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**Gender, Ethnicity,
Class and Subjectification in
International Labour Migration**

The Case of African Women
in Germany and England



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Summary

The thesis integrates a structural approach and multi level analysis drawing on postcolonial perspectives, sociological approaches, feminist theories and grounded theory to conceptualise the simultaneity, multidimensionality, intersectionality and performativity of gender, ethnicity, class and subjectivity as constructed identities and agency in the nexus of international capitalist modes of production, patriarchal axes of subordination, postcolonialism and pluralistic geopolitical conditionings. It problematises the threefold/fourfold ontology as it relates to the translocating positionalities of (im)migrant women, the historicity of gender hierarchies and the interlockings with complex discursive conjectures, abstract systems, the tensions and contradictory relations of time and space.

Whilst generating a transformatory framework to theorise social cohesion and social capital through a focus on gender identity, performativity and the social structural and social-psychological underpinnings, it empirically and theoretically interrogates the structurally disembedded postmodern polygamous family habitus and within this framework, reassess the dimensions of subaltern consciousness, ambivalent gendered identities and pluralistic cultural orientations as sites for critical intervention. Against this background, it develops a concrete direction for evolving a grounded social infrastructure of critical pedagogy, political education, feminist-, sociological-, social work praxis and multi level interventions enhancing democratisation, community building, resilience and postcolonial institutional development. The work is divided into eleven chapters.

The first chapter introduces the background to the research in a context grounding the theoretical framework in the feminisation of migration as a modern structural construct configuring gender within increasingly internationalised institutional, legislative and social practices of precariousness as well as translocal regimes of polarisation, multidimensional oppression and compound vulnerability. Whilst gendering migration articulates the structural transformation in the industrially advanced north and the intrinsic linkage to the less advanced south, the chapter locates multi strategic and multi level transformatory practices within international structural interventionist models combining responsive global social policy development with improvements in the legal positions of (im)migrant women and the building of humanistic civil societies in the South and the North. Whilst redressing the opportunities and limitations of doing constructed gender and intersecting identities within

abstract systems and manifold structural disembedments, the chapter fuses the human agency perspective with liberative critical pedagogy and ambivalence tolerance to argue for social transformation, harm's reduction and capacity building through empowerment of women as agents of change assuming critical roles in reproductive, productive, community building, health promotion, democratisation and social cohesion processes. A brief overview of the scientific gaps and their relationship to the methodology and empirical relevance is also provided.

Chapter two addresses issues of power and knowledge production as they relate to representationalist discourses, voice construction and knowledge expertisation within the context of my empirical research. It describes my scientific background and demonstrated capacity for bridging theory, praxis and social relevance. In addition, it articulates my pedagogical motivation, philosophical grounding, identification with the affected and alignment with social justice and dialogical relations.

Chapter three builds on the first two chapters and presents grounded theory as a context sensitive methodological framework whilst demonstrating its theoretical, empirical application and relevance. It looks at the basic elements, analytical procedures, tools and techniques of grounded theory whilst also conceptualising the relationship between data and theory within the open approach and the empirically driven workability framework. As well, it articulates the notions of theoretical sampling and the iterative research process.

The fourth chapter consists of a literature review illustrating the level of feminist research on gender and international migration. It draws on social constructionist, intersectionality and multidimensionality models to introduce the basic premises and major feminist critique whilst also complicating the fourfold vulnerability model. It expands the centres and margins of intersectionality drawing on the fourfold vulnerability model with a view to set the framework for empirical analysis through: a) a structural analysis of consciousness; b) Bourdieu's theorisation of habitus, corporeal capital and the materiality of belonging; c) combining the feminist' notion of structural gendered ambivalence with the poststructural notion of double ontology to articulate the triple ontology of postcolonial categories; d) fusing Miles model on the political economy of migrant labour with Bourdieu's theory of praxis, Giddens' structuration theory and (trans)locational analysis in order to redress the over-simplified approaches to difference. With the argument that the notion of race promotes linear interventions and obscures the different spaces and levels for engaging actions and multiple strategic interventions, I

explicate the structural constitution of ethnicity as a valid analytical category. This approach facilitates the incorporation of cultural similarity approaches. Here I argue in lignment with the empirically grounded key findings that this case provides a theoretical foundation for advancing a more sophisticated approach to categories which is adhesive to multiple and multi level interventions.

Within this framework, the chapter destabilizes the validity of race as analytical category and makes transparent the manifold and interlocking systems of oppression and mechanisms underpinning structured ethnicity as the socially differentiating category. Thus, the chapter also draws attention to the hidden variables ability and disability as exemplified within the performative oriented egalitarian and social democratic German habitus. Here it deconstructs complex differentiation and brings to light the myriad of multiple, fluid exclusionary and inclusionary axes.

Further highlights allow for an international comparative focus on stratification and dichotomisation practices, the psycho-culturalist approaches and their dualistic ontological implications. Whilst drawing on the Canadian context, the chapter argues for coherent attention to the unilinear policy frameworks, their bearings on diverse categories and their sometimes unintended contradictory outcomes – the new and diversified forms of polarising conditions, and their evolving manifestations - ‘political correctedness’ as the new hierarchisation and differentiation mechanism masking and compounding intersectional vulnerability. Reassessing and expanding the notion of double ontology as partially introduced above, this chapter looks not only at post-colonial subaltern situativity within complex discursive conjunctures but also within the structural operations of industrial relations, systems of social closure and institutional processes that aggravate the dichotomisations of difference, time, space and social identities. Hence the chapter also generates a social networks perspective that enhances theorisation of double ontology not only in terms of postcolonial legacies and residues but also in terms of a process that instantiates the tensions of time and space at the interplay of complex axes of difference and their implications for configuring inferior habitus, agency and the reproduction of structure within transnationalism. Whilst figures 4.1 & 4.2 in Section 4.11, attempt to map these concepts and recapture these structural relations and their interconnectedness, the theoretical models for theorising diversity, social cohesion and exclusion are also introduced here.

Chapter five is an attempt to fuse structural social work, social and intercultural pedagogical perspectives. It argues for a broadened integration of cultural similarity perspectives basing on two key factors within mainstream discourses: Whilst drawing on dominant theories, it thematizes and critiques the cultural deficit, cultural centric and cultural difference approaches. As well, representationalist discourses, universalism, bi-polarlogic and their social policy implications. It problematises the theoretical idealization and homogenization approaches that whilst interrogating diversities across categories fail to complicate diversities within categories with the contradictory outcomes for polarisation of genders in minority, translocal and mainstream communities. The sociological blindness to the multilayeredness of identities is viewed as one major factor that is responsible for promoting linear interventions and obscuring the different spaces and levels for engaging actions and multiple strategic interventions. In alignment with the establishments in the various chapters, the chapter identifies the need for multi level context sensitive interventions that incorporate multiple interconnecting strategies aimed at deconstructing difference not only within mainstream communities but also within minority postcolonial subjectivities – therefore, the chapter also theorises and advocates in addition to cultural similarity perspectives, dialogue, transversal politics and cultural hybridity as critical interventionist paradigms. Finally the chapter handles the basic concepts in feminist migration research.

Chapter six presents the research design and research focus including the conceptual framework. It clarifies the relevance of historical variations, colonialism, class and egalitarian habitus in shaping differences in the compositions, magnitudes and experiences of migration in Germany and the U.K.

Chapter seven presents the data collection procedure as an iterative process of data collection, interpretation, and analysis. Therefore, it extensively thematizes the interview drawing attention to the practical implementation, applied relevance and limitations of the interviewing tools and techniques whilst also illustrating the empirically generated conceptual comparison groups constituting the sample within the framework of theoretical sensitivity. The chapter also critically redresses the complex relations of power, their configuration and deconstruction in the interview. In addition, it articulates the process of data transcription.

Chapter eight and nine are a continuation and concretisation of the empirical analysis not as a linear but iterative process that actually begins in chapter four. They present an international comparative analysis of the social con-

struction of postcolonial subjectivities in the margins, centres and intersections of class, gender, ethnicity as institutional processes, legislative conditionalities and social practices of subjectification and consciousness formation. Whilst implying and applying Bourdieu's theory of praxis, the chapters highlight differential nexus identity configurations and performativities as they relate to perpetuations and disruptions of postcolonial legacies and residues within England's hierarchizing class Habitus, Germany's social democratic egalitarian habitus and the shifting patriarchal postcolonial background habitus. Hence whilst fusing transnational and (trans)locational models within this framework, the chapters allow for a focus on the complex configuration and manifestation of structure within migrant's subjectivities through theorisation of status consciousness, status embodiments and subjective transformations vs. class consciousness, class embodiments and subjective transformations in Germany and England.

Within this broad framework, chapter eight sheds light on the role of gendered accounts for communication and agency. Whilst empirically generating social cohesion as a core category, it makes visible the manifold structural contingencies of difference that not only stand in relationship to each other as objective conditionalities and subjectification practices but also condition the dynamics of social capital, diversity and their transformation through actively performing agents. It generates an evidence-framework for multi level transformatory pedagogy aimed at empowering subjective reflective self-making. The model is grounded in a pedagogical explication of the social-ecological context of social reflexivity and the implications for the social construction, internalisation, (dis)articulation and reproduction of social meaning – a post-colonial interrogation and Marxian feminist theorisation of structural convergences and complex social-psychological emergings as contingent constellations – a complication of hegemonic dispositions and their implications for subjective awareness, legitimisation and contestation of difference – cultural centric models, hybridity, postcoloniality and (im)migration articulated in the increased salience, essentialism, fixation, territorialisation and pathologisation of ethnicity on one hand and on the other, the intersections with class as articulated in England's class habitus. As well, the retraditionalization and reconfigurations of gender hierarchies in England's private/public divide. By contrast, the chapter provides analysis of the fluid status dependent categories, practices of self-making and collective identities in Germany's egalitarian habitus.

To set the framework for empirically and theoretically confronting difference postcolonial structural configurations and subjectification practices, the chapter thematizes the structural codification and fixation of ethnicity. To do this, it applies a systematising and historicising lens. Within this context, it articulates and advocates a focus on cultural hybridity as a context sensitive deconstructive and critical interventionist paradigm. Whilst theorising the commonalities between the ‘traditional African egalitarian collective systems’ and the social democratic/social market economy or Marxian oriented egalitarian habitus, it identifies Germany as an orientation model for postcolonial institutional building and for Germany and Europe at large. Equally important, drawing on evidence-based knowledge, the hypothesis generated also reject the neo-liberalist models as structurally marginalising and socially disembedding paradigms which Germany has adopted within the framework of Hartz IV. Thus, the thesis also argues for the need for Germany to strengthen the liberal-humanistic paradigms rooted in greater conditions of equality on the labour market as evidence-based community building tools

Both chapters expand on the (trans)locational-transnationality framework and the notion of habitus through the social networks perspective. The chapters demonstrate the interrelationships of structure, agency and subjectivity within a community building framework. These chapters highlight the community building and active transformatory roles of immigrants as subjective actors in three distinctive but intersecting cultural spaces. These include self organisation within the Afro-Churches; linkages to mainstream communities and; changing family systems. Whilst the cultural spaces within self organised community building activities and forms of political organisations have provided a unique site for observing these complex dynamics, the chapters move beyond traditional approaches to draw attention not only to the structure, forms of organisation, gender relations shaping immigrants multiple and shifting communities but also to the inner empowering, disempowering and socially fragmentizing dynamics. The methodologically and empirically generated aim is to identify workability of research finding for the affected – the chapter typically generates a practice theoretical perspective by identifying spaces for the development of context sensitive-, cognition based transformatory models and programmatic actions for capacity building. These chapters triangulate the social habitus of England, Germany and selected Anglo-phone African countries to demonstrate the differential configuration and introjections of macro structural contexts, mezzo processes their manifestations and their orientational implications for the micro subjective categories.

