*(3), 409–424. http://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2013.733861

Korinek, K., Entwisle, B., & Jampaklay, A. (2005). Through thick and thin: Layers of social ties and urban settlement among Thai migrants. *American Sociological Review*, *70*(5), 779–800. http://doi.org/10.1177/000312240507000503

Korobov, N. (2013). Positioning identities. *Narrative Inquiry*, *23*(1), 111–131.

Kosygina, L. (2016). Re-nationalisation, inter-nationalisation, and supra-nationalisation in the re/production of transnational social space(s): the case of Kazakhstanis residing in Novosibirsk. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* , *9451*(March), 1–18. http://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2016.1221336

Kõu, A., Mulder, C. H., & Bailey, A. (2017a). ' For the sake of the family and future ': the linked lives of highly skilled Indian migrants, *9451*(July). http://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2017.1314608

Kõu, A., Mulder, C. H., & Bailey, A. (2017b). 'For the sake of the family and future': the linked lives of highly skilled Indian migrants. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *43*(16), 2788–2805. http://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2017.1314608

Kõu, A., van Wissen, L., van Dijk, J., & Bailey, A. (2015). A Life Course Approach to High-skilled Migration: Lived Experiences of Indians in the Netherlands. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, (March), 1–20. http://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2015.1019843

Kraler, A. et al. (2011). Gender, Generations and the Family in International Migration. *IMISCOE Series*, 394. http://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2013.784082

Kraler, A., Kofman, E., Kohli, M., & Schmoll, C. (2011). Issues and debates on family-related migration and the migrant family: A European perspective. In *Gender, generations and the family in international migration* (pp. 11–54). Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Kraus, W. (2007). The narrative negotiation of identity and belonging. In *Narrative, state of the art* (pp. 123–131). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Kriesi, H., & Baglioni, S. (2003). Putting local associations into their context Preliminary results from a Swiss study of local associations. *Swiss Political Science Review*, *9*(3), 1–34. http://doi.org/10.1002/j.1662-6370.2003.tb00418.x

Kristensen, E. (2017). *Rapport statistique sur l'intégration de la - population issue de la migration*. Neuchâtel: FSO.

Kronenwett, M., & Schönhuth, M. (2014). *VennMaker 1.4.0 Anwenderhandbuch*. Trier.

Krüger, H., & Levy, R. (2001). Linking Life Courses, Work, and the Family: Theorizing a Not so Visible Nexus between Women and men. *The Canadian Journal of Sociology*, *26*(2), 145–166.

Kunz, B. (2011). *Etudiants des hautes écoles universitaires 2010/2011*. Neuchâtel.

Kunz, R. (2008). 'Remittances are Beautiful'? Gender implications of the new global remittances trend. *Third World Quarterly*, *29*(March 2015), 1389–1409. http://doi.org/10.1080/01436590802386617

Kurt, S. (2017). *Fast-Tracking Full Citizenship in the Context of the Swiss Integration Stage Model* (Working Paper No. 15). Neuchâtel.

Lagana, F. (2011). Blocked mobility or unemployment risk? Labour market transitions of natives and immigrants in Switzerland. *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, *52*(4), 327–349. http://doi.org/10.1177/0020715211412115

Lancee, B. (2010). The Economic Returns of Immigrants' Bonding and Bridging Social Capital: The Case of the Netherlands 1. *International Migration Review*, *44*(1), 202–226. http://doi.org/10.1111/j.1747-7379.2009.00803.x

Landolt, P., Autler, L., & Baires, S. (1999). From Hermano Lejano to Hermano Mayor: the dialectics of Salvadoran transnationalism. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *22*(2).

Landolt, P., & Goldring, L. (2015). Assembling noncitizenship through the work of conditionality. *Citizenship Studies*, *19*(8), 853–869. http://doi.org/10.1080/13621025.2015.1110280

Le Feuvre, N. (2015). *Contextualizing Women's Academic Careers in Cross-National Perspective* (Garcia Working Papers No. 3). Trento.

Le Goff, J., & Levy, R. (2016). *Devenir parents, devenir inégaux. Transition à la parentalité et inégalités de genre.* Geneva: Seismo.

Leigh, J. P. (2015). Skilled Immigrants and the Negotiation of Family Relations During Settlement in Calgary, Alberta. *Journal of International Migration and Integration.* http://doi.org/10.1007/s12134-015-0454-9

Leung, M. W. H. (2017). Social Mobility via academic mobility: reconfigurations in class and gender identities among Asian scholars in the global north. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *9451*(July), 1–16. http://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2017.1314595

Levitt, P., & Glick Schiller, N. (2004). Conceptualizing simultaneity: a transnational social field perspective on society. *International Migration Review*, *38*(3), 1002–1039.

Levitt, P., & Lamba-Nieves, D. (2011). Social remittances revisited. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *37*(1), 1–22. http://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2011.521361

Levy, R., & Bühlmann, F. (2016). Towards a socio-structural framework for life course analysis. *Advances in Life Course Research*, (2015). http://doi.org/10.1016/j.alcr.2016.03.005

Levy, R., & Widmer, E. D. (2013a). Analysis of Life Courses - A theoretical Sketch. In *Gendered life courses between standardization and individualization. A Eurpean approach applied to Switzerland* (pp. 1–36). Zurich/Berlin: LIT.

Levy, R., & Widmer, E. D. (2013b). *Gendered life courses between standardization and individualization. A*

European approach applied to Switzerland. Zurich/Berlin: LIT.

Lewis, J. (1992). Gender and the Development of Welfare Regimes. *Journal of European Social Polic*, *2*(3), 159–173.

Liang, Z., & Zhou, B. (2016). The Effects of Legal Status on Employment and Health Outcomes among Low-Skilled Chinese Immigrants in New York City. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, *666*(1), 150–163. http://doi.org/10.1177/0002716216650632

Lianos, T. P., & Pseiridis, A. (2014). I Trust, Therefore I Remit? An Examination of the Size and Motivation of Remittances. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *40*(4), 528–543. http://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2013.857593

Liechti, F., Fossati, F., Bonoli, G., & Auer, D. (2016). *The Signaling Value of Labor Market Programs* (NCCR ON THE MOVE Working Paper No. 9). Neuchâtel.

Liempt, I. Van. (2011). "And then one day they all moved to Leicester": The relocation of Somalis from the Netherlands to the UK explained, *266*(December 2009), 254–266. http://doi.org/10.1002/psp

Light, I. (2007). Women's Economic Niches and Earnings Inferiority: The View from the Ethnic Economy. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *33*(4), 541–557. http://doi.org/10.1080/13691830701265412

Lindell, I. (2011). The contested spatialities of transnational activism: gendered gatekeeping and gender struggles in an African association of informal workers. *Global Networks*, *11*(2), 222–241. http://doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-0374.2011.00319.x

Lindley, A., & Van Hear, N. (2007). New Europeans on the Move: A preliminary review of the onward migration of refugees within the European Union, (57), 1–27. Retrieved from http://www.compas.ox.ac.uk/publications/working-papers/wp-07-57/

Liversage, A. (2009a). Finding a Path: Investigating the Labour Market Trajectories of High-Skilled Immigrants in Denmark. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *35*(2), 203–226. http://doi.org/10.1080/13691830802586195

Liversage, A. (2009b). Vital conjunctures, shifting horizons: high-skilled female immigrants looking for work. *Work, Employment & Society*, *23*(1), 120–141. http://doi.org/10.1177/0950017008099781

Loretan, A., & Wanner, P. (2017). *The Determinants of Naturalization in Switzerland between 2010 and 2012* (Working Paper No. 13). Neuchâtel.

Lovejoy, M., & Stone, P. (2012). Opting Back In: The Influence of Time at Home on Professional Women's Career Redirection after Opting Out. *Gender, Work and Organization*, *19*(6), 631–653. http://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-0432.2010.00550.x

Lu, M. C. W. (2012). Transnational marriages as a strategy of care exchange: Veteran soldiers and their mainland Chinese spouses in Taiwan. *Global Networks*, *12*(2012), 233–251. http://doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-0374.2012.00349.x

Lubbers, M. J., Molina, J. L., Lerner, J., Brandes, U., Ávila, J., & McCarty, C. (2010). Longitudinal analysis of personal networks. The case of Argentinean migrants in Spain. *Social Networks*, *32*(1), 91–104. http://doi.org/10.1016/j.socnet.2009.05.001

Lubbers, M. J., Molina, J. L., & McCarty, C. (2007). Personal Networks and Ethnic Identifications: The Case of Migrants in Spain. *International Sociology*, *22*(6), 721–741. http://doi.org/10.1177/0268580907082255

Lykke, N. (2010a). Methodologies, methods and Ethics. In *Feminist Studies. A Guide to Intersectional Theory, Methodology and Writing.* (pp. 144–183). New York: Routledge.