The chapters draw on Bourdieu's theory of praxis to conceptualise the subjectivities, narratives of women and expand the centres and margins of intersectionality through theorisation of the notions of cultural and corporeal capital – Whilst empirically demonstrating the limitations of race as a culturalist paradigm for transformatory interrogation of difference, I expand understanding of social differentiation and collectivising practices through analysis of the cultural configurations of class and symbolic capital within the intersecting, shifting habitus and dislocating international capitalist modes of production that structurally and psychologically hierarchise and subordinate gender. Within this framework, the chapters handle the materialisation, institutionalisation and (de)legitimation of belonging. The chapters draw on Bourdieu's theory of praxis to highlight the structural embeddedness of (im)migrants and demonstrate the role of social structures, symbolic systems and embodied habitus in differentially enabling or constraining the social practices of change. As well, the oscillations of subjective actors in social spaces underpinned by the intertwinings of economic relations, social cultural dislocations and historicity. Within this framework, the chapters illuminate processes of self-making through demonstrating the complex and shifting interrelationships structured by materiality and culture as hegemonic systems of dispositions, social practices of (miss)recognition, generating principles as well as objective configurations and cognitive embodiments with implications for body, identity and performativity. The chapters highlight the conditioning and articulation of asymmetrical and contesting relations of ethnicity, class and gender including manifestations of the dualism of oppression and the structural ambivalence of theory, praxis and complex negotiation strategies. Drawing on Bourdieu's theory of praxis, the chapters also shed light to the differential construction of femininities.

Unlike the limitations of previous studies, chapter eight, nine and ten identify empirical rootedness as a core intervention strategy and interrogate the complex locations and configurations of the multilayered intersecting identities, their contestation, reconfiguration and critical transformation within the social hierarchies, manifold, interlocking systems of oppression, geopolitical (dis)locations, historical specificity and the (trans)locational spheres of social interaction. Concisely within this framework, key components of the research question handle subjectification processes through a complication of the notions of (re)constructed nexus subjectivity formations, local gendered identities, active performativity and, interlinkages with globalising structural, social-psychological and manifold epistemic shifts

To bridge the scientific gaps in previous approaches and to advocate as well as demonstrate the social relevance of multi level interventions, these chapters iteratively integrate the social cultural background as a sociological variable and analytical category: In chapter nine, empirical examples illustrating the social construction of gender within dichotomous socialisation patterns and its implications for status and subjectivity constitutions exhibit high correlation with the generation of '*social capital*' underpinning cohesive processes. While highlighting the impacts of modernity disembedments, the hypothesis generated regard the extents to which polygamy as a patriarchal framework for identity building operates under dislocating macro and micro forces to articulate multivariate structural ambivalence in female consciousness which is embodied as a conflict between gender and social identities. This is illustrative primarily through a further hypothesis that lends support to analysis of household-/ family interactions through using Marxian approaches theorising class relations, gender hierarchies, capitalist modes of production and their articulation in the domestic sphere¹ of postcolonial societies which, while generating difference, rigid boundaries² and pluralistic cultural shifts appear to produce illegitimizing mechanisms³ and alterity paradigms that fragmentize and genderise social categories whilst also producing exclusionist identities in socialisation processes as underpinned by the operations of complex power locations. These dynamics appear implicated in agency and the reproduction of social systems⁴ as generative of diverse forms of social conflict, hegemonic and counter hegemonic notions in modes of collective referentialities as well as shaping the relationship between the public and voluntary sectors through structural gendered ambivalence and pluralistic cultural antagonisms inextricably linked to the social determinants of basic health systems and the internal constitution of democracies.

Drawing on dominant feminist, pedagogical and sociological approaches to conceptualise data, chapter nine iteratively theorises the relationship between family structure, gendered structural ambivalence and the public/private divide bringing out the tensions and contradictions between modes of external and internal referentialities, their multidimensional linkages and configurations in the power structures of social networks and grassroots processes. Therefore to integrate a structural analysis of consciousness and to bridge sci-

1 Section 9.8–9.10

2 On family boundaries see Minuchin 1974

3 See Said 1978

4 On agency and structure see Giddens & Bernstein, Section, 4.6.1 & 4.6.2

entific gaps within a transformatory approach, the chapter conceptualises the salience of gendered religious as well as complex spiritual identities, their evolution within abstract discursive practices and their contradictory outcomes as reflected in the widespread Gospel Churches on one hand and the Voodoo hegemonic and counter hegemonic discourses on the other.

Within this constellation, the study deconstructs configurations of contra-productive tunnel visions in gendered selves whilst also arguing for a coherent focus on spiritualism as analytical category. It is significant that whereas the study has much earlier drawn attention to the voodoo discursive practices as both hegemonic and counter hegemonic interventionist tools and articulations of structural ambivalence within the simultaneity of postcolonialism, double ontology, abstract systems, international capitalism and their precarious outcomes for postmodern socialisation processes, this has currently escalated – The rising ritual murders and human sacrifices empirically highlight the urgent need for evolving a social infrastructure of pedagogy, sociologically driven theoretical practice models and context sensitive multiple intervention models.

Chapter 10 presents the quantitative analysis and concretises the above themes of research as they relate to the genderisation, subjectification and ethnisation of labour markets, the structural underpinnings and fragmentation of the educational, work and social biographies of migrant women in England and Germany. It highlights the high level of structural integration of migrant women on England's labour market vs. the high level of social integration of women in Germany, whilst also drawing attention to the contradictions and discrepancies between institutional practices and the social embeddedness of gender. To facilitate international comparative theorisation, it draws on chapter four and postcolonial analysis to contextualise structural differences within historical specificity and habitus whilst also problematising their role in underpinning variations in national models.

The chapter argues that the differential structural and social integration of African women in England and Germany articulate their agency and adaptive capacities at multidimensional levels, if provided with enabling frameworks for participation.

To construct external validity for translocal globalising contexts, the hypothesis generated also show that the forms of social differentiation articulated within the class habitus and the egalitarian habitus are different and bear different social meanings and implications for the affected. Therefore, the study

draws on scientific models to argue for the integration of the dimensions of standard of living, social determinants of health, subjective wellbeing and the intergenerational transmission of social inequality as categories of analysis in order to comprehend fully the position of migrant women, complicate intersectional analysis and generate context sensitive multi level interventions as effective theoretical practice models. This is possible through broadening international comparative approaches merging qualitative and quantitative analysis.

The chapter emphasizes the need for improving the legal status of African women on the German labour market whilst also redressing their invisibility within statistics and the associated contradictory outcomes for polarising gender and (im)migrant communities. The statistical invisibilisation has specific structural bearings on African women. In terms of the impacts of social policies, this group seems to constitute the most excluded and most vulnerable category, since they appear to have consistently fallen through the cracks within the evolution of social policy.

Chapter eleven attempts to highlight the key findings and questions emerging from research as well as recommendations and conclusions.

1 Introduction and Background

1.1 Feminisation of Migration

1.1.1 *The Need for Empowerment and Capacity Building: Targeting (Im)migrant Women as Agents of Change*

My research is concerned with the need for a pedagogical fusion of agency, power and social reflexivity as the prerequisites for social transformation (Freire & Giroux, Section 4.6) in an increasingly globalised and gendered world of (im)migrant women (Potts 1988; Castles & Miller 1998; OECD 1999; see also Anthias 2001a & 2001b with further references). The study incorporates intersectional analysis and a multidimensional structural approach to identify the basic considerations on which to base the strategy for the maximum improvement of female status within the context of international migration and the fundamental social economic constraints (Chapter 4).

Much is already known about the intersections of capitalism, colonialism, and oppressive patriarchal structures as they relate to the unequal structuring impacts of modernisation processes, of gender specific labour markets, state policies and institutional processes which have exerted diverse outcomes for deteriorating the economic and social status of women in the developing societies (Boserup 1970; Linnenbrink, Wilkens & LaCoutre 1993). What is significant to know in this context regards the new complex disintegration of societies as a result of the internationalisation of multidimensional relations of inequality within increasingly internationalised institutional, legislative and social practices of precariousness, compound and intersectional vulnerability (Section 4.5 & 4.6). Whereas these are currently accelerated through corporate globalisation, (Sassen¹, Section 1 & 5.6.5), Phizacklea draws on Kevin Robins to theorise the configuration of constructed and intersecting identities within the dissolution of old structures and boundaries of national states and communities (Phizacklea 2000). Whilst the feminisation of poverty in developing countries is articulated in the form of the global feminisation of migration, the presence of migrant women in highly industrialised countries

1 See also Sassen, qtd.in: Hondaneu Sotelo (2005).

articulates the visible manifestation of the increased problematic of the 'Third World', the structural underpinnings of the societal transformation of the 'First World' and the linkages established between the two – A reflection of the close interdependence between both worlds and the global restructurings in the last decades (Hillman 1996; see also critically Hondagneu-Sotelo 2005).

Thus, Kevin Robins theorises the increasing transnationalisation of economic and cultural life, specifically the configuration of a global space and a community of citizens and neighbours defined through mass inequalities (Phizacklea 2000). It makes sense therefore to conceptualise international migration in terms of a transnational household of the seven continents, where tensions between the haves and have-nots must constantly be negotiated (Hillman 1996). Whereas these developments legitimise the need for grounding transformatory processes within international structural interventionist models combining responsive global social policy development with improvements in the legal positions of migrant women in destination countries and the building of humanistic civil societies in the South, this is empirically contradicted through fortress Europe. In Germany for example, scholars criticise the defensive dryad approach constituting integration, fortification and funded reintegration into destination non EU countries in connection with the failure to evolve a responsive migration policy in the institutional practices of a restrictive alien's policy (Compare Ochse 1999 with further references). Whilst this has led to the marginalisation and discrimination of migrant women, their children and grand children born and living for decades in Germany, in classical immigration countries with modern migration policies like Canada, stratification hypotheses, straight line assimilation, unidimensional, cultural deficit approaches and systemic barriers on the labour market have not only ethnicised poverty, unemployment and crime but have also socially polarised the Canadian society (Galabuzi, Section 4.6.5.1). Scholars speak of economic apartheid (Galabuzi 2002).

Gendering migration is increasingly witnessed through the drastic increase in the rates of female participation in both internal, external labour migration and in the contemporary refugee movements (Castles & Miller 1998; OECD 1999; Compare Hondagneu-Sotelo 2005 with father references). Furthermore, it is being witnessed through human trafficking, whereby women and children constitute 80 % (Boyd 2008). Theorising feminisation in terms of labour market segmentation and global structural inequalities, Potts has argued that migrant women perform specific gendered, subordinate and dehumanised functions which reinforce their multidimensional vulnerability and

invisibilisation: As a source of cheap labour, they are often conditioned by a weak legal position which subjects them to exploitation. As mentioned elsewhere, they perform reproductive functions sustaining the regeneration of labour. At the same time, they are increasingly demanded as sex objects. Subsequently, female international migration constitutes an integral variable of the world labour market (Potts 1988). Anthias adopts this position by focusing on the expanding gendered occupations which have trapped women into the sex trade, undocumented migration, domestic roles and the associated vulnerabilities to re-emphasise the marginal situation of migrant women and in this connection question the position of scholars like Zlotnik who have drawn on official statistics to doubt the feminisation of migration (Anthias 2000 & 2001a). To concretise feminisation and illustrate its dimensions, some have looked at patterns of sex selectivity through a focus on marriage as a gendered variable and the role of international migration policies in constructing and reinforcing female vulnerability by linking women's legal status to that of their husbands and denying them the opportunity to get an independent economic status (Boyd 1995). Yet other scholars like Seller draw attention to the structural underpinnings of poverty that play a role in inducing female migration, specifically manifesting the spatial mobility of women avoiding or escaping unwanted marriages (Lim 1995). To this analysis, I add the perspective of polygamy, gender identity, social cohesion and social capital (Chapter 9).

Scholars have also addressed the structure of social networks, specifically the gender differentiated relations, roles and access to the enabling informal frameworks that facilitate migration. In considering the implications of gender hierarchies within this framework, scholars have drawn on Hondagneu-Sotelo, to bring forth the argument that gendered dynamics, patriarchal practices and rules have facilitated the migration of men and constrained the migration of women (Lim 1995; Phizacklea 2000). Others have looked at the role of colonial policies in hindering the migration of women with their husbands and marginalising women's economic roles (UN Secretariat 1995).

Scholars have deployed the term fortress Europe as the contemporary framework for conceptualising the social exclusion of migrant women in connection with the social construction of subject positionalities, precariousness and relative vulnerability within the logic of international capitalism, structural binaries and interlocking matrices of oppression underpinning the dimensions of gender, class and ethnicity (Review critically, Lutz Helma 1997; Phizacklea 2000; Anthias 2001; Keller & von Rotz 2001). Whilst theorising mo-

bility as a paradigm of societal transformation within this framework (Hillman 1996), they have theorised capitalist selectivity by critiquing the exclusion of migrant women from global participation despite the unprecedented liberalisation of goods and capital in the artificially constructed first, second and third world divisions (Review critically, Hillman 1996; Keller & von Rotz 2001; Anthias 2000 & 2001a). In addition, they have problematised the increased polarisation and marginalising implications of globalisation as concretised in the contrasting mobility and autonomy of cosmopolitan elites that possess the scarce and highly demanded skills (Review critically, Phizacklea 2000; Keller & von Rotz 2001; Anthias 2000 & 2001a). Drawing on the scientific debate on gendered and classed migration in Germany, some have applied the term paradigmatic separation to theorise the articulation of these processes within research as reflected in the polarised approaches to care and the knowledge economy-constituting the new evolving recruitment sector (Kyoko 2008).

Similarly, scholars have pointed out to the growing politicisation of international migration. Examples are the counter globalisation forces constituting not only institutional mechanisms conditioning migration but also the essentialist and right-wing political interventions that operate to increasingly exclude members of poor nations from participating and sharing in the benefits of globalisation through migration (Phizacklea 2000). As already partially demonstrated through fortress Europe, scholars concretise their arguments by critiquing the strict migration controls that hinder the migration and settlement of people from the South and Eastern Europe, the associated emergence and exploitative role of intermediaries, global networks as well as human trafficking. In the context of this research, the politicisation, economisation of mobility and the vulnerability of gender are best analyzed in terms of their subjective manifestations and their implications for collectivising practices in increasingly (trans)localised communities of belonging (Chapter 8 & 9).

To exemplify further the social construction of gender within the logic of capitalism, Sassen Koob critiques the global economic structural transformation in relation to the social construction of an international sexist and racist division of labour (Sassen Koob, Section 1 & 5.6.5). To theorise the implications for postcolonial subjectivity (Section 4.5.1 & 4.6) Kevin Robins theorises this in terms of the expansion of the old colonial division of labour (Phizacklea 2000). The interlinkages are conceived as fundamental to comprehending not only the position of actors but also the agency and resourcefulness of migrant women (Phizacklea 2000): Whilst enhancing labour market

segmentation along the lines of gender, ethnicity and class, the old colonial division of labour (Phizacklea 2000) and the international sexist division of labour have not only exerted outcomes that have accelerated female migration (Sassen, Section 1 & 5.6.5) but have also nationally and globally configured new power constellations with a complex fusion of hierarchical relations, social privileging and social inequality. Thus, leading to a polarisation of the social conditions amongst women in the different categories of difference: Women therefore cannot be analyzed as isolated gender entities or restrictively in relation to gender hierarchies (Lim 1995). Whereas the internationalisation of capitalist modes of production interact to constitute new variables subordinating female status (Hillman 1996; Sassen 1998; Phizacklea 2000), Rodriguez argues for a critical analysis of gender configuration beyond gender relations and gender hierarchies to include the structural underpinnings and interlockings of ethnicity and class relations constructed within concrete geographical and historical contexts (Rodriguez, Section 1). Gender, ethnicity and subjectivity are therefore approached in terms of manifold power and subjugating mechanisms at the intersections of historical, institutional, social and economic processes (Critically review, Phizacklea 2000; Gutiérrez Rodríguez; Miles, Section 4.5.2 & Bourdieu, Section 4.6.1 & 4.6.2).

Within this constellation, (im)migrant women increasingly form the new class of servants and the working poor (Keller & von Rotz 2001; see Section 1 & 5.6.5): The labour market is segmented into highly paid sectors of the modern information economy on one hand and on the other, the expanding informal sector constituting the working poor. Within this framework of segmentation, (im)migrant women are overrepresented in the expanding low paying services sector in the Metropolitan (Sassen, Section; 5.6.5). As partially introduced above,² in the Canadian scientific debate, Galabuzi demonstrates that the racist or rather ethnicist (as I opt to call it), division of labour has manifested hyper economic exclusion with conditions and flaws of capitalist peripherals increasingly articulated in the core (Galabuzi 2002, See also Section 4.9). It is not surprising therefore that the economic marginalisation and unequal incorporation has been linked to the disintegration of migrant communities (Section 4.6.5). Meaning that specifically within capitalist modes of production, it is important to recognise the economic position of

2 My argument is that the process of deconstructing racism constitutes the deconstruction of the term race. My empirical findings collaborate the works of scholars like Miles and Phizacklea, Section, 4.5.2).

migrant women as fundamental to community building, identity construction and crime prevention. To analyze the intersectionality and simultaneity of manifold systems of oppression and their implications for ultra exclusion (Section 4.4 & 4.6), Anthias has expressed concern about the need for exploring scientifically the various ways in which gendered relations are constitutive of the positionalities of the migrant groups themselves enabling some groups to occupy certain economic niches and dynamically reproduce in a selective way the cultural symbolic and material relations it lives within (Anthias 2000 & 2001a). This means that whilst facing marginalisation on the international labour market, migrant women's vulnerability is compounded through segregation into 'ethnic networks with further mechanism of differentiation by gender, class and ethnicity (See critically Schulte 2008; Lim; UN; Bonacich, Section 4.7.3). Thus, the need for conceptualising the different ways in which different social categories intersect to produce social outcomes for individuals and social structures within a framework of shifting constellations of social actors and the implications for constructing social relations that are hierarchical (Anthias 2002).

As the colonial³ and international division of labour translate into a broad exclusionary and marginalisation process, scholars have linked the subordinate position of women to the fragmentation of the working class and the structural hindrances to the international political struggle for emancipation along gender categories (Kosack, qtd. in: Hillman 1996; Rommelsberger 2005; Sassen, Section 5.6.5). Others have concretised this through a focus on the Commodification of care as it relates to the differential implications of the new gender order within the interlockings of gender, ethnicity and class (Ozyegin & Hondagneu 2008; Morokvasic 2007; Rommelspacher 2005; Brenner 2002; See also critically, Lutz Helma 2008). Here scholars have argued that the social mobility of socially privileged women in highly industrialised countries as it relates to the capacity to occupy the previously male dominated positions is facilitated mainly through the labour participation of other women with a low economic status (Brenner 2002). This category constitutes mostly migrants who have occupied distinctive yet undervalued roles within the internationalisation of reproductive and domestic work (Review Brenner 2002; Rommelspacher 2005; also critically Anthias, Section 5.6.5).⁴

3 Review Phizacklea 2000.

4 See also Keller & von Rotz 2001.

For Rommelspacher, the dynamics of power and social privileging must first be traced within colonialism (Rommelspacher 2005).

Some scholars like Sassen have assumed that improved though still poor accessibility to gainful employment as a consequence of the growing feminisation and informalisation of labour within marketised economies improves the status of women and emancipates them from patriarchal oppression. In the end, this transforms gender hierarchies (Sassen 1998). Whereas many have seriously questioned this assumption (Section 4.8)⁵, one can argue that such a position can only be validated through variables relating to the quality of life and subjective wellbeing: My empirical findings on the situation of migrant women in England suggest that the transformation of gender hierarchies through migration whilst increasing the number of single headed households also means that the absence of the fathers as male role models has substantial implications for bringing about a crisis of identity amongst youth and the disintegration of migrant communities.

To concretise the implications of intersectional vulnerability within the context of the foregoing analysis and within the context of enhanced labour market segmentation, scientist have identified de-qualification mechanism, cultural deficit approaches and genderised cultural hiring practices as constituting additional impacting variables with strong implications for deteriorating the status of women (Section 4.9; 5.2 & 5.3). In countries like Canada, this is exacerbated through the social habitus – volunteering to gain Canadian experience as the normalized prerequisite to gainful employment combined with the non recognition of *foreign experience* and foreign credentials. Meaning that since new comers must first volunteer in order to gain Canadian experience and eligibility to access the labour market, valuable resources are extracted from highly skilled immigrants to facilitate the social mobility of privileged Canadian women on the labour market (Barongo-Muweke, 2006; See critically section 4.6.4 & 4.6.5). In Ottawa, this is exacerbated through prioritisation of bilingualism as a labour market entry skills requirement (English & French) in a context that fails to harmonise bilingualism legislation with administrative procedures that promote acquisition of official bilingualism. In addition, cultural hiring practices complicate the challenges of doing gender with doing ethnicity (Section 4.9). Boyd, identifies the subtle discrimination that operates through a combination of rules and regulations that are not discriminatory in content but become so through their aggregate

5 See also Keller & Von Rotz (2001).

implementation (Boyd 1995). In addition to Boyd's structural mezzo oriented perspective, one could draw on Morokvasic, to conceptualise the above discriminatory practices in terms of the empirical articulation of the practical limitations of ethnocentric orientation and cultural deficit approaches. These reconstruct migrant women on the basis of the common sense stereotype as a hypothetical cultural inventory – situating migrant women at one end of the tradition-modernity dichotomy (Section 4.8). Meaning that women are evaluated in terms of their capacity of access to modernity i.e. they have to be promoted in order to be better adopted (Morokvasic 1983).

To summarise the foregoing analysis, it is important to theorise the fusion of colonialism, patriarchy, globalisation and migration (Phizacklea 2000; Potts 1988 & 1990) in terms of the increased diversity, magnitude, economisation and politicisation of contemporary movements within countries (Castles and Miller 1998: 8–9). In other words, mobility articulates a paradigm of societal transformation, internationalisation and globalisation (Hillman 1996), with strong implications for female status (Lim 1995; Potts 1988 & 1990). Within this framework, ethnicity and racialisation are conceived as affecting all women whereby their differential implications for the constitution of subjectivities within migration, exile, Diaspora and interstate crises compounds intersectional vulnerability (See Rodríguez Gutiérrez 1999:12). What is most significant in this context, however, is the current situation in African countries, where the rates of migration flows are quoted as some of the highest in the world (Aboyade 1983).