Lykke, N. (2010b). Theorizing intersectionalities. Genealogies and Blind Spots. In *Feminist Studies. A Guide to Intersectional Theory, Methodology and Writing.* (pp. 67–86). New York: Routledge.

Maffioli, D., Paterno, A., & Gabrielli, G. (2014). International married and unmarried unions in italy: Criteria of mate selection. *International Migration*, *52*(3), 160–176. http://doi.org/10.1111/imig.12049

Maher, G., & Cawley, M. (2015). Social Networks and Labour Market Access among Brazilian Migrants in Ireland. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *41*(14), 2336–2356. http://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2015.1061424

Maher, J. (2013). Women's care/career changes as connection and resilience: Challenging discourses of breakdown and conflict. *Gender, Work and Organization*, *20*(2), 172–183. http://doi.org/10.1111/gwao.12015

Mahler, S. J., & Pessar, P. R. (2001). Gendered Geographies of Power: Analyzing Gender Across Transnational Spaces. *Identities*, *7*(4), 441–459. http://doi.org/10.1080/1070289X.2001.9962675

Man, G. (2004). Gender, work and migration: Deskilling chinese immigrant women in Canada. *Women's Studies International Forum*, *27*(2), 135–148. http://doi.org/10.1016/j.wsif.2004.06.004

Manatschal, A. (2015). Switzerland – Really Europe ' s Heart of Darkness ? *Swiss Political Science Review*, *21*(1), 23–35. http://doi.org/10.1111/spsr.12148

Manatschal, A., & Stadelmann-Steffen, I. (2014). Do Integration Policies Affect Immigrants' Voluntary Engagement? An Exploration at Switzerland's Subnational Level. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *40*(3), 404–423. http://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2013.830496

Marchetti, S. (2016). Networks beyond nationalities? Relationships amongst Eastern European women workers in Italy facing the economic crisis. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *0*(0), 1–19. http://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2016.1249052

Margheritis, A. (2007). State-led transnationalism and migration: reaching out to the Argentine community in Spain. *Global Networks*, *7*(1), 87–106. http://doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-0374.2006.00158.x

Marin, A., & Wellman, B. (2011). Social Network Analysis: An Introduction. In J. Scott & P. J. Carrington (Eds.), *The Sage Handbook of Social Network Analysis* (pp. 11–25). London: Sage Publications.

Martiniello, M., & Rea, a. (2014). The concept of migratory careers: Elements for a new theoretical perspective of contemporary human mobility. *Current Sociology*, *62*(7), 1079–1096. http://doi.org/10.1177/0011392114553386

Martinovic, B., van Tubergen, F., & Maas, I. (2014). A Longitudinal Study of Interethnic Contacts in Germany: Estimates from a Multilevel Growth Curve Model. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *00*(00), 1–18. http://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2013.869475

Mas Giralt, R. (2017). Onward Migration as a Coping Strategy? Latin Americans Moving from Spain to the UK Post-2008. *Population, Space and Place*, *23*(3). http://doi.org/10.1002/psp.2017

Mascini, P., & Bochove, M. Van. (2009). Gender Stereotyping in the Dutch Asylum Procedure : " Independent " Men versus "Dependent" women. *International Migration Review*, *43*(1), 112–133. http://doi.org/10.1111/j.1747-7379.2008.01149.x

Massey, D. (1987). The Ethnosurvey in Theory and Practice. *The International Migration Review*, *21*(4), 1498–1522. http://doi.org/10.2307/2546522

Massey, D. (1990). Social Structure, Household Strategies, and the Cumulative Causation of Migration. *Population Index*, *56*(1), 3–26.

Massey, D. (2004). Measuring Undocumented Migration. *International Migration Review*, *38*(3), 1075–1102. http://doi.org/10.1111/j.1747-7379.2004.tb00229.x

Massey, D., Durand, J., & Pren, K. A. (2015). Border enforcement and return migration by documented and undocumented Mexicans. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *41*(7), 1015–1040. http://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2014.986079

Massey, D., Durand, J., & Pren, K. A. (2016). Why Border Enforcement Backfired. *American Journal of Sociology*, *121*(5), 1557–1600. http://doi.org/10.1086/684200

Massey, D., & Riosmena, F. (2010). Undocumented Migration from Latin America in an Era of Rising U.S. Enforcement. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, *630*(1), 294–321. http://doi.org/10.1177/0002716210368114

Mavroudi, E., & Warren, A. (2013). Highly skilled migration and the negotiation of immigration policy: Non-EEA postgraduate students and academic staff at English universities. *Geoforum*, *44*(April), 261–270. http://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2012.08.008

McBride, A., Hebson, G., & Holgate, J. (2014). Intersectionality: are we taking enough notice in the field of work and employment relations? *Work, Employment & Society*, *29*(2), 331–341. http://doi.org/10.1177/0950017014538337

Mcdowell, L., Rootham, E., & Hardgrove, A. (2014). Precarious work, protest masculinity and communal regulation: South Asian young men in Luton, UK. *Work, Employment and Society*, 1–

18. http://doi.org/10.1177/0950017013510757

McIlwaine, C. (2010). Migrant machismos: exploring gender ideologies and practices among Latin American migrants in London from a multi-scalar perspective. *Gender, Place & Culture*, *17*(3), 281–300. http://doi.org/10.1080/09663691003737579

McIlwaine, C. (2015). Legal Latins: Creating Webs and Practices of Immigration Status among Latin American Migrants in London. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *41*(3), 493–511. http://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2014.931803

McIlwaine, C., & Bermúdez, A. (2011). The gendering of political and civic participation among Colombian migrants in London. *Environment and Planning A*, *43*(7), 1499–1513. http://doi.org/10.1068/a4371

McIlwaine, C., Cock, J. C., & Brian, L. (2011). No Longer Invisible: the Latin American community in London. *Queen Mary, University of London*, 142. http://doi.org/10.1300/J082v18n03_04

McKay, S., Markova, E., & Paraskevopoulou, A. (2011). *Undocumented Workers' Transitions. Legal Status, Migration, and Work in Europe*. New York: Routledge.

Meissner, F. (2015). Migration in migration-related diversity? The nexus between superdiversity and migration studies. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *38*(4), 556–567. http://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2015.970209

Meissner, F. (2017). Legal status diversity: regulating to control and everyday contingencies. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *44*(2), 1–20. http://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2017.1341718

Mendy, A. F. (2010). *Les migrations internationales des médecins d'Afrique: entre stratégies d'acteurs, politiques nationales et débats internationaux. Le cas du Royaume-Uni, de la France et de la Suisse*. Lausanne University.

Merla, L. (2014a). A Macro Perspective on Transnational Families and Care Circulation: Situationg Capacity, Obligation and Family Commitments. In *Transnational Families, Migration and the Circulation of Care. Understanding Mobiliy and Absence in Family Life* (pp. 115–131). New York: Routledge.

Merla, L. (2014b). A Macro Perspective on Transnational Families and Care Circulation. Situating

Capacity, Obligation and Family Commitments. In *Transnational Families, Migration and the Circulation of Care. Understanding Mobiliy and Absence in Family Life2* (pp. 114–129). New York: Routledge.

Mezzadra, S., & Neilson, B. (2013). *Border as a method, or, the multiplication of labor.* Durham: Duke University Press.

Miszczynski, M. (2013, February). *Labor and Legality: An Ethnography of a Mexican Immigrant Network. Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies.* http://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2012.740955

Mobrand, E. (2012). Reverse Remittances: Internal Migration and Rural-to-Urban Remittances in Industrialising South Korea. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *38*(3), 389–411. http://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2012.658544

Moffette, D. (2014). Governing immigration through probation: The displacement of borderwork and the assessment of desirability in Spain. *Security Dialogue*, *45*(3), 262–278. http://doi.org/10.1177/0967010614530457

Molina, J. L., Valenzuela-García, M., Lubbers, J., García-Macías, A., & Pampalona, J. (2015). Looking Inside the Ethnic Enclave: Inequality, Social Capital and Transnationalism. In *Migrant Capital. Networks, Identities and Strategies* (pp. 154–171). London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Mora, C., & Undurraga, E. a. (2013). Racialisation of immigrants at work: Labour mobility and segmentation of peruvian migrants in Chile. *Bulletin of Latin American Research*, *32*(3), 294–310. http://doi.org/10.1111/blar.12002

Morales, L., & Pilati, K. (2014). The political transnationalism of Ecuadorians in Barcelona, Madrid and Milan: the role of individual resources, organizational engagement and the political context. *Global Networks*, *14*(1), 80–102. http://doi.org/10.1111/glob.12018

Morawska, E. (2004). Exploring diversity in immigrant assimilation and transnationalism: Poles and Russian Jews in Philadelphia. *International Migration Review*, *38*(4), 1372–1412. http://doi.org/10.1111/j.1747-7379.2004.tb00241.x

Moret, J. (2016). Cross-border mobility, transnationality and ethnicity as resources: european Somalis' post-migration mobility practices. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *42*(9), 1455–1472. http://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2015.1123089

Moret, J., Baglioni, S., & Efionayi-mäder, D. (2006). *The Path of Somali Refugees into Exile. A Comparative Analysis of Secondary Movements and Policy Responses*. Neuchâtel: SFM.