The intersections of gender, ethnicity, class and their precarious outcomes within the interlinkages of globalisation and international migration appear most exacerbated here, where women and children constitute the category of the most impoverished by the tragedies of flight and war. According to the world population report, they make up 75 % of all refugees (Nuscheler 1995a: 74). It is significant that the above mentioned unequal structuring mechanisms of globalisation and modernisation processes, gender specific labour markets, state policies, institutional processes and oppressive patriarchal structures which have deteriorated the status and roles of women are also most articulated in these countries (Boserup 5.6.4; Linnenbrink, Wilkens & LaCoutre 1993). Indeed women have been identified as deficit subjects lacking access to formal education, labour participation, and healthcare systems. Therefore, they are also excluded from societal development (Linnenbrink, Wilkens & LaCoutre 1993; Rodríguez Gutiérrez 1999). This combination of factors, also raise the propensity for spatial mobility as the means for over-

coming structural tensions and securing an existence base (Hillman 1996). Viewing international labour migration as an increasingly permanent process (UN 1995) and the most powerful forces disrupting and realigning daily life (Hondagneu-Sotelo 2005), this legitimises the need for concerted focus on African women to empower them build strong communities both in the Diaspora and background societies.

As partially introduced above, migrant women perform key roles in social economic development both at national and international levels: Taking their female labour force participation as migrants in consideration, it is significant as Morokvasic (1983) has also pointed out quoting UN (1979) that their overall activity rates are often higher than amongst indigenous women. Whereas gender constitutes one of the most fundamental social relations anchoring and shaping migration (Hondagneu-Sotelo 2005), women as international migrants and community builders perform the additional genderised roles of both managing the transitions and negotiating the identities between background communities and societies of destination. As well, the complex challenges of sustaining the continuity of the family by reconstructing and preserving its culture, norms and values (UN Secretariat, 1995). This is, however, contradicted by the multidimensional axes of differentiation and multivariate structural ambivalence encountered on the lines of class, gender and ethnicity (Section 4.4; 4.5 & 4.6). Despite their subordinate position, complex, shifting locationality and the simultaneous interplay with multifarious structural barriers and conditionings (Section 4.4; 4.5 & 4.6), the broad range of feminist scholars has identified migrant women's critical role in development where they act as social agents of transformation processes (Section 4.3):

My empirical observations suggest that they perform roles and functions that govern identity construction and social cohesion (human development) at the nucleus level of society (Chapter 9). Scholars recognise women's role in sustaining basic health systems through participating in subsistence production and nutrition processes, which support the base of national economies. As well, women's significant contribution is emphasized in relation to their roles as guardians of future generations through the regeneration of labour, health care for the aged and the weak whilst also regulating demographic processes like birth, child-rearing and socialisation (Meillassoux 1981). Drawing on Giddens, it is possible to theorise the centrality of gender in the reproduction of structure and agency (Chapter 9; Section 4.6.1 & 4.6.2). This seems to be the view promoted by Anthias and Yuval *Davis* in their conceptualisation of the role of gender in the biological, social, cultural as well as symbolic fig-

uration and reproduction of ethnicity and therefore also the nation (Anthias and Yuval Davis 1989). Drawing on Giddens, I will problematise the reproduction of agency and structure in relation to gender identity and social cohesion within postmodernity, micro and macro shifts at household, local, national, global and (trans)locational levels (Section 9.8).

Whereas the above clearly underlines the relevance of supporting African women as a direct investment and motor of development, with the strong advantage of mobilising the affected social groups to take their destiny in their hands and facilitate change from the 'bottom-up rather than top-down' level of development (see, for example, Freire 1970 & 1972; Adiseshiah 1982; Nyerere 1982), it has also been demonstrated that as subjects of study in international migration research, (im)migrant women have long been invisibilised or handled as a marginal phenomena (Buijs 1993:1; UN 1995:1; Brah 1996). The centre of focus in the social-sciences and pedagogic research typically constitutes analysis of the social, economic and legal challenges faced by male workers: In the general theories of migration, migrants are dominantly portrayed as sex-less units and, where constructed in sociological objects male samples have exclusively been used, without recognition of the differential experiences and impacts of migration for gender (Morokvasic 1983). This trend has persisted (Section 4.8) and is largely attributed to the misconception of women's economic roles as minor and the predominant image of women as followers of men (Morokvasic; Hillman, Section 4.8).

The German scientific debate further demonstrates that the general works concentrate mainly on indigenous, Christian heterosexual women from the middle class (Ochse 1999:1). Similarly scholars have called attention to the situation of undocumented migrants as a complex aspect of the invisibilisation processes (Anthias 2000 & 2001a).

As the Green Card Debate in Germany and the new naturalisation policy (Das Neue 'Einbürgerrungsgesetz') indicate, African women have been largely marginalised and invisibilised within policy making (Section 10.3.3). This is largely because their numbers are too few to make separate units of statistics within the data collection procedures (Statisches Bundesamt 2002). Additionally, as relatively recent migrants they are not sufficiently organised to form strong industrial relations or interest groups for the purpose of voice construction. The result has been that this group appears to have fallen through the cracks. As social polarisation between migrant groups will likely take place within the changing institutional and legislative contexts, much

more attention is needed to promote the structural integration of African women but also the youths within this category (Section 10.3.3).

What Potts (1992) has identified concerning the atheoretical character of the general literature on labour migration again directly corroborates the research findings on the international migration of African women (Potts 1992): Though there are high numbers of publications on the topic, these are characterised by a discrepancy between theoretical reflection and empirical data. The works are mainly reduced to the level of descriptive reports in spite of existing gender specific approaches and analytical models for conceptualising and theorising migration. Thus, information is often presented in episodic ways as discrete⁶ happenings out of the context of global or historical impacting. In this connection, authors point out to the dominance of psycho-culturalist' approaches, in which migrant women have been investigated mainly within a narrow framework approaching migration determinants in terms of individual drives and motivation. Hence, as different scholars have also postulated, such approaches have ignored the macro structural variables such as those conditioning labour markets and the circulation of human capital (Morokvasic 1983:28; Lim 1995; Hillman 1996).

As already partially demonstrated above, it is significant that women's conditions are still often analyzed within an ethnocentric context from the perspective of adaptation to the host society, where migration is mainly interpreted in terms of variables promoting change within a tradition-modernity dichotomy (See also, Section 4.8 & Chapter 5). Since scholars have largely ignored to integrate the social cultural background⁷ as a point of reference for assessing this change (Morokvasic 1983), this suggests that such approaches have not only incorporated reductionist notions and cultural conflict perspectives but also static cultural difference models (Ochse 1999; Gümen 1996 & 1999; See also, Chapter 5). Moreover some works whilst appropriating cultural deficit theories, difference and alterity paradigms in their analysis of the social cultural situation have assessed the background culture of migrants as barriers to social integration or encumbrances where Western culture is prioritised and ranked as superior and modern (Morokvasic 1983; Anthias 2002; compare also Raitenbach 1993; Bryan 1985:194). There are also contexts

6 On the research development, see Husen (1990).

7 Whereas some works have emerged in forms of descriptive case studies (Ochse 1999), the research on African women has hardly been affected.

where migrants are conceived in terms of sociological problems and as scapegoats in the social political discourse (Medel-Anonouev 1997).

With further reference to the absence of a social cultural background, this has not only ahistorized (im)migrant women's biographies (Section 4.8.2) but has also hindered the integration of multidimensional analysis to address the complexities of postcolonial subjectivity as it relates to nexus situativity within globalisation, postmodernist and transnationalism (Section 4.6.1 & 4.6.2). In considering the postcolonial situativity of African women within the fourfold oppression model (Section 4.6), it is significant that a structural analysis of consciousness is also broadly absent (Morokvasic, Section 4.8.2) although this would enhance deconstruction and responsive theory building explicating the relationship between the existing forms of social reflexivity and approaches for transforming marginality through the affected themselves (Critically, Freire 1970 & 1972).

Mainstream feminist research whilst ignoring cultural similarity perspectives is characterised by binaries which have ignored to problematise difference and hierarchisation as constitutive of subject positionalities and social relations within immigrant communities. In terms of managing diversity, this absence has led to the building of weaker (im)migrant communities and polarisation of society along the lines of ability and disability as it relates to the construction of socially stratifying gaps between the critically enlightened and critically unenlightened segments of the population (Section 4.6.4 & 4.6.5).

Within this framework, though scholars have developed sophisticated models for theorising ethnicity, they have ignored the implications of intersectionality through a focus on the convergence of the fourfold discrimination model (Section 4.6) within the political integration of migrant labour (Miles, Section 4.5.2), cultural configurations of class, habitus and symbolic interaction (Bourdieu, Section 4.6.1 & 4.6.2) as they relate to the social construction of difference in the tensions, congruent and contradictory relations of time and space (Bhabha Hommi 2000; Hall 1992 & 1996). Again we see cultural static and cultural conflict configurations that have fixed the notion of race and ethnicity. Research is characterised through essentialist and narrow conceptualisations of difference articulated in the overemphasis of race as analytical category (Miles, Section 4.5.2). By overemphasizing race as a category of analysis, research does not only mask the structural underpinnings of ethnicity and global cultural similarities but also reproduces difference, since race as a biological construct does not exist (Miles; Phizacklea, Section 4.5.2). In

policy terms, this not only hinders destabilisation of structural marginalisation but also the development of evidence based knowledge grounded in an analysis of effective past strategies and how these have pedagogically been successful in combating racism, ethnocentrism and cultural centrism within historical development processes. Whereas this stresses the relevance of systematic analytical models, this knowledge is valuable for the social transformation of African societies.

To summarise the foregoing analysis within the context of the above identified structural hindrances, it can be postulated that within the general works on women in this area, research on African women has remained substantially stagnant: Indeed the contemporary research on African migrant women is characterised by major deficits. As the wider research on women shifts focus to integrate structural approaches and incorporate critique on previous approaches (Chapter 4), the shortcomings characterising past research still fundamentally plague the research in the African context. I have argued with pedagogical scholars for a fusion of agency, structure and power as the critical interventionist model for social transformation (Freire; Giroux, Section 4.6.1 & 4.6.2). Whilst critical reflection is underlined as the prerequisite for change (Freire 1970 & 1972), my research integrates a structural analysis of consciousness in a framework aspiring a contribution of grounded theory, critical pedagogy, structural social work and independent social policy research to social transformation.

1.1.2 The Need for Systematic Analysis and Theory Building

What Potts (1992) has identified concerning the atheoretical character of the general literature on labour migration again directly collaborates the research findings on (im)migrants with an African background (Potts, Section 1.1.1). As already mentioned above, there are high numbers of publications on the topic but these are characterised by a discrepancy between theoretical reflection and untheorised empiricism. The works mainly constitute descriptive reports in spite of existing gender specific approaches and analytical models for conceptualising and theorising intersectionality within international migration. As already mentioned in the foregoing analysis, information is often presented as episodic and discrete out of the context of global or historical impacting. Subsequently, Wood has critiqued the theoretical and methodological limitations in migration literature in terms of the prevalence of an acute lack of cumulative empirical data, the pervasive nature of adhoc explanations, the trivial character of the tendency to generalise, reductionist per-

spectives, the lack of macro structural analysis and implementation of findings in social transformation processes (Hillman 1996). Equally important is the dominance of representative studies identified in my review of the literature on the international migration, which appears to substantially increase invisibility of African women – most studies carry generalised definitions such as women of colour, Black women, foreign women, etc., which are certainly not fully furnished to enhance an accurate analysis of (im)migrants' specific situations. In this connection, Ochse concretises on the basis of the scientific debate in Germany, that women with a Turkish migration background constitute the dominant stereotype applied to explain the sociological context of all minority women (Ochse 1993:43). Such approaches whilst ignoring subject oriented research, perpetuate colonial legacies and residues as they relate to the generation of abstract systems and decontextualisation of knowledge (Giddens; Freire, Section 4.5.4; 4.6.1 & 4.6.2). Therefore as grounded theory also postulates, they can be critiqued in terms of masking the empirical world of African women by imposing preconceived notions, hypothesis and categories (Glaser & Strauss 1967; Glaser 1978; Corbin & Strauss 1990, Chapter 3). This has constrained the development of transformatory perspectives (Freire 1970 & 1972; McLaren 1993) – scientific relevance or context sensitivity and workability derived from interweaving and explicating the relationship between theory, methodology and the empirical world (Glaser & Straus 1967; See also critically Chapter 3).

Within both destination and background societies, it has specifically been demonstrated how the fragmentation of society and knowledge through the transformation of public space has taken place relegating central existential issues such as those surrounding social cultural practices to the household spheres which are dormant to discursive analysis as Arendt puts it (Arendt 1999). As my structural analysis of social networks indicates, these factors have fundamentally reinforced the vulnerability of women, by hampering the acquisition and dynamic fusion of critical transformatory tools with critical social political engagement (Chapter 9).

In view of these scientific gaps as well as the rise of abstract systems and the lack of a social infrastructure of pedagogy in African countries (Section 4.6.1 & 4.6.2), it is compelling to facilitate systematic analysis of the social realities and underpinning factors, to apply theory building and integrative problem solving as well as empirically illustrate the specific gendered dimensions of postcolonial subjectivities, shifting locationality and lived experiences (Section 2.2). It is of central relevance to conduct an empirical survey

that provides the framework for interacting with respondents in a context facilitating investigation of the variability, multidimensionality and complexity of social phenomena through a comprehensive analysis of individualities while also enhancing an understanding of the link between impacting structural conditions and their congruent and contradictory outcomes for constraining or enabling agency (Strauss & Corbin 1990:9). The empirically driven analysis is useful for generating multi level strategic interventions as well as identifying the different levels of actions that are required to promote change. Such a framework is fertile for a grounded development and integration of the concept of conscientisation in migration research. A powerful influence in this area, regards the pedagogical frameworks developed by Paulo Freire (1970, 1972, 1974 & 1985). Hence several key notions in this theory form the basic analytical concepts: Whilst observing the respondents strictly not as recipients but as knowing subjects (Freire 1970), my educational goal is the integration of reflection and action to facilitate an increasingly critical insertion of the affected in the social cultural reality in which they live; to empower them with knowledge and critical action (Freire 1970, 1972 & 1974; Giroux & McLaren 1994).

The necessity of structural approaches integrating the fourfold oppression model to more adequately analyze the dimensions of ethnicity and class in international migration research on African women is emphasized (Section 4.4–4.6.2). Within this framework, the additional need for a focus on gender inequality is grounded in the fact that structural conditionalities of migration but also the motivation and strategies of female and male migrants as well as the ways in which men and women are inserted into the social relations of the host societies have gendered dimensions (Lim 1995; United Nations Secretariat 1995; Hillman 1996; Anthias 2000 & 2001a). While enhancing a more adequate understanding of phenomena, the major goal is to develop new perspectives for the sociological integration of African migrants in scientific literature, their social integration in countries of destination and the global circulation of social capital, professional skills and abilities which would aid the social economic advancement of (im)migrants and the double flow effect to the destination and background societies (Chapter 10).

The pivot of focus and the theoretical reflection, seek the contribution of feminist theoretical models in migration research, pedagogical and structural social work approaches to enhance development of scientific research on African women. Within this context, research aspires the integration of multi-disciplinary perspectives, multidimensional and intersectional analysis (Chapter 4).

As a specific aspect, research integrates a structural analysis of consciousness as a prerequisite for social transformation grounded in an investigation of how subjectivities are constructed and transformed within the conjunctures of postcolonialism, globalisation and international labour migration (Section 4.6 & 6.1.1). At the centre is a structural approach focusing on differentiation, hierarchisation and marginalisation mechanisms on the basis of ethnicity, gender and class (Section 6.1.2).

Drawing on the life biographies of (im)migrant women from selected anglophone African countries, research integrates intersectional and multidimensional analysis through the threefold/fourfold oppression model (Section 4.4–4.6), specifically its convergence within the political economy of migrant labour (Miles; Phizacklea, Section 4.5.2), nexus situativity in a framework of postcolonial locationality, symbolic relations and multiple, intersecting and shifting habitus⁸ (Section 4.6.1 & 4.6.2). Thus, facilitating theorisation of the impacts of institutional, legislative historical processes and daily social practices on the social construction of gender, ethnicity, class and subjectivity – a complication of social change as a complex phenomena, as well as the social and the subjective manifestations.

Against this background, a transformatory perspective will be integrated that aspires the development of professional social political advocacy, responsive policies and community development strategies. Research handles an international-comparative and multidimensional analysis incorporating England and Germany as case studies. Whilst focusing on the multilayeredness of identities and variability of social phenomena (Section 4.2), it comparatively analyzes binational families, African families as well as single women who migrated as adults to Germany or England. Here the situation of migrants as it relates to education, qualification, professionalisation and life constructions is studied. In this regard, the selected African countries for case study analysis include Uganda, Kenya, Ghana, Nigeria, Swaziland and South Africa. Analysis of the biographies, socialisation processes and social integration, handles in interrelationship the question how frameworks relevant for needs oriented social work, social pedagogy and community development can be evolved and how the integration programs can be structured on the basis of critical pedagogy and political interventionist models.

8 On Habitus see Bordieu (Section 4.5 & 4.6).

By linking grounded theory, critical pedagogy, sociological perspectives and structural social work, the survey emphasizes the fusion of theory, methodology, praxis and social relevance as the basis for transformatory action (Glaser & Strauss 1967; Glaser 1978; Corbin & Strauss 1998; See also critically Chapter 3 & 2). As an affected pedagogist, I aspire a structural analysis of consciousness in order to facilitate deconstruction and destabilization of subaltern identities as fundamental to evolving indigenous liberative pedagogy and capacity building for postcolonial societies (Section 4.6.1 & 4.6.2). In addition, research will specifically handle the following research questions:

- How is the intersectionality and multidimensionality of ethnicity, gender and class relations articulated within the daily lives of women?
- What are the implications of the fourfold oppression and intersectional vulnerability as they relate to hierarchisation and marginalisation mechanisms confronted by women as (im)migrants on the international labour market?
- What are forms of consciousness and agency developed by postcolonial subjectivities within international migration?
- To what extent do the scientific and empirical findings about women from the diversity of backgrounds and categories of difference construct external validity for African women?
- To what extent do the scientific and empirical findings about African women construct external validity for postcolonial societies, transnational communities and international development?
- What is the social structural constitution of African women's subjectivities/ how do African women define themselves in international migration/ which self-concepts do they apply?
- How are subalternism, postcolonial legacies and residues perpetuated, transformed and deconstructed with in England and Germany? Are there distinctive patterns?
- What are the social meanings and differences between experiences of marginalisation within England's hierarchisation class habitus and Germany's egalitarian social democratic habitus?
- What are the prevalent social and structural problems as perceived by the women?

2 Motivation and Philosophical Orientation

2.1 Critical Social political Engagement

My position as a female social scientist with a migration background in the German scientific community is framed extensively through engagement in feminist, sociological, intercultural, pedagogical and structural-social work discourses aimed at raising the voices of the marginalised and affected themselves within the various community building contexts. The important issue from this point of view is the empirical relevance of emancipatory pedagogy that emphasises the transformatory approach and belief in possibilities for change (Freire 1970 & 1972). This background of critical social transformation not only underpins my motivation but also makes the political struggle for evolving indigenous contextualised pedagogy as an empowerment tool a realistic and achievable objective in my research. Not only have I bridged theory, practice and social relevance as will be described below in more detail but I am also institutionally networked with central transformatory agencies such as the Heinrichboell Stiftung, the Centre for South-North Cooperation in Educational Research and Practice (Zentrum für Süd-Nord-Bildungskooperation) and the IBKM, Carl von Ossietzky University. These exemplify some of the structural contexts in which policy advocacy, legislative changes, sensitization work and developmental praxis can be realised in a framework of the South-North/ North-South Dialogue.

2.2 Bridging Theory, Praxis and Social Relevance

As already mentioned above, my professional work, social political engagement and pedagogical struggle for promoting social justice with the affected have enabled me to bridge theory and praxis while testing their social relevance in diversified contexts¹: The fusion of theory and praxis whilst centrally defining and translating my social pedagogical role as it relates to fusing and addressing issues of agency, power and politics (Freire 1970 & 1972; Giroux 2008), has also enriched my capacity for application of multidimensional perspectives and multi level analysis in a framework enhancing inte-

1 See also critically Premakuri (2007).

grative and practical understanding of the policy, institutional and legislative processes conditioning the lives of the marginalised subjects in view. Within this framework, my broad international experience, social political engagement and Adult Educational activities have enhanced greater understanding and ability to apply structural analysis and multiple interventions to gender, ethnicity and class issues while cultivating sensitivity to the needs and challenges of marginalised populations in a context transmitting knowledge, expertise and identification with the affected including application of human centred approaches, non-judgmental support (Section 7.1) and non-hierarchical relations in praxis (Freire, Section 5.3.3.2).

I have worked to address community issues within an extensive framework of building and establishing cross-sectoral collaborative relations with university institutions and organisations, multi-disciplinary teams of diverse expertise, community groups, faith based organisations and intercultural initiatives, government and state regulations. Specifically within this framework, I supported the social economic, institutional and academic integration of minority groups through structural and pedagogical interventionist models that not only address institutional and systemic barriers but also integrate this perspective to pro-actively bring about social transformation, empowerment and individual social advancement through concrete legislative and social policy changes as well as capacity building and voice construction.

Alongside working with a broad range of stake-holders, I have held different positions that have enabled me to directly interact with the diverse minority and mainstream populations on a regular basis. This combined experience resulted in a cultivation of skills including theoretical generation and practical implementation of evidence-based knowledge, horizontal and vertical strategies as multi-thronged problem solving approaches anchored in a unique understanding of the diverse and cross-cutting social issues confronted, the lived experiences, the perspectives of the affected individuals and their communities as well as the change strategies deployed. Thus, promoting applied understanding of agency within grass roots settings while at the same time facilitating easier access to the researched communities:

Working closely with the affected not only equipped me with in-depth knowledge of their social environments, structural conditionalities and communicative frameworks while also providing practical frameworks for deploying and refining interviewing techniques but it has also advanced my capacities for

building and maintaining trust, empathy² and dialogical relations with vulnerable groups (Freire, Chapter 5). Hence, drawing from Biestek, it can be postulated here that such a background has further endowed me with the unique perspective and ability to approach the affected in a systematic relationship to their environment (Biestek 1957:27–30). The empirical relevance is most clearly articulated in section 8.1–8.5 of this work.