Morlok, M., Oswald, A., Meier, H., Efionayi-mäder, D., Ruedin, D., & Bader, D. (2015). *Les sans-papiers en Suisse en 2015*. Bâle.

Morokvasic, M. (1984). Birds of Passage Are also Women … *International Migration Review*, *18*(4), 886–907. http://doi.org/10.1007/s13398-014-0173-7.2

Morokvasic, M. (2011). L'(in)visibilité continue. *Cahiers Du Genre*, *51*(2), 25. http://doi.org/10.3917/cdge.051.0025

Morris, E. (2014). Family Reunification and Integration Policy in the EU: Where Are the Women? *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, 639–660. http://doi.org/10.1007/s12134-014-0363-3

Morris, L. (2001). The Ambiguous Terrain of Rights: Civic Stratification in Italy's Emergent Immigration Regime. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, *25*(September), 497–516. Retrieved from http://search.proquest.com/docview/60416324?accountid=11077%5Cnhttp://sfxit.ugent.be/ugent?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&rft_val_fmt=info:ofi/fmt:kev:mtx:journal&genre=article&sid=ProQ:ProQ:socabsshell&atitle=The+Ambiguous+Terrain+of+Rights:+Civic+Stratification+in+I

Morselli, D., Le, J., Brändle, K., Mugnari, E., Roberts, C., Bernardi, L., … Kühr, J. (2013). *Assessing the performance of the Swiss Panel LIVES Calendar : Evidence from a pilot study Authors* (LIVES Working Papers No. 28). Lausanne.

Mosimann, A. (2016). *Les relations de couple. Enquête sur les familles et les générations 2013*. Neuchâtel.

Mosneaga, A. (2015). Managing international student migration: The practices of institutional actors in Denmark. *International Migration*, *53*(1), 14–28. http://doi.org/10.1111/imig.12071

Mosneaga, A., & Winther, L. (2013). Emerging Talents? International Students Before and After Their Career Start in Denmark. *Population, Space and Place*, *19*(2), 181–195. http://doi.org/10.1002/psp.1750

Moujoud, N. (2008). Effets de la migration sur le femmes et sur les rapports sociax de sexe. Au-delà des visions binaires. *Les Cahiers Du CEDREF*, (16), 57–79.

Moya, J. C. (2005). Immigrants and Associations: A Global and Historical Perspective. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *31*(5), 833–864. http://doi.org/10.1080/13691830500178147

Moya, J. C. (2007). Domestic Service in a Global Perspective: Gender, Migration, and Ethnic Niches. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *33*(4), 559–579. http://doi.org/10.1080/13691830701265420

Murdoch, J., Guégnard, C., Griga, D., Koomen, M., & Imdorf, C. (2016). How Do Second-Generation Immigrant Students Access Higher Education? The Importance of Vocational Routes to Higher Education in Switzerland, France, and Germany. *Swiss Journal of Sociology*, *42*(2), 245–265. http://doi.org/10.1515/SJS-2016-0011

Nadeem, N. (2015). Autobiographical narrative. An exploration of identity construction processes in relation to gender and race. *Narrative Inquiry*, *25*(2), 224–241.

Nannestad, P., Svendsen, G. L. H., & Svendsen, G. T. (2008). Bridge over troubled water? migration and social capital. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *34*(4), 607–631. http://doi.org/10.1080/13691830801961621

NCCR ON THE MOVE. (2017a). Administrative motive of entry in Switzerland. Retrieved April 3, 2018, from http://nccr-onthemove.ch/DataManagement/Visualization/Embed/Administratived_Motive_of_Entry.html

NCCR ON THE MOVE. (2017b). Longitudinal analysis: Naturalisations rates over time. Retrieved April 4, 2018, from http://nccr-onthemove.ch/DataManagement/Visualization/Embed/Longitudial_Analysis_Naturalization_Rates.html

NCCR ON THE MOVE. (2017c). Naturalization rates by canton and municipality. Retrieved April 4, 2018, from http://nccr-onthemove.ch/DataManagement/Visualization/Embed/Naturalization_Rates.html

NCCR ON THE MOVE. (2017d). Proportion of Migrants with Tertiary Education. Retrieved

September 15, 2017, from http://nccr-onthemove.ch/knowledge-transfer/migration-mobility-indicators/how-qualified-are-migrants-in-switzerland/

NCCR ON THE MOVE. (2017e). Status Change over Time: Migrants Who Arrived in 1998 with a Residence (B) permit. Retrieved April 3, 2018, from http://nccr-onthemove.ch/DataManagement/Visualization/Embed/Longitudial_Analysis_Status_Changes.html

NCCR ON THE MOVE. (2017f). Workers' Distribution in the Professional Groups According to Their Country of Birth. Retrieved April 3, 2018, from http://nccr-onthemove.ch/knowledge-transfer/migration-mobility-indicators/in-which-sectors-of-the-economy-do-most-of-the-migrants-work/

Ngo, H. Van. (2006). Professional Re-entry for Foreign-Trained Immigrants. *Journal of International Migration and Integration / Revue de l'integration et de La Migration Internationale*, *7*(1), 27–50.

Nunes Reichel, J. (2016). *Vécu migratoire, sentiment de satisfaction et intégration sociale chez des femmes migrantes qualifées issues d'Etats tiers.* Lausanne University.

O'Rand, A. (2009). Cumulative Processes in the Life Course. In *The Craft of the lifecourse Research* (pp. 121–140). New York: The Guilford Press.

OECD. (2016). *International Migration Outlook 2016*. Paris.

OECD. (2017). Gender wage gap. Retrieved April 11, 2018, from https://data.oecd.org/earnwage/gender-wage-gap.htm

OFS. (2016). Intégration - indicateurs. Retrieved June 27, 2016, from http://www.bfs.admin.ch/bfs/portal/fr/index/themen/01/07/blank/ind43.approach.4301.html

OIM. (2008). *PERÚ: Caracteristicas de los migrantes internacionales, hogares de origen y receptores de remesas.* Lima.

Paciulan, M., & Preibisch, K. (2013). Navigating the Productive/Reproductive Split: Latin American Transnational Mothers and Fathers in Canada's Temporary Migration Programs. *Transnational Social Review*, *3*(2), 173–192. http://doi.org/10.1080/21931674.2013.10820763

Paerregaard, K. (2008). In the Footsteps of the Lord of Miracles: The Expatriation of Religious Icons in the Peruvian Diaspora. *Journal of Ethnic & Migration Studies*, *34*(7), 1073–1089. http://doi.org/10.1080/13691830802230380

Paerregaard, K. (2013). *Peruanos en el mundo. Una etnografía global de la migración*. Lima: Fondo Editorial PUCP.

Paerregaard, K. (2015). *Return to Sender: The Moral Economy of Peru's Migrant Remittances*. Oakland: University of California Press.

Paraskevopoulou, A. (2011). Undocumented worker transitions: family migration. *International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy*, *31*(1/2), 110–122. http://doi.org/10.1108/01443331111104832

Parella, S., & Cavalcanti, L. (2006). Una aproximación cualitativa a las remesas de los inmigrantes peruanos y ecuatorianos en España y a su impacto en los hogares transnacionales. *Revista Española de Investigaciones Sociológicas*, *116*(116), 241–257.

Parella, S., Petroff, A., & Solé, C. (2013). The Upward Occupational Mobility of Immigrant Women in Spain. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *39*(9), 1365–1382. http://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2013.815395

Park, R. E., & Burgess, E. (1921). *Introduction to the Sciences of Sociology*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Patulny, R. (2015). A Spectrum of Integration: Examining Combinations of Bonding and Bridging Social Capital and Network Heterogeneity among Australian Refugee and Skilled Migrants. In *Migrant Capital. Networks, Identities and Strategies* (pp. 207–229). London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Paul, A. M. (2011). Stepwise International Migration: A Multistage Migration Pattern for the Aspiring Migrant. *American Journal of Sociology*, *116*(6), 1842–86. http://doi.org/10.1086/659641

Paul, A. M. (2015). Capital and mobility in the stepwise international migrations of Filipino migrant domestic workers. *Migration Studies*, *3*(3), 438–459. http://doi.org/10.1093/migration/mnv014

Paul, R. (2012). Limits of the competition state? The cultural political economy of European labor migration policies. *Critical Policy Studies*, *6*(4), 379–401. http://doi.org/10.1080/19460171.2012.730764

Pearse, R., & Connell, R. (2015). Gender Norms and the Economy: Insights from Social Research. *Feminist Economics*, 1–24. http://doi.org/10.1080/13545701.2015.1078485

Penninx, B. R., & Spencer, D. (2008). Migration and Integration in Europe : The State of Research. *International Migration*, *1*, 28–51. Retrieved from http://www.norface.org/files/migration-COMPAS-report.pdf

Pereira Esteves, A. I., Cruz dos Santos Fonseca, M. L., & Macaísta Malheiros, J. da S. (2017). Labour market integration of immigrants in Portugal in times of austerity: resilience, in situ responses and re-emigration. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *9451*(October), 1–17. http://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2017.1346040

Però, D., & Solomos, J. (2010). Introduction: Migrant Politics and Mobilization: Exclusion, Engagements, Incorporation. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *33*(1), 1–18. http://doi.org/10.1080/01419870903418944

Peters, F., Vink, M., & Schmeets, H. (2016). The ecology of immigrant naturalisation: a life course approach in the context of institutional conditions. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *42*(3), 359–381. http://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2015.1103173

Petrzelka, P. (2006). Keepin' This Little Town Going: Gender and Volunteerism in Rural America. *Gender & Society*, *20*(2), 236–258. http://doi.org/10.1177/0891243205284498

Phan, M. B., Banerjee, R., Deacon, L., Taraky, H., Phan, M. B., Banerjee, R., … Taraky, H. (2015). Family Dynamics and the Integration of Professional Immigrants in Canada. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *9451*(August), 2061–2080. http://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2015.1045461

Piguet, E. (2013). *L'immigration en Suisse. Soixante ans d'entreouverture.* Lausanne: Presses polytechniques et universitaires romandes.

Plewa, P. (2013). The Politics of Seasonal Labour Migration in Switzerland, France and Spain. *International Migration*, *51*(6), 101–117. http://doi.org/10.1111/imig.12134

Polanyi, K. (1944). The Great Transformation. *Beacon Press Boston*, 1–303. http://doi.org/10.2307/2144137

Ponzo, I. (2017). Modes of migrant incorporation in contexts of socio-economic downward mobility. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *0*(0), 1–18. http://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2017.1346043

Popkin, E. (1999). Guatemanalan Mayan migration to Los Angeles: constructing transnational linkages in the context of the settlement process. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *22*(2).

Portes, A. (1978). Introduction : Toward a Structural Analysis of Illegal (Undocumented) Immigration. *International Migration Review*, *12*(4), 469–484.

Portes, A. (1998). Social Capital: Its Origins and Applications in Modern Sociology. *Annual Review of Sociology*, *24*(1), 1–24. http://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.soc.24.1.1

Portes, A. (2001). Introduction: the debates and significance of immigrant transnationalism. *Global Networks*, *1*(3), 181–194. http://doi.org/10.1111/1471-0374.00012

Portes, A., & Böröcz, J. (1989). Contemporary Immigration : Theoretical Perspectives on Its Determinants and Modes of Incorporation. *International Migration Review*, *23*(3), 606–630.

Portes, A., Guarnizo, L. E., & Landolt, P. (1999). The study of transnationalism: pitfalls and promise of an emergent research field. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *22*(2), 217–237.

Portes, A., Guarnizo, L. E., & Landolt, P. (2017). Commentary on the study of transnationalism: pitfalls and promise of an emergent research field. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *40*(9), 1486–1491. http://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2017.1308528

Portes, A., & Sensenbrenner, J. (1993). Embeddedness and Immigration : Notes on the Social Determinants of Economic Action. *American Journal of Sociology*, *98*(6), 1320–1350. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/2781823

Portes, A., & Zhou, M. (1993). The New Second Generation: Segmented Assimilation and its Variants. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, *530*(1), 74–96. http://doi.org/10.1177/0002716293530001006

Portocarrero Suárez, F. (2001). Las múltiples identidades del tercer sector en el Perú. In *Perspectivas Latinoamericanas sobre el Tercer Sector* (p. 21). Buenos Aires: III Encuentro de la Red Latinoamericana y del Caribe Sociedad Internacional de Investigación del Tercer Sector. Retrieved from http://www.lasociedadcivil.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/11/portocarrero.pdf

Poussou-Plesse, M. (2009). Le turning point sous le regard du point final. Retour sur un usage canonique de la notion de carrière en sociologie. In *Bifurcations. Les sciences sociales face aux ruptures et à l'événementifurcations* (pp. 254–270). Paris: La Découverte "Recherches." Retrieved from http://www.cairn.info/bifurcations--9782707156006-page-254.htm

Pribilsky, J. (2004). "Aprendemos a convivir": Conjugal relations, co-parenting, and family life among Ecuadorian transnational migrants in New York City and the Ecuadorian Andes. *Global Networks*, *4*(3), 313–334. http://doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-0374.2004.00096.x

Pribilsky, J. (2012). Consumption Dilemmas: Tracking Masculinity, Money and Transnational Fatherhood Between the Ecuadorian Andes and New York City. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *38*(2), 323–343. http://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2012.646429

Putnam, R. D. (1993a). The Prosperous Community: Social Capital and Public Life. *The American Prospect*, *13*(13), 35–42. http://doi.org/http://www.prospect.org/cs/articles?article=the_prosperous_community

Putnam, R. D. (1993b). The Prosperous Community: Social Capital and Public Life. *The American Prospect*, *13*(13), 35–42. http://doi.org/http://www.prospect.org/cs/articles?article=the_prosperous_community

Putnam, R. D. (1995). Bowling alone: Americas´s declining social capital. *Journal of Democracy*, *6*(0), 65–78. http://doi.org/10.1353/jod.1995.0002

Raghuram, P. (2004a). Migration, gender, and the it sector: Intersecting debates. *Women's Studies International Forum*, *27*(2 SPEC. ISS.), 163–176. http://doi.org/10.1016/j.wsif.2004.06.006

Raghuram, P. (2004b). The difference that skills make: gender, family migration strategies and regulated labour markets. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *30*(2), 303–321. http://doi.org/10.1080/1369183042000200713

Raghuram, P. (2008). Governing the mobility of skills. In *Governing international labour migration: current issues, challenges and dilemmas* (pp. 81–94). London: Routledge.

Raghuram, P., & Kofman, E. (2004). Out of Asia: Skilling, re-skilling and deskilling of female migrants. *Women's Studies International Forum*, *27*(2), 95–100. http://doi.org/10.1016/j.wsif.2004.06.001

Rahman, M. M., & Fee, L. K. (2012). Towards a Sociology of Migrant Remittances in Asia: Conceptual and Methodological Challenges. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *38*(4), 689–706. http://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2012.659129

Ramos, C. (2017). Onward migration from Spain to London in times of crisis: the importance of life-course junctures in secondary migrations. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *0*(0), 1–17. http://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2017.1368372

Razavi, S., & Staab, S. (2010). Underpaid and overworked: A cross-national perspective on care workers. *International Labour Review*, *149*(4), 407–422. http://doi.org/10.1111/j.1564-913X.2010.00095.x

Reiter, B. (2012). Framing Non-Whites and Producing Second-Class Citizens in France and Portugal. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *38*(7), 1067–1084. http://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2012.681449

Reyneri, E. (1998). The role of the underground economy in irregular migration to Italy: Cause or effect? *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *24*(2), 313–331. http://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.1998.9976635

Reyneri, E. (2004). Education and the occupational pathways of migrants in Italy. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *30*(6), 1145–1162. http://doi.org/10.1080/1369183042000286287

Reyneri, E., & Fullin, G. (2011). Ethnic penalties in the transition to and from unemployment: A West European perspective. *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, *52*(4), 247–263. http://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy.tru.ca/10.1177/0020715211412114

Riaño, Y. (2007). Migration de femmes latino-américaines universitaires en Suisse. Géographies migratoires, motifs de migration et questions de genre. In *La Suisse au rythme latino* (pp. 115–136). Genève: Edition ies.

Riaño, Y. (2011). "He's the Swiss citizen, I'm the foreign spouse": Binational marriages and the impact of family-related migration policies on gender relations. In *Gender, generations and the family in international migration* (pp. 265–282). Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Riaño, Y. (2014). Migrer par amour: aspiration à l'égalité. *Terra Cognita*, (24), 19–24.