Whereas acquaintance with the communication styles of migrants is very much linked to the yields of scientific observation, data interpretation and analysis (Chapter 8), this strong background also favourably placed me with distinctive opportunities for data collection. This implies not only the capacity for contributing richly to knowledge and empirical analysis out of drawing from anecdotal comparisons (Glaser 1978) but also the opportunity to perceive reality from the ‘insider’ view point whilst also accessing events and groups that are otherwise inaccessible to scientific observation (Yin 2003).

Additionally, this background strengthened my networking abilities, knowledge of community resources and solid capacity for increased initiative as indispensable transferrable skills in the research data gathering process. These skills were deployed for example in identifying resource persons and interviewees as well as forging relations and making connections in different cities within an international empirical context (Section 7.3.2 & 7.4).

2.3 Pedagogical and Transformative Aspects

The rationale and the most distinguishing feature driving and shaping my social political engagement, theoretical and praxis orientation is the implementation of emancipatory praxis and advancement of empowerment through deploying critical tools aimed at enhancing social reflexivity. One major objective is to demonstrate the liberative potentials of multidimensional critical perspectives and multi level strategic interventions by aspiring to create multipliers and agents of change within a global development context while also strengthening individual efficacy and community capacity: In my position as elected committee member of the HGAS, I participated in planning and facilitating workshops, seminars and symposia designed to transmit knowledge, explore avenues, identify strategies and furnish international students with the necessary skills for cultivating a culture of critical social political engagement within the context of international dialogue. Thus, the work

2 On trust and empathy see, for example, Sheafor & Horejsi (Section 7.2)

also aimed at conscientisation, capacity building and rising awareness amongst international students in key areas promoting social justice, social solidarity, self organisation, civic participation and social equality.

In coordination with university partners such as Asta, Stube Niedersachsen and Church, I further worked as HGAS (university funded organisation for international students) representative to facilitate ongoing critical dialogue on social political emergings and discourses. For example, I actively participated in the organisation and delivery of Human Rights promoting discourses particularly those thematising dimensions of gender based oppression, human rights politics, status of female refugees, female circumcision, institutionalised misogyny, human trafficking, North-South dialogue, intercultural debate, etc.

Here I also mobilized to implement public awareness campaigns on issues affecting minority groups and played a significant role in organizing intercultural discourses.

As a result of these combined efforts, minority issues were integrated into public discourses and minority groups' self-determined action, links with the community, institutions and labour market increased.

As a direct result of the community identified need for promoting greater intercultural understanding and cross cultural communication, I was actively engaged in the organisation and delivery of responsive programs and action plans significantly promoting cross-cultural bridging, active dialogue and social integration between mainstream populations and minority populations of diverse social, economic, cultural and religious backgrounds. This is well exemplified through the work done with the International Office, Asta but also with IBIS (Interkulturelle Arbeitsstelle Oldenburg) where I worked on conceptualising and thematising oral discursive systems with a specific focus on illuminating the role of performative drama, traditional theatre and folk music as community development tools, alternative strategies and delivery tools for public education. As well, I conceptualised the cultural and educational relevance and clarified misconceptions while reclaiming their shifting meanings within historical transitions and the increasingly globally stretched cultural networks. To ensure that the program contents and criteria promoted social relevance for the community, I was actively engaged in outreach work to mobilize and secure continued participation of the affected and articulation of their needs within program development.

Additionally, as a tutor at the International Students Office, I not only influenced informed decision making and institutional responsiveness through feedback, participation in program review processes, report on program evaluation, development and utilization stating recommendations for program improvement but I also participated in mentoring, counselling and general orientation of international students into the pedagogy academic program. Equally important, I provided counselling on credential recognition, scholarships, eligibility criteria and networked students with diverse university departments, organisations, external agencies and scholarship funding bodies as well as providing escort to the immigration agency.

Regarding knowledge of the legislative and institutional conditionalities within migration, I interpreted, applied and explained legislation, policy and procedures relating to education, labour participation and settlement in my role as elected committee member of the HGAS. With regard to knowledge of labour market issues, I effectively supported students reach their academic, career and employment goals through employment counselling, helping with job search activities, advocacy, networking and connecting students to a broad range of community resources. As well, through critically analyzing labour market information regarding trends, job openings, entry and skills requirements in the broad range of employment fields.

It is also worth mentioning my experience working in developing regions through a four months field placement in East Africa as part of my pedagogy training. This placement equipped me with a practical understanding of the implications of international development policies for gender, grassroots processes and coping strategies.

2.4 Institutional Embedment and Dominant Social Beliefs

I wish to emphasize here that the fundamental values of social justice are not represented only within models of pedagogical application but are also very uniquely entrenched as dominant social beliefs and key defining features of the egalitarian social democratic social fabric of the German society. Whilst Dietrich and Lenz described this in terms of the shifting Social Catholicism (Dietrich & Lenz 1994), sets of values grounded in human worth, human dignity, self-determination, social justice, tolerance, social-solidarity, individual self-realization are at the societal core. These while providing valuable insights and reinforcing each other seem to social structural ly underpin the basis and organizing principles for community development.

These values appear also institutionally embedded (to a large extent) as partially illustrated in the foregoing discussion (Section 2.1 & 2.2). As well, they are exemplary manifested within the academic community through the existence of a broad range of organisations and scholarship granting bodies such as the KAAD and Heinrich-Böll Stiftung which address social inequality through a twofold approach: First, through implementing concrete collective efforts aimed at moulding subjective awareness and subjective practices of self-making through promoting social justice, civic participation, social political engagement as well as conscientisation amongst socially disadvantaged international students. Second, the approach is reinforced through the implementation of social justice and ecologically driven funding arrangements with a view to mitigate structural and social barriers relating to gender, family background and social status. The Centre for South-North Cooperation in Educational Research and Practice (Zentrum für Süd-Nord-Bildungs-koooperation), which I am a member of, for example, promotes postcolonial dialogue, social cultural and ecological pedagogical diversity with a focus on empowering marginalised groups in the South in a social context of learning and a framework of intercultural dialogue. As well, it promotes peace building and human rights, including social and language rights. Similarly, Stube a project organised by the ESG and the Evangelic Church Agency for Economic and Social Development (KED) offers academic seminars and funding for praktikas, field or job placements to students from developing countries who are working on development focused themes in the South. The Catholic University Community (KHG), the Evangelic University Community (ESG), University funded organisations like the International Students Union (HGAS) and the Asta constitute other examples of organisations and groups that counter social marginalisation and proactively foster the social, academic and economic integration of marginalised students within the context of international dialogue.

Embedment within this broad framework has not only entrenched social justice values but has also provided a historical context and framework for constructing empirical relevance, workability and transformatory praxis.

3 Methodological Framework

3.1 Choice and Relevance of Methodology

3.1.1 Workability and Evidence Based Approaches

Drawing on an international comparative analysis of England and Germany as case studies, qualitative interviews and subject oriented research integrating grounded theories as the main survey technique were undertaken to comparatively study the statuses of women on the international labour market through a focus on the educational, professional and social biographies of (im)migrant women from anglophone countries in connection with analysis of the social construction of gender and ethnicity within manifold shifting and intersecting axes of differentiation, hierarchisation and marginalisation underpinning the economic, institutional, legislative and social cultural contexts of destination communities.

Since grounded theory aims at inducting processes in order to generate workability and relevance of findings for the affected populations (Glaser & Strauß 1967; Glaser 1978), it also addresses issues of authority as they relate to voice representation, hierarchisation and decontextualisation of knowledge (Chapter 4). To demonstrate empirical relevance, the categories generated through the open approach to the empirical world (Glaser & Strauß 1967; Glaser 1978; Strauß & Corbin 1998) methodologically induced a shift in research focus towards the confrontation of social cohesion in relation to gender identity, class, ethnicity and their multidimensional intersection within a framework of postcolonial subjectivity, multivariate structural ambivalence and pluralistic modernity disembedments (Section 4.4–4.6.2). Whilst adopting a deconstructive perspective, this framework of analysis brings into focus the tensions and challenges of negotiating diversity, exclusion and social capital in background, international and (trans)locational communities. Against this background, I aspire to develop an analytical basis for critical interventionist models (Chapter 5; 8 & 9).

3.1.2 *Building Theory: Intersectionality, Multiple Interventions, Multidimensionality and Variability*

My choice of grounded theory as a methodological approach is referenced to the lack and need of a substantive theory¹ that facilitates empowerment of postcolonial subjectivities in a context characterised by structural disembedments as reflected in the dominant subaltern identity formations, abstract systems, an acute lack of a social infrastructure of independent research, the extensive absence of indigenous, contextualised or empirically driven pedagogy and transformatory theoretical practice models and actions plans (See critically, Section 4.6.1 & 4.6.2). The basic premises of grounded theory provide the adequate frameworks for developing structural social work and critical pedagogy that facilitates deconstruction of colonial legacies and residues including liberating submerged consciousness and confronting subaltern configurations through the generation of an evidence based theory that arrives at relevance by allowing core problems and core processes to emerge whilst analytically deconstructing the pattern of behaviour which is relevant and problematic for the affected (Glaser 1978). Grounded theory is therefore a multiple interventionist context sensitive strategy². The unique capacity for generating multi level analysis and multi level context sensitive interventionist strategies is facilitated through the open approach to the empirical world that avoids enforcing predetermined scientific frames (Glaser & Strauss 1967; Strauss & Corbin 1998). Meaning that, grounded theory promotes theoretical sensitivity that aspires to inductively generate hypothesis, prepositions and theory from data within a transformative or workability context for the affected (Glaser 1978). Since a grounded theory ‘fits’ the real world, works in predictions and explanations and is readily modifiable’ (Glaser 1978: 5, 93 & 142)³, it is equally useful in constructing internal and external validity (See critically, Strauss & Glaser 1967: 34).

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- 1 Substantive theory refers to theory developed for a substantive area or empirical area of sociological inquiry i.e. patient care, race relations, professional education, geriatric lifestyles, delinquency or financial organization whilst formal theory refers to theory developed for a formal or conceptual area of sociological inquiry like status passage, stigma, deviant behaviors, socialisation, status congruency, authority and power, reward systems, organizations or organizational careers (Glaser 1978)
 - 2 To review multiple interventions see, forexample, Nancy Edwards, Mill & Kothari 2004
 - 3 The goal of grounded theory is the generation of a theory that accounts for a pattern of behavior which is relevant and problematic for the people involved (Glaser 1978).

Grounded theory allows for an explication of the structural constitution of biographies through analysis of the relationship between basic structural mechanisms processing social conditions and the actions of the affected (Glaser & Strauss 1967). Through the generation of diverse categories and the integration of data slices and multiple data sources converging on the same phenomena (Glaser & Strauss, Sections 3.6.4), grounded theory facilitates intersectional analysis and a confrontation of the multidimensionality and variability of social phenomena (Glaser 1978). In other words, since theory is generated from diverse slices of data on the same category, its broad and diverse data base facilitates integration of more aspects of the substantive or formal area, and can therefore sustain more diversity in condition and exceptions to hypothesis. As well, the multiple data sources, methods of collection and analysis provide theoretical credibility (Glaser & Strauss 1967; Glaser 1978). This rich and diversified lens provides a strong basis for intergrating horizontal and vertical programs within the framework of intersectionality and multi level interventions as strategic components of theoretical practice orientation.

To illustrate empirical relevance within this framework, my deconstruction of biographies through a systems oriented approach⁴ relating the self and its constitution to manifold structural underpinnings, axes of differentiation and the simultaneity of pluralistic intersecting habitus⁵, has offered a solid foundation for constructing transformatory pedagogy, change perspectives, self determination and the conscious moulding of social capital rooted in a coherent understanding of the social political identities and the structural embedment of postcolonial subjectivities (Review critically Freire 1972 & 1993)⁶. Thus also offering, the basis for constructing systematic models of reflection for guiding grounded pedagogical, structural social work, empowerment and identity building within a framework of marginalising discourses, discursive practices and the manifold oppressive mechanisms (Chapter 4 & 5).

3.1.3 *Voice Creation and Sociological Visibilisation*

The important need for voice construction has already been legitimated through analysis of the extensive invisibilisation of women's consciousness in the abundant literature on international migration (Section 4.8). As well,

4 See, Section 4.6.1 & 4.6.2

5 On Habitus see Bordieu, Section 4.6.1 & 4.6.2

6 Whilst drawing on Freire, Shipani describes critical consciousness in terms of historical consciousness (Shipani 1984).

through the complex situativity of postcolonial subjectivities within the submerging mechanisms of subalternism, abstract educational, institutional and cultural systems relating to and reshaped by postcolonial legacies and residues (Section 4.5 & 4.6). In this connection, the single axis ideological construction, the lack of adequate attention on the geopolitical conditioning and unequal incorporation of (im)migrant women as objects of discursive praxis within social work projects and community programmes has extensively been critiqued by scholars (Chapter 5). By allowing the empirical world to emerge through inducting hypothesis, prepositions and by allowing for divergence of the affected's views from the theoretical frameworks as opposed to the conventional scientific practice of imposing preconceived notions, grounded theory provides a relevant scientific framework for voice construction, accurate representation of the affected and integration of the affected as subjects within developmental process (See critically, Glaser 1978: 143; Corbin & Strauss 1990). Further empirical relevance pursued within this framework concerns the significance of grounded theory and critical pedagogy in providing a framework in which notions of individualization, human worth, dignity, non-judgmental support, empowerment and social justice (Biestek 1957)⁷ can be actualized within scientific research and praxis.

By fusing critical pedagogy, sociology and structural social work, grounded theory offers a discursive forum that facilitates construction of dialogical relationships (Freire, Section 5.3) whilst also complicating cultural centrality, cultural deficit approaches and the implications of unequal semiotic relations (Section 5.2). To illustrate the empirical relevance of this methodology, on the basis of Germany as a case study, the discrepancy between theory and the empirical world, can be specifically demonstrated – the articulation of African culture in the daily interaction with the host society has positively enhanced deconstruction of subaltern identities as opposed to the reductionist conceptualisations in literature and mass media (Section 5.2.5). Indeed, as elsewhere discussed, in my empirical application of the methodology, the divergence of generated categories and hypothesis, induced a shift in research focus towards the creation of empirically driven frameworks anchored in the need for a structural investigation of social cohesion, self-making practices, diversity and social capital in a framework combining theorisation of difference with analysis of manifold structural mechanisms, intersectional vulnerability and the situated construction of identities within complex discursive

7 Also critically review, Hancock (1997).

conjunctures and matrices of power inequalities conditioning the economies of gender, class and ethnicity (Section 4.6 & 4.7).

With regard to the need for promoting sociological visibility, it has already been demonstrated that international migration research on the postcolonial subjectivities in view, is pervasively shaped by atheoretical and unidimensional approaches. As well, it is shaped by ahistorisation of biographies within scientific, institutional and legislative contexts. Hence there is a lack of integration of the social cultural background as a unit of analysis (Chapter 1 & Section 4.8). Within this framework, the important relevance of grounded theory as a methodology is underscored in view of the potential for generating theory building and redressing the limitations of untheorised empiricism and unidimensional approaches through systematising observation, analysis and conceptualisation explicating the multidimensionality and variability of social phenomena (Strauss & Glaser 1967; Glaser 1978).

3.2 Review of the Methodology

3.2.1 Basic Elements of Grounded Theory: Defining Concepts, Categories and Propositions

To operationalise the principles of grounded theory, the methodology spells out the use of concepts, categories and propositions as the three basic elements constitutive of the iterative process of data analysis, interpretation and, conceptualisation (Corbin & Strauss 1990: 7; Glaser 1978). Doing theory within this framework requires a firm grasp of the analytical tools and procedures:

Concepts as basic units of analysis constitute the tools for conceptualising the underlying, meaning, uniformity and or pattern within a set of descriptive incidents (Glaser 1978: 62–72), whilst categories are constituted as a type of concept applied at a higher level of abstraction (Strauss & Glaser 1967; Corbin & Strauss 1990: 7). Concepts and categories elicited from codes as opposed to the raw data constitute the cornerstones for theory building and provide the means by which a theory can be integrated because of their potential for facilitating data conceptualisation (Corbin & Strauss 1990). Through grouping concepts and their interrelationships, the major categories are identified at a higher level of abstraction, their properties and the relationship between them which also highlight the dependent and independent variables (See Glaser & Strauss 1967). Meaning that, theory building constitutes conceptual categories, and their properties as well as hypothesis or generalised

relations among categories and their properties (Strauss & Glaser 16:36; Glaser 1978; Corbin & Strauss 1998).

The actual incidents, activities observed or reported constitute the raw data. However, the raw data is not used for generating theories (Corbin & Strauss 1990). Rather, it is what the incidents symbolise or represent that is conceptualised to provide meaning for data analysis (Corbin & Strauss 1998). Subsequently, incidents observed in the raw data are interpreted and conceptually labelled as indicators of phenomena – as concepts. In this way, grounded theory constitutes two levels of analysis namely, the actual words used by the respondents and the analysts conceptualisation of these (Corbin & Strauss 1998: 26). Grounded theory emphasizes that the analyst always works with concepts rather than specifics of data or cases; therefore, conceptualisation as opposed to descriptive analysis is central to the analytical procedure of grounded theory (Corbin & Strauss 1998; Glaser 1978).

The generation of concepts from raw data is facilitated through the method of constant contrasting and comparisons whereby incidents are compared with incidents for similarities and differences whilst similar phenomena are categorized and labelled under unifying classifications. According to Strauss and Glaser (1967), the constant comparison of many groups is important in bringing out their many similarities and differences (Strauss & Glaser 1967). This as a context sensitive approach, not only constructs but also accumulates the basic units for theory building (Corbin & Strauss 1990: 7). Indeed the analyst maximizes differences in his groups in order to maximise the varieties of data related analytically to the category and thereby develops as many diverse properties of the category as possible (Strauss & Glaser 1967: 62; Glaser 1978). Considering these leads to the generation of abstract categories and their properties, which are rooted in data and have grounded relevance to a theory explaining the kind of behaviour under observation (Strauss & Glaser 1967: 62; Glaser 1978), whilst also guaranteeing theoretical saturation as well as internal and external validity⁸ (Glaser 1978; Strauss & Glaser 1967). This solid background sets the stage for the effective and comprehensive implementation of vertical and horizontal integration within multi level strategies and intersectionality models⁹.

8 Internal validity refers the establishment of causal relationships, whereby certain conditions are shown to lead to other conditions, as distinguished from spurious relationships; whereas external validity establishes the domain to which a study's findings can be generalized (Yin 2003: 34).

9 Verticality refers to intervention strategies that aim at the coordinated engagement of all levels of the system in achieving social outcomes. Horizontality refers to levels of action

3.2.2 *Generating Core Categories*

Most specifically, since the goal of grounded theory is to generate a theory that accounts for a pattern of behaviour which is relevant and problematic for the affected population, the generation of theory occurs around a core category, without which theoretical relevance and practical workability would be jeopardised. Whilst the core category accounts for much of the variation in a pattern of behaviour, it also has key functions for theory generation: a) the prime function is underlined by the central relationship of most categories and their properties to the core category. Since the core category is directly dependent on what is going in the data, it also is readily subjected to qualification and modification and therefore constitutes both internal and external validity; b) the relations between categories and their properties facilitate the integration of theory in terms of shaping its density and saturation as the relationships increase; c) integrating a theory around a core variable delimits it and the research project. The first delimiting analytic rule of grounded theory comes into play after identification of a core category since only variables related to the core will be included in the theory (Glaser 1978). Consequently the core category is identified both according to its prevalent relationship with other categories which also integrates them as a whole as well as through saturation, relevance and workability (Glaser 1978). Glaser identifies a further delimiting function of the core category which is intrinsically linked to its capacity for resolving the problematic nature of the pattern of behaviour to be accounted for (Glaser 1978: 93). Within this framework, relevance and workability demand a strong focus on the capacity of the core for resolving the problematic nature of the pattern of behaviour to be accounted for (Glaser 1978: 93).

To demonstrate empirical relevance, identifying social cohesion as the core category has generative potential for constructing internal and external validity given the growing salience of difference, territorialisation of identities and cultural centrism on the basis of ethnicity class and gender as reflected in the current state of African countries and increasingly (im)migrant's transnational communities (Chapter 8). But also, the conflict submerged context of many African countries

In addition, social cohesion as a core category has facilitated integration of intersectional analysis investigating the categories social capital, diversity

that take place at the cross-sectoral, cross-organizational and cross-departmental arena (See for example Nancy Edwards, Mill & Kothari 2004).

and exclusion as well as their conceptual and empirical relations with the categories postcolonial subjectivity, multivariate structural ambivalence, nexus identity constructions, (trans)locational situativity, axes of differentiation and systems of oppression relating to gender, class, and ethnicity. As well, patriarchy, micro macro shifts and disembedding of postmodern polygamous family systems and habitus, etc. (Chapter 4; 5; 8 & 9). Social cohesion as a core category therefore has workability and social relevance for postcolonial societies since it unveils the structural constitution of subjectivities and collectivities and by so doing constructs building blocks for evolving responsive theories, pedagogy, social policy and capacity building as it relates to developing and sustaining a culture of democracy. As well, health promotion and sustainment of basic health systems (Chapter 4; 5; 8 & 9).

3.2.3 *Doing Theory with Properties, Propositions and Hypothesis*

It is important to point out the meaning of properties as a type of concept that constitutes a conceptual characteristic of a category. A property is used at a lesser abstraction level than a category and can be seen as a concept of a concept (Strauss & Glaser 1967). For instance, whilst ethnicity constitutes a category, structural marginalisation, hierarchisation mechanisms, symbolic interactions, territorialisation, essentialism and fixation of identities as well as, shifting intersecting habitus and cultural configurations of class emerged as constituting some of its properties (Bhabha Hommi & Bourdieu Section 4.5 & 4.6). An extension of the fourfold vulnerability model (Section 4.5 & 4.6) through a combination of Giddens' structuration theory, Bourdieu's theory of practice and Miles theorisation of the political integration of migrant labour has destabilised the validity of race as analytical category by making transparent the structural underpinnings of difference and identity. Thus, constructing the structural constitution of ethnicity as both a cultural similarity perspective and valid analytical category.

Propositions are used to describe the generalised relationships between categories and their concepts and between discrete categories. Whereas hypothesis constitutes the term originally applied by Glaser and Strauss (1967), some have argued, in favour of the scientific application of the term proposition as it relates to the qualitative dimensions for defining conceptual relationships by contrast to their quantitative measurement, which the term hypothesis denotes (See Whetten 1989, qtd. in: Pandit 1996). For the purpose of my empirical analysis, I have integrated the term hypothesis to indicate the conceptual relations between categories and their concepts with a view to facili-

tate easier reader's understanding, since it is a term that is very commonly applied.