Riaño, Y., & Baghdadi, N. (2007a). "Je pensais que je pourrais avoir une relation plus égalitaire avec un Européen" Le rôle du genre et des imaginaires géographiques dans la migration des femmes. *Nouvelles Questions Feministes*, *26*(1), 38–53. http://doi.org/10.3917/nqf.261.0038

Riaño, Y., & Baghdadi, N. (2007b). Understanding the Labour Market Participation of Skilled Immigrant Women in Switzerland: The Interplay of Class, Ethnicity, and Gender. *Journal of International Migration and Integration / Revue de l'integration et de La Migration Internationale*, *8*(2), 163–183. http://doi.org/10.1007/s12134-007-0012-1

Riaño, Y., Limacher, K., Aschwanden, A., Hirsig, S., & Wastl-Walter, D. (2015). Shaping gender inequalities: critical moments and critical places. *Equality, Diversity and Inclusion: An International Journal*, *34*(2), 155–167. http://doi.org/10.1108/EDI-12-2013-0112

Riaño, Y., Lombard, A., & Piguet, E. (2017). *The Global Race for Talent in Switzerland . How to Explain Migration Policy Liberalisation to Allow International Students Staying after Graduation ?* (Working Paper No. 14). Neuchâtel.

Riaño, Y., & Wastl-Walter, D. (2006). Immigration policies, state discourses on foreigners, and the politics of identity in Switzerland. *Environment and Planning A*, *38*(9), 1693–1713. http://doi.org/10.1068/a37411

Robertson, R. (2005). The concetual promise of glocalization: commonality and diversity. *ART-e-FACT: Strategies of Resistence*, 5. Retrieved from http://artefact.mi2.hr/_a04/lang_en/theory_robertson_en.htm, consulté

Rodríguez, A. (2009). *Mujeres Ingenieras: Entre cascos y prejuicios. Relaciones de Género en la Formación Científica Universitaria*. PUCP.

Roos, C., & Zaun, N. (2016). The global economic crisis as a critical juncture? The crisis's impact on migration movements and policies in Europe and the U.S. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *42*(10), 1579–1589. http://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2016.1162351

Roth, W. D., Seidel, M.-D. L., Ma, D., & Lo, E. (2012). In and Out of the Ethnic Economy: A Longitudinal Analysis of Ethnic Networks and Pathways to Economic Success across Immigrant Categories. *International Migration Review*, *46*(2), 310–361. http://doi.org/10.1111/j.1747-7379.2012.00889.x

Rother, S. (2017). Indonesian migrant domestic workers in transnational political spaces: agency, gender roles and social class formation. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *9451*(March), 1–18. http://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2016.1274567

Rubery, J. (2015). Change at work : feminisation, flexibilisation, fragmentation and financialisation. *Employee Relations*, *37*(6), 633–644. http://doi.org/10.1108/ER-04-2015-0067

Ruedi, L. (2010). *Sans-papiers titulaires d'une carte AVS*. Bern: L'Assemblée fédérale - Le Parlement suisse.

Ruedin, D., Alberti, C., & D'Amato, G. (2015). Immigration and Integration Policy in Switzerland , 1848 to 2014. *Swiss Political Science Review*, *21*(1), 5–22. http://doi.org/10.1111/spsr.12144

Ruffer, G. B. (2011). Pushed Beyon Recognition? The Liberality of Family Reunification Policies in the EU. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *37*(6), 935–951. http://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2011.576196

Rustin, M. (2000). Reflections on the biographical turn in social science. In P. Chamberlayne, J. Bornat, & T. Wengraf (Eds.), *The Turn to Biographical Methods in Social Science. Comparative issues and exemples2* (pp. 31–52). London: Routledge.

Ryan, L. (2007). Migrant Women, Social Networks and Motherhood: The Experiences of Irish Nurses in Britain. *Sociology*, *41*(2), 295–312. http://doi.org/10.1177/0038038507074975

Ryan, L. (2011). Migrants' social networks and weak ties: Accessing resources and constructing relationships post-migration. *Sociological Review*, *59*(4), 707–724. http://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-954X.2011.02030.x

Ryan, L. (2015). Friendship-making: Exploring Network Formations through the Narratives of Irish Highly Qualified Migrants in Britain. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *41*(10), 1664–1683. http://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2015.1015409

Ryan, L. (2017). Differentiated embedding: Polish migrants in London negotiating belonging over time. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *9451*(December 2017), 1–19. http://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2017.1341710

Ryan, L., Erel, U., & D'Angelo, A. (2015). *Migrant Capital. Networks, Identities and Strategies*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Ryan, L., & Mulholland, J. (2013). "Wives Are the Route to Social Life": An Analysis of Family Life and Networking amongst Highly Skilled Migrants in London. *Sociology*. http://doi.org/10.1177/0038038512475109

Ryan, L., & Mulholland, J. (2015). Embedding in Motion: Analysing Relational, Spatial and Temporal Dynamics among Highly Skilled Migrants. In *Migrant Capital. Networks, Identities and Strategies* (pp. 135–153). London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Ryan, L., Umut, E., & D'Angelo, A. (2015). Introduction. Understanding Migrant Capital. In *Migrant Capital. Networks, Identities and Strategies* (pp. 13–17). London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Ryan, L., Von Koppenfels, A. K., & Mulholland, J. (2014). 'The distance between us': a comparative examination of the technical, spatial and temporal dimensions of the transnational social relationships of highly skilled migrants. *Global Networks*, *2*(2015), 198–216. http://doi.org/10.1111/glob.12054

Sabaté Dalmau, M. (2015). Migrant identities in narrative practice. In-/out-group constructions of "comrades" and "rivals" in storytelling about transnational life. *Narrative Inquiry*, *25*(1), 91–112.

Sabogal, E., & Núñez, L. (2010). Sin Papeles. Middle- and Working-Class Peruvians in Santiago and South Florida. *Latin American Perspectives*, *37*(5), 88–105. http://doi.org/10.1177/0094582X10380390

Sagasti, F., Prada, F., & Bazan, M. (2007). Social Policy in a Development Context: The case of Peru. In *Latin America. A New Developmental Welfare State Model in the Making?* (pp. 148–181). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Salaff, J. W., & Greve, A. (2004). Can women's social networks migrate? *Women's Studies International Forum*, *27*(2), 149–162. http://doi.org/10.1016/j.wsif.2004.06.005

Salazar, N. B. (2017). Key figures of mobility: an introduction. *Social Anthropology*, *25*(1), 5–12. http://doi.org/10.1111/1469-8676.12393

Salazar Parreñas, R. (2001). *Servants of globalization. Women, migration and domestic work*. California: Stanford University Press.

Salazar Parreñas, R. (2008). Transnational Fathering: Gendered Conflicts, Distant Disciplining and Emotional Gaps. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *34*(7), 1057–1072. http://doi.org/10.1080/13691830802230356

Saldaña, J. (2014). Coding and Analysis Strategies. In *The Oxford Handbook of Qualitative Research* (pp. 581–605). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Sanborn, C., Cueva, H., Portocarrero, F., List, R., & Salamon, L. M. (1999). Global Civil Society: Dimensions of the Nonprofit Sector. In *Global Civil Society: Dimensions of the Nonprofit Sector* (pp. 445–461). Baltimore: John Hopkins Center for Civil Society Studies. http://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4419-5707-8_22

Sanchez, A. (2012). *Perfil Migratorio del Perú 2012*. Lima: Organización Internacional para las Migraciones (OIM). Retrieved from http://www.oimperu.org/oim_site/documentos/Perfil_Migratorio_Peru_2012.pdf

Sapin, M., Spini, D., & Widmer, E. (2014). *Les parcours de vie. De l'adolescente au grand âge*. Lausanne: Presses polytechniques et universitaires romandes.

Sarti, R. (2010). Fighting for Masculinity: Male Domestic Workers, Gender, and Migration in Italy from the Late Nineteenth Century to the Present. *Men and Masculinities*, *13*(1), 16–43. http://doi.org/10.1177/1097184X10382879

Sarti, R., & Scrinzi, F. (2010). Introduction to the Special Issue: Men in a Woman's Job, Male Domestic Workers, International Migration and the Globalization of Care. *Men and Masculinities*, *13*(1), 4–15. http://doi.org/10.1177/1097184X10382878

Sayad, A. (1979). Qu'est-ce qu'un immigré? In *L'immigration ou les paradoxed de l'altérité* (pp. 31–79). Paris: Raisons d'agir.

Schaer, M., Dahinden, J., & Toader, A. (2016a). Transnational mobility among early-career

academics: gendered aspects of negotiations and arrangements within heterosexual couples. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *43*(8), 17. http://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2017.1300254

Schaer, M., Dahinden, J., & Toader, A. (2016b). *Transnational mobility among early-career academics: gendered aspects of negotiations and arrangements within heterosexual couples* (The circulation of people No. 7). *The Circulation of People* (Vol. 7). Neuchâtel: Neuchâtel University.

Schapendonk, J., & Steel, G. (2014). Following Migrant Trajectories: The Im/Mobility of Sub-Saharan Africans en Route to the European Union. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, *104*(2), 262–270. http://doi.org/10.1080/00045608.2013.862135

Schnapper, D. (1999). *La compréhension sociologique. Démarche de l'analyse typologique*. Parus: PUF.

Schrover, M., & Moloney, D. M. (2013). *Gender, Migration and Categorisation. Making Distinctions between Migrants in Western Countries, 1945-2010*. (M. Schrover & D. M. Moloney, Eds.). Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Schrover, M., van der Leun, J., & Quispel, C. (2007). Niches, Labour Market Segregation, Ethnicity and Gender. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *33*(4), 529–540. http://doi.org/10.1080/13691830701265404

Schrover, M., & Vermeulen, F. (2005). Immigrant Organisations. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *31*(5), 823–832. http://doi.org/10.1080/13691830500177792

Schuster, L. (2005). The continuing mobility of migrants in Italy: Shifting between places and statuses. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *31*(4), 757–774. http://doi.org/10.1080/13691830500109993

Schweitzer, R. (2014). *The Making and Unmaking of Irregular Migration: Migrant " Illegality " , Regularisation and Deportation in Spain and the Uk* (INTEGRIM ONLINE PAPERS No. 4).

Schweitzer, R. (2015). A Stratified Right to Family Life? On the Logic(s) and Legitimacy of Granting Differential Access to Family Reunification for Third-country Nationals Living within the EU. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, (August), 1–19. http://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2015.1037256

Schwenken, H. (2013). "The EU Should Talk to Germany" Transnational Legal Consciousness as a Rights Claiming Tool among Undocumented Migrants. *International Migration*, *51*(6), 132–145. http://doi.org/10.1111/imig.12118

Schweppe, C. (2011). Migrant Financial Remittances—Between Development Policy and Transnational Family Care. *Transnational Social Review*, *1*(1), 39–51. http://doi.org/10.1080/21931674.2011.10820694

Scott, S., & Cartledge, K. H. (2009). Migrant Assimilation in Europe: A Transnational Family Affair. *International Migration Review*, *43*(1), 60–89. http://doi.org/10.1111/j.1747-7379.2008.01147.x

Scrinzi, F. (2010). Masculinities and the International Division of Care: Migrant Male Domestic Workers in Italy and France. *Men and Masculinities*, *13*(1), 44–64. http://doi.org/10.1177/1097184X10382880

Scrinzi, F. (2013). *Genre, migrations et emplois domestiques en France et en Italie. Construction de la non-qualification et de l'altérité ethnique*. Paris: Editions Petra.

SECO. (2016). *Pénurie de main-d'œuvre qualifiée en Suisse. Système d'indicateurs pour évaluer la demande en personnel qualifié*. Bern.

Segura-Ubiergo, A. (2007). Political Instability, Regime Change, and Late Economic Reform in a Non-Welfare State, 1973-2000. In *The Political Economy of the Welfare State in Latin America. Globalization, Democracy, and Development* (pp. 229–258). New York: Cambridge University Press.

Seminario, R. (2011). *« L'articulation de cadre familial et salarial du care : son organisation quotidienne et les parcours des migrantes sud-américaines à Lausanne en Suisse »*. Université de Lausanne.

Seminario, R. (2018). Femininities and masculinities in highly skilled migration : Peruvian graduates ' narratives of employment transitions and binational marriages in Switzerland. *Migration Letters*, *15*(January), 85–98.

Seminario, R., & Le Feuvre, N. (2017). *Snakes and Ladders: The Combined effect of qualifications and marriage on the employment trajectories of peruvian Graduates in Switzerland* (LIVES Working Paper No. 63). Neuchâtel.

SFSO. (2014a). Nombre d'heures consacrées en moyenne par semaine à l'activité professionnelle

et au travail domestique et familial selon le statut migratoire, le sexe et diverses caractéristiques socio-démographiques. Retrieved April 4, 2018, from https://www.bfs.admin.ch/bfs/fr/home/statistiques/population/migration-integration/indicateurs-integration/tous-indicateurs/famille-demographie/activite-profession-domestique.assetdetail.188276.html

SFSO. (2014b). *Population résidante permanente étrangère selon la nationalité, à la fin de l'année*. Neuchâtel.

SFSO. (2015a). *Acquisition de la nationalité suisse par nationalité du 1.1.2015 au 30.06.2015*. Neuchâtel.

SFSO. (2015b). *Etrangers mariés à des Suisses selon la nationalité par pays et le sexe, en 2010*. Neuchâtel.

SFSO. (2015c). *Formation achevée la plus haute des personnes avec nationalité péruvienne, 2013*. Neuchâtel.

SFSO. (2015d). *Population résidente permanente selon le statut sur le marché du travail, total et personnes de nationalité péruvienne, 2014*. Neuchâtel.

SFSO. (2016a). Les mères sur le marché du travail. *Actualités OFS*, 12. Retrieved from https://www.bfs.admin.ch/bfs/fr/home/statistiques/situation-economique-sociale-population/egalite-femmes-hommes/conciliation-emploi-famille/participation-meres-peres-marche-emploi.assetdetail.1061096.html

SFSO. (2016b). Population résidante selon Année, Type de population, Sexe et Nationalité (continent). Retrieved June 27, 2016, from https://www.pxweb.bfs.admin.ch/Table.aspx?layout=tableViewLayout2&px_tableid=px-x-0103010000_203%255cpx-x-0103010000_203.px&px_language=fr&px_type=PX&px_db=px-x-0103010000_203&rxid=14d82763-4354-4bbb-986e-f0da97200b61

SFSO. (2017a). 7-60: Cas de rigueur selon l'art. 84 al. 5 LEtr et l'art. 14 al. 2 LAsi. Retrieved June 9, 2018, from https://www.sem.admin.ch/sem/fr/home/publiservice/statistik/asylstatistik/archiv/2016/12.html

SFSO. (2017b). Accueil extrafamilial des enfants. Retrieved April 4, 2018, from https://www.bfs.admin.ch/bfs/fr/home/statistiques/population/migration-integration/indicateurs-integration/tous-indicateurs/famille-demographie/accueil-

enfants.html

SFSO. (2017c). Distribution par profession des personnes actives occupées, selon le statut migratoire, la nationalité et le sexe. Retrieved April 4, 2018, from https://www.bfs.admin.ch/bfs/fr/home/statistiques/population/migration-integration/indicateurs-integration/tous-indicateurs/marche-travail/distribution-profession.assetdetail.3942023.html

SFSO. (2017d). Domestic and family work. Retrieved April 19, 2018, from https://www.bfs.admin.ch/bfs/fr/home/statistiques/travail-remuneration/travail-non-remunere/travail-domestique-familial.html

SFSO. (2017e). Economic activity of mothers and fathers. Retrieved February 3, 2018, from https://www.bfs.admin.ch/bfs/fr/home/statistiques/situation-economique-sociale-population/egalite-femmes-hommes/conciliation-emploi-famille/participation-meres-peres-marche-emploi.html

SFSO. (2017f). Education level. Retrieved February 3, 2018, from https://www.bfs.admin.ch/bfs/fr/home/statistiques/population/migration-integration/indicateurs-integration/tous-indicateurs/education-formation/niveau-acheve.html

SFSO. (2017g). Einwanderung ständige ausländische Wohnbevölkerung mit Zulassungscodes "Härtefälle" vom 01.01.2016 bis am 31.12.2016. Neuchâtel.

SFSO. (2017h). Employment models in couple households. Retrieved February 3, 2018, from https://www.bfs.admin.ch/bfs/fr/home/statistiques/situation-economique-sociale-population/egalite-femmes-hommes/conciliation-emploi-famille/modeles-activites-professionnelles-couples.html

SFSO. (2017i). Foreign Population. Retrieved April 3, 2018, from https://www.bfs.admin.ch/bfs/fr/home/statistiques/population/migration-integration/nationalite-etrangere.html

SFSO. (2017j). Marriages, nuptiality. Retrieved April 3, 2018, from https://www.bfs.admin.ch/bfs/en/home/statistics/population/marriages-partnerships-

divorces/nuptialiy.html

SFSO. (2017k). Ménages privés selon le type. Retrieved April 4, 2018, from https://www.bfs.admin.ch/bfs/fr/home/statistiques/population/migration-integration/indicateurs-integration/tous-indicateurs/famille-demographie/menages-prives-type.html

SFSO. (2017l). Part-time work. Retrieved February 3, 2018, from https://www.bfs.admin.ch/bfs/fr/home/statistiques/situation-economique-sociale-population/egalite-femmes-hommes/activite-professionnelle/travail-temps-partiel.html

SFSO. (2017m). Part des bas salaires. Retrieved April 4, 2018, from https://www.bfs.admin.ch/bfs/fr/home/statistiques/population/migration-integration/indicateurs-integration/tous-indicateurs/marche-travail/part-bas-salaires.html

SFSO. (2017n). Permanent and non permanent resident population by Year, Canton, Population type, Country of birth and Sex. Retrieved April 6, 2018, from https://www.pxweb.bfs.admin.ch/pxweb/fr/px-x-0103010000_215/-/px-x-0103010000_215.px/table/tableViewLayout2/?rxid=7d175511-c3fb-4027-9957-201d7b224cab

SFSO. (2017o). Situation professionnelle des mères et des pères. Retrieved April 4, 2018, from https://www.bfs.admin.ch/bfs/fr/home/statistiques/population/migration-integration/indicateurs-integration/tous-indicateurs/famille-demographie/marche-travail-parent.html

SFSO. (2017p). Students.

SFSO. (2018). Niveau de formation de la population, 2017. Retrieved April 6, 2018, from https://www.bfs.admin.ch/bfs/fr/home/statistiques/education-science/indicateurs-formation/systeme-formation-suisse/survol/impact/niveau-formation.html

Shan, H. (2013). Skill as a relational construct: hiring practices from the standpoint of Chinese immigrant engineers in Canada. *Work, Employment & Society*, *27*(6), 915–931. http://doi.org/10.1177/0950017012474710

Sheller, M., & Urry, J. (2006). The new mobilities paradigm. *Environment and Planning A*, *38*(2), 207–

226. http://doi.org/10.1068/a37268

Shih, J. (2006). Circumventing Discrimination: Gender and Ethnic Strategies in Silicon Valley. *Gender & Society*, *20*(2), 177–206. http://doi.org/10.1177/0891243205285474

Shinozaki, K. (2017). Gender and citizenship in academic career progression: an intersectional, meso-scale analysis in German higher education institutions. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *43*(8), 1325–1346. http://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2017.1300309

Simonazzi, A. (2008). Care regimes and national employment models. *Cambridge Journal of Economics*, 1–22. http://doi.org/10.1093/cje/ben043

Singh, S., & Cabraal, A. (2014). "Boomerang Remittances" and the Circulation of Care. A study of Indian Transnational Families in Australia. In *Transnational Families, Migration and the Circulation of Care. Understanding Mobiliy and Absence in Family Life* (pp. 220–234). New York: Routledge.

Skeggs, B. (1997a). (Dis)Identifications of Class: On not Being Working Class. In *Formations of Class and Gender. Becoming Respectable* (pp. 74–97). London: Sage Publications.

Skeggs, B. (1997b). *Formations of Class and Gender. Becoming respectable*. London: Sage Publications.

Skeggs, B. (1997c). Introduction: Processes, Frameworks and Motivations. In *Formations of Class and Gender. Becoming Respectable* (pp. 1–16). London: Sage Publications.

Skornia, A. K. (2014). *Entangled Inequalities in Transnational Care Chains Practices Across the Borders of Peru and Italy*. Bielefield: Transcript Verlag.

Slootman, M. (2018). Social mobility allowing for ethnic identification: reassertion of ethnicity among Moroccan and Turkish Dutch. *International Migration*, *56*(4), 125–139. http://doi.org/10.1111/imig.12406

Smith, D. P. (2004). An 'untied' research agenda for family migration: loosening the 'shackles' of the past. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *30*(August 2015), 263–282. http://doi.org/10.1080/1369183042000200696

Smith, E. (1980). The Portuguese Female Immigrant : The "Marginal Man." *International Migration Review*, *14*(1), 77–92.

Söhn, J. (2016). Back to School in a New Country? The Educational Participation of Adult Immigrants in a Life-Course Perspective. *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, *17*(1), 193–214. http://doi.org/10.1007/s12134-014-0401-1

Song, M. (2009). Is Intermarriage a Good Indicator of Integration? *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *35*(March 2015), 331–348. http://doi.org/10.1080/13691830802586476

Stanek, M., & Veira Ramos, A. (2013). Occupational Mobility at Migration - Evidence from Spain. *Sociological Research Online*, *18*(4).

State Secretariat for Migration. (2011). Foreign graduates holding a Swiss university-level diploma to be granted easier access to the labor market. Retrieved January 3, 2017, from https://www.sem.admin.ch/sem/en/home/themen/arbeit/nicht-eu_efta-angehoerige/hochschulabgaenger.html

State Secretary for Migration. (2017). *Statistiques sur l'immigration. Les étrangers en Suisse.* Bern-Wabern.

Strunk, C. (2014). 'We are Always Thinking of our Community': Bolivian Hometown Associations, Networks of Reciprocity, and Indigeneity in Washington D.C. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *40*(February 2015), 1697–1715. http://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2013.871492

Sundeen, R. a., Garcia, C., & Raskoff, S. a. (2009). Ethnicity, Acculturation, and Volunteering to Organizations: A Comparison of African Americans, Asians, Hispanics, and Whites. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, *38*, 929–955. http://doi.org/10.1177/0899764008322779

Suter, B., & Jandl, M. (2008). Train and retain: National and regional policies to promote the settlement of foreign graduates in knowledge economies. *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, *9*(4), 401–418. http://doi.org/10.1007/s12134-008-0072-x

Takenaka, A., Paerregaard, K., & Berg, U. (2010). Peruvian migration in a global context. *Latin American Perspectives*, *37*(5), 3–11. http://doi.org/10.1177/0094582X10379102

Takenaka, A., & Pren, K. A. (2010a). Determinants of Emigration : Comparing Migrants' Selectivity from Peru and Mexico. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, *630*(July), 178–193. http://doi.org/10.1177/0002716210368109

Takenaka, A., & Pren, K. A. (2010b). Leaving to Get Ahead: Assessing the Relationship between

Mobility and Inequality in Peruvian Migration. *Latin American Perspectives*, *37*(5), 29–49. http://doi.org/10.1177/0094582X10379106

Tan, G., & Hugo, G. (2016). The Transnational Migration Strategies of Chinese and Indian Students in Australia. *Population, Space and Place*. http://doi.org/10.1002/psp.2038

Taylor, R. (2016). Volunteering and Unpaid Work. In S. Edgell, H. Gottfried, & E. Granter (Eds.), *The SAGE Handbook of the Sociology of Work and Employment* (pp. 485–501). London: SAGE.

Taylor, R. F. (2004). Extending conceptual boundaries: Work, voluntary work and employment. *Work, Employment and Society*, *18*(1), 29–49. http://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0950017004040761

Taylor, R. F. (2005). Rethinking voluntary work. *Sociological Review*, *53*(SUPPL. 2), 119–135. http://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-954X.2005.00576.x

Taylor, S. (2007). Narrative as construction and discursive resource. In *Narrative, state of the art* (pp. 113–122). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Teichler, U. (2015). Academic Mobility and Migration: What We Know and What We Do Not Know. *European Review*, *23*(S1), S6–S37. http://doi.org/10.1017/S1062798714000787

The Federal Council. (2005). 142.20 Federal Act on Foreign Nationals. Retrieved January 3, 2017, from https://www.admin.ch/opc/en/classified-compilation/20020232/index.html

The World Bank. (2016). *Remittances and Developments Brief 26*. *Migration and Development Brief* (Vol. April). Washington. Retrieved from http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/17441730.2013.785721%5Cnhttp://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/17441730.2013.785721#.VDdkbGTF8dw

Thorp, R., & Paredes, M. (2011). *La etnicidad y la persistencia de la desigualdad. El caso peruano*. Lima: IEP.

Tomlinson, F. (2010). Marking difference and negotiating belonging: Refugee women, volunteering and employment. *Gender, Work and Organization*, *17*(3), 278–296. http://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-0432.2008.00399.x

Trelles, E. (2014). *Pigmentocracies. Ethnicity, Race, and Color in Latin America*. North Carolina: The

University of North Carolina Press.

Trent, A., & Cho, J. (2014). Interpretation Strategies: Appropiate Concepts. In *The Oxford Handbook of Qualitative Research* (pp. 639–657). Oxford: Oxford University Press. http://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199811755.013.021

Triandafyllidou, A., & Isaakyan, I. (2016a). *High-Skill Migration and Recession: Gendered perspectives*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Triandafyllidou, A., & Isaakyan, I. (2016b). Re-Thinking the Gender dimension of High-Skill Migration. In *High-Skill Migration and Recession: Gendered Perspectives* (pp. 293–297). London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Trotter II, R. T. (1999). Friends, Relatives and Relevant Others: Conducting Ethnographic Network Studies. In *Mapping Social Networks, Spatial Data & Hidden Populations* (pp. 1–48). London: Altamira Press.

Tsuda, T. (2012). Whatever Happened to Simultaneity? Transnational Migration Theory and Dual Engagement in Sending and Receiving Countries. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *38*(4), 631–649. http://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2012.659126

Valarino, I. (2016). Les congés parentaux en Suisse: révelateurs de politiques et de représentations genrées. In *Devenir parents, devenir inégaux. Transition à la parentalité et inégalités de genre* (pp. 235–261). Zurich/Genève: Seismo.

Valli, M. (2007). Les Latino-Américaines sans-papiers à Lausanne: l'insertion cachée. In *La Suisse au rythme latino* (pp. 185–199). Genève: Edition ies.

Van Hear, N. (2014). Reconsidering migration and class. *International Migration Review*, *48*(s1), S100–S121. http://doi.org/10.1111/imre.12139

van Meeteren, M., Engbersen, G., & van San, M. (2009). Striving for a Better Position: Aspirations and the Role of Cultural, Economic, and Social Capital for Irregular Migrants in Belgium. *International Migration Review*, *43*(4), 881–907. http://doi.org/10.1111/j.1747-7379.2009.00788.x

van Riemsdijk, M. (2013). Everyday Geopolitics, the Valuation of Labour and the Socio-Political

Hierarchies of Skill: Polish Nurses in Norway. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *39*(3), 373–390. http://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2013.733859

van Walsum, S. (2013). Labour, Legality and shifts in the Public/Private divide. *International Migration*, *51*(6), 86–100. http://doi.org/10.1111/imig.12112

Varrel, A. (2011). Gender and intergenerational issues in the circulation of highly skilled migrants: The case of Indian IT professionals. In *Gender, generations and the family in international migration* (pp. 141–161). Amsterdam: University of Amsterdam Press.

Vasey, H. (2016). Trajectories of migration, social networks and emergent landscapes of migrant work. *Migration Studies*, *4*(1), 76–96. http://doi.org/10.1093/migration/mnv017

Vasta, E. (2011). Immigrants and the paper market: borrowing, renting and buying identities. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *34*(2), 187–206. http://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2010.509443

Vermeulen, F. (2005). Organisational Patterns: Surinamese and Turkish Associations in Amsterdam, 1960-1990. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *31*(5), 951–973. http://doi.org/10.1080/13691830500177859

Vervotec, S. (2004). Migrant Transnationalism and Modes of Transformation. *International Migration Review*, *38*(3), 970–1001.

Vervotec, S. (2007). Super-diversity and its implications. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *30*(6), 1024–1054.

Verwiebe, R., Seewann, L., Wolf, M., & Hacioglu, M. (2016). 'I have to be very good in what I do'. Marginalisation and discrimination in the career-entry phase – experiences and coping strategies among university graduates with a migrant background in Austria. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *42*(15), 2459–2481. http://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2016.1169160

Vickstrom, E. R., & Gonzalez-Ferrer, A. (2016). *Legal Status, Gender, and Labor Market Participation of Senegalese Migrants in France, Italy, and Spain. The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* (Vol. 666). http://doi.org/10.1177/0002716216643555

Vidal-Coso, E., & Miret-Gamundi, P. (2014). The labour trajectories of immigrant women in Spain: Are there signs of upward social mobility? *Demographic Research*, *31*(1), 337–380. http://doi.org/10.4054/DemRes.2014.31.13

Villares-Varela, M. (2018). Negotiating class, femininity and career: Latin American migrant women entrepreneurs in Spain. *International Migration*, *56*(4), 109–124. http://doi.org/10.1111/imig.12361

Villegas, P. E. (2015). Interlocking migrant illegalization with other markers of social location: The experiences of Mexican migrants moving and working in Toronto. *Women's Studies International Forum*, *48*, 185–193. http://doi.org/10.1016/j.wsif.2014.05.004

Vono-de-Vilhena, D., & Vidal-Coso, E. (2012). The impact of informal networks on labour mobility: immigrants' first job in Spain. *Migration Letters*, *9*(3), 237–247. http://doi.org/5L88568142817052

Waldinger, R., & Catron, P. (2016). Modes of incorporation : a conceptual and empirical critique. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *42*(1), 23–53. http://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2015.1113742

Wall, K., & Bolzman, C. (2014). Mapping the Nwe Plurality of Transnational Families. A life Course Perspective. In *Transnational Families, Migration and the Circulation of Care. Understanding Mobiliy and Absence in Family Life* (pp. 61–77). New York: Routledge.

Walter, P., Bläuer Hermann, A., Cangemi, V., Murier, T., Perrenoud, S., Reutter, R., … Zimmermann, M. (2016). *Indicateurs du marché du travail 2016*. Neuchâtel.

Waters, J. L. (2011). Time and Transnationalism: A Longitudinal Study of Immigration, Endurance and Settlement in Canada. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *37*(7), 1119–1135. http://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2011.572488

Wellman, B., Wong, R. Y., Tindall, D., & Nazer, N. (1997). A decade of network change: Turnover, persistence and stability in personal communities. *Social Networks*, *19*(1), 27–50. http://doi.org/10.1016/S0378-8733(96)00289-4

Wengraf, T. (2000). Uncovering the general from within the particular. From contingencies to typologies to understanding of cases. In *The Turn to Biographical Methods in Social Science. Comparative issues and exemples* (pp. 140–162). London: Routledge.

Wichmann, N., Hermann, M., Amato, G. D., Efionayi-mäder, D., Fibbi, R., Menet, J., & Ruedin, D. (2011). *Les marges de manœuvre au sein du fédéralisme : La politique de migration dans les cantons.*

Bern.

Widmer, E. D., Aeby, G., & Sapin, M. (2013). Collecting family network data. *International Review of Sociology*, *23*(1), 27–46. http://doi.org/10.1080/03906701.2013.771049

Wilding, R. (2007). Transnational Ethnographies and Anthropological Imaginings of Migrancy. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *33*(2), 331–348. http://doi.org/10.1080/13691830601154310

Wilken, L., & Dahlberg, M. (2017). Between international student mobility and work migration. Experiences of students from EU's newer member states in Denmark. *Journal Od Ethnic and Migration Studies, JEMS*, *9451*(May). http://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2017.1300330

Willen, S. S. (2012). Migration, "illegality," and health: Mapping embodied vulnerability and debating health-related deservingness. *Social Science and Medicine*, *74*(6), 805–811. http://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2011.10.041

Williams, C. C. (2011). Geographical variations in the nature of community engagement: A total social organization of labour approach. *Community Development Journal*, *46*(2), 213–228. http://doi.org/10.1093/cdj/bsp063

Wimmer, A. (2004). Does ethnicity matter? Everyday group formation in three Swiss immigrant neighbourhoods. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *27*(1), 1–36. http://doi.org/10.1080/0141987032000147922

Wimmer, A. (2013). *Ethnic Boundary Making. Institutions, Power, Networks*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Wimmer, A. (2014). Ethnic boundary making as strategic action: Reply to my critics. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *37*(5), 834–842. http://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2014.887212

Wimmer, A., & Glick Schiller, N. (2002). Methodological nationalism and beyond: nation-state building, migration and the social sciences. *Global Networks*, *2*(4), 301–334. http://doi.org/10.1111/1471-0374.00043

Windebank, J. E. (2008). Volunteering and the gender division of labour: A Franco-British comparison. *Community, Work & Family*, *11*(4), 457–473.

http://doi.org/10.1080/13668800802349802

Wong, M. (2014). Geographies and strategies of caregiving among skilled Ghanaian migrant women. *Women's Studies International Forum*, *42*, 28–43. http://doi.org/10.1016/j.wsif.2013.11.005

Yeates, N. (2011). Going global: the transnationalization of care. *Development and Change*, *42*(4), 1109–130. Retrieved from http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmed/22165161

Yeates, N. (2012). Global care chains: a state-of-the-art review and future directions in care transnationalization research. *Global Networks*, *12*(2), 135–154. http://doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-0374.2012.00344.x

Yeung, S. (2016). From cultural distance to skills deficits: "Expatriates," "Migrants" and Swiss integration policy. *Multilingua*, *35*(6), 723–746. http://doi.org/10.1515/multi-2015-0074

Yoon, I.-J. (1991). The Changing Significance of Ethnic and Class Resources in Immigrant Businesses : The Case of Korean Immigrant Businesses in Chicago. *International Migration Review*, *25*(2), 303–332.

Young, T. J., Sercombe, P. G., Sachdev, I., Naeb, R., & Schartner, A. (2013). Success factors for international postgraduate students' adjustment: exploring the roles of intercultural competence, language proficiency, social contact and social support. *European Journal of Higher Education*, *3*(2), 151–171. http://doi.org/10.1080/21568235.2012.743746

Yu, K.-H. (2013). Organizing immigrants: meaning generation in the community. *Work, Employment & Society*, *28*(3), 355–371. http://doi.org/10.1177/0950017013491449

Zamora, S. (2016). Racial Remittances. *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity*, *2*(4), 466–481. http://doi.org/10.1177/2332649215621925

Zschirnt, E., & Ruedin, D. (2016). Ethnic discrimination in hiring decisions: a meta-analysis of correspondence tests 1990–2015. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *42*(7), 1115–1134. http://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2015.1133279