3.3 Basic Analytical Procedures, Tools and Techniques

3.3.1 Conceptualisation

This refers to the iterative process of 'defining categories in terms of their properties and dimensions. As well, relating categories through hypothesis or statements of relationships' (Corbin & Strauss 1998). Using theoretical codes, substantive codes are conceptualised in terms of how they relate to each other as hypothesis to be integrated into a theory. Both codes while emergently generated, weave the fractured story back together again (Glaser 1978: 72). Conceptualisation involves grouping similar items according to some defined properties and labelling items with a common name or concept that reflects that common link. Conceptualisation further serves the purpose of reducing large amounts of data to smaller manageable pieces of data. The initial discovery of categories is followed by the specification of their properties and the attempts to show how concepts (categories) vary dimensionally along these properties. Specification and dimensionalization are linked to the emergence of patterns all of which provide the foundation and beginning structure of theory building (Corbin & Strauss 1998).

3.3.2 Coding – Substantive Meaning

Basically, grounded theory constitutes the process of eliciting codes from raw data from the beginning of data collection through the ongoing and interactive method of constant comparative analysis as data pour in (Glaser 1978: 36; Glaser & Strauss 1967). Since grounded theory is an iterative process, it is impossible to separate the different stages of data collection and analysis (Section 3.6.1). In this connection, coding is facilitated through the process of conceptualising data by constant comparison of incident with incident for the purpose of identifying the underlying meaning, uniformity as well as contrasting patterns in data in order to build concepts as basic units of analysis (Glaser 1978; Corbin & Strauss 1998), whilst also emerging more categories and their properties (Glaser 1978; See also critically, Chapter 4; 5; 8 & 9). Coding can be defined as representing the operations by which data are broken down, conceptualised and put back together in new ways (Strauss & Corbin 1990: 57). Within this framework, the elicited codes are drawn on to direct further data collection, which reciprocates further theoretical development of the codes in relation to their various properties and their connections

with other codes until they become saturated, elaborated and integrated into the emerging theory. The process of data collection is, thus, controlled by the emerging substantive or formal theory (Glaser 1978: 36; Glaser & Strauss 1967). Subsequently, coding constitutes the central process by which theories are built from data (Strauss & Corbin 1990: 57). In any analytical procedure, several workable codes are developed with the analyst seeking to maximize saturation of those codes with explanatory power (Glaser 1978).

3.3.3 *Types of Coding:*

Open Coding, Axial Coding and Selective Coding

3.3.3.1 Open Coding

Scholars describe four different types of coding which include open coding, axial coding, theoretical coding and selective coding. Open coding is integrated as the first basic step of theoretical analysis that facilitates the initial discovery of concepts, categories and properties through contrast and comparative method highlighting similarities and differences within the broken down data before delimiting the coding to a core category and its properties or selective coding. It involves the process of labelling and categorization of phenomena as indicated by data with a view to derive concepts as the basic units of analysis (Glaser 1978; Corbin & Strauss 1998).

All concepts are grounded and the use of concepts as basic units of analysis is emphasized in opposition to the use of descriptive accounts (Glaser 1978, Section 3.5.2; Chapters 4; 5; 8; & 9). Through grouping concepts at a higher abstract level, categorization is induced (Corbin & Strauss 1990:124; Glaser & Strauss 1967; Chapter 4; 5; 8; 9); the analyst identifies the major categories at a higher level of abstraction, their properties and the relationship between them which also highlight the dependent and independent variables (Glaser & Strauss 1967; Chapters 3.5; 4; 5; 8 & 9). Open coding facilitates verification, correction and saturation by allowing deeper engagement into the data, which in turn, enhances stronger acquaintance with data as well as discovery of its relation to the emergent theory as an indicator of some categories. Thus, the significance of generating sufficient codes to handle differential emergents (Glaser 1978).

3.3.3.2 Axial Coding

Whereas open coding fractures the data into concepts and categories, axial coding puts those data back together in new ways by identifying relations between a category and its sub-categories to form more precise and complete

explanations about phenomena. It is the process of developing main categories and their sub-categories (Corbin & Strauss 1990:124; Corbin & Strauss 1998). It is important to note that, whilst differing in purpose; open coding and axial coding do not denote distinctive or sequential analytical stages. Instead, they constitute an interactive analytical process (Corbin 1990:124; Corbin & Strauss 1998), with axial coding beginning after some basic identification of categories and open coding contributing to understanding the relationship between emerging categories (Strauss, 1987 qtd. in: Corbin & Strauss 1998). The analyst codes very intensively and concertedly around single categories in order to facilitate construction of dense, complex and well developed relations around the axis of the category being focused around (Strauss & Corbin 1998: 64), which will later be useful in theory saturation. Thus, Strauss & Corbin maintain that axially coding relates categories to sub-categories' along the lines of their properties and dimensions while looking at how categories cross cut and interweave (Strauss & Corbin 1998: 64).

According to Strauss 1987, axial coding involves several basic steps (Corbin and Strauss 1998) These include: a) The laying out of properties of a category and their dimensions, which is done during open coding; b) identifying the variety of conditions, actions and intersections and consequences associated with a problem c) relating a category to its subcategories through statements showing how they are related to each other d) looking for clues in the data that denote how major categories might relate to each other (Corbin & Straus 1998). All of this is facilitated through the application of basic questions to data as will be discussed below (Section 3.5.1).

3.3.3.3 Selective Coding

This involves integration of categories that have been developed to form the initial theoretical framework (Corbin & Strauss 1990:124) and is applied to facilitate identification of the core category (Glaser & Strauss 1967; Glaser 1978). The core variable whilst delimiting coding to only those variables that relate to it in sufficiently significant ways not only ceases the process of open coding but also becomes the central guide to further data collection and theoretical sampling (Glaser 1978). Hypotheses are then generated from the empirical emergings to define the generalised relationships between categories and their concepts (Glaser & Strauss 1967).

3.3.3.4 Theoretical Coding

This whilst constituting the initial stage of constant comparative analysis, also identifies the conceptual relationship between categories and their properties as they emerge (Glaser 1978: 72–84; Straus & Glaser 1967). Analytically, theoretical sampling could be approached in terms of a form of conceptualisation process. Subsequently, theoretical codes form the conceptual connectors between categories and their properties, which also generate the grounded hypothesis. Contrary to the formation of logical deductions perpetuated in conventional preconceived social scientific research, grounded hypothesis allow for the generation of conceptual deductions. These, in turn, are used to guide theoretical sampling which further leads to data collection, analysis, and broadening of the depth and scope of the theory (Glaser 1978).

To illustrate empirically the conceptual relationships and theoretical codes that connect the categories class, ethnicity, gender and their properties, for example, the concept of multivariate structural ambivalence was inductively generated (Section 4.4–4.6). Since theoretical sampling undermines the use of preconceived codes (Glaser 1978), my first basic analytical step into the empirical world was driven loosely through the construction of broad and fluid categories aimed at analysis of the economic participation and life constructions of (im)migrant women within hierarchisation, differentiating and marginalising mechanism on the international labour market. Divergence was induced, however, after the discovery of new empirically generated categories as described in the preceding discussion. See also critically (Chapter 8 & 9).

3.3.3.5 The Interview as a Coding Process

In my empirical research, the interview itself provided a pragmatic framework for coding. As Yin has argued, the interview provides the initial tools for effective listening since it allows for receiving large amounts of information through multiple modalities, which include the use of clarification techniques, approaches transgressing biases, capturing the mood and affective components. Therefore, it facilitates close observation of participants within their immediate environment (Yin 2003). In my case it also facilitated, identification of emergent patterns within the narratives (See critically, Chapter 8 & 9). As well, the associated most salient social problems of respondents (See Glaser 1978). Lastly but not least, the writing of memoirs immediately after and the data transcription procedure formed part of my coding process, as Glaser has also argued (Glaser 1978).

3.4 Theoretical Sampling

Theoretical sampling cannot be planned before embarking on a grounded theory study; rather, the specific sampling decisions evolve during the research process itself (Corbin & Strauss 1990: 192). According to Glaser (1978), this occurs through deriving from induced codes conceptual guides for the selection of the relevant comparative groups or subgroups and field locations, which in turn facilitates sampling for more data to generate the theory. Glaser & Strauss postulate that, as a focused process generating its own selectivity for its direction and depth of development, theoretical sampling restrictively collects data on categories for the generation of properties and hypothesis (Glaser & Strauss 1967). Thus, the emergent theory is rooted in data as opposed to the conventional scientific approaches which are rooted in the logical deduction of research hypothesis from pre-existing theoretical frames and extant literature (Strauss & Glaser 1967; Glaser 1978; Corbin & Strauss 1990). Glaser argues however that the emergent theory may eventually integrate and transcend several extant theories (Strauss & Glaser 1967; Glaser 1978). Within this framework, Glaser traces the emergence of a conceptual deductive logic, which whilst operating in service of further induction, is constantly derived from induced codes generated from data comparisons rather than deductions from pre-existing theories (Glaser 1978).

The inductive method through its relevance and ability to fit and work the data emerges as the primary tool whilst the deductive is subservient to it and corrected through it. Subsequently, deductive elaborations also referred to as conceptual elaborations relate to the systematic deduction from the emerging theory of the theoretical possibilities and probabilities for elaborating the theory to emerging explanations and interpretations (Glaser 1978). Thus, generating the hypotheses that guide the researcher to the relevant field locations and comparative groups. Theoretical sampling is used as a way of checking on the emergent conceptual framework, to generate qualifying conditions, not to disprove or verify preconceived hypothesis (Strauss & Glaser 1967; Glaser 1978). While in the field, the researcher continually asks questions as to fit, relevance and workability about emerging categories and relationships between them. He continually fits his analysis to the data by checking as he proceeds (Section 3.5.1). In short the theory is generated inductively from the progressive stages of analysis of the data, whereby the relationships between the theory, methodology and hypothesis become tightly integrated (Glaser 1978).

In sum, since theoretical sampling proceeds on the basis of emerging concepts with the aim of exploring the dimensional range or varied conditions along which the properties of concepts vary (Corbin & Strauss 1998), it can be seen as the framework that integrates and drives the whole methodology whereby data collection, coding and analysis are jointly carried out and guide the analyst's next steps in the data collection procedure as it relates to decision making, planning what to study next, the types and quality of data to collect and where to find them in order to facilitate a grounded and empirically relevant development of the emergent theory (See Glaser 1978: 36; Glaser & Strauss 1967). In other words, theoretical sampling is not constituted simply as a single line process or unidirectional method of moving from less to more directed observation and from specific data to conceptual rendition. Rather, it is constituted as a complex interactive process that demands simultaneous engagement in many other operations while accomplishing the latter along multiple lines and directions, and while going back and forth between data and concept as the analyst generates theory. Such operations include theoretical coding, memoing, generating a process and problem, integrating and densifying, experiential and literature comparisons (Glaser 1978).

Methodologically, the initial decisions in theoretical sampling are based on a general sociological perspective on a general subject or substantive area within a population of study as opposed to a preconceived problem or hypothesis (Glaser & Strauss 1967; Glaser 1978). The sociologist basic steps into the analytical process are driven by a framework of broad and loosely constructed categories incorporating gross features of the structure and process in the phenomena of study (Glaser 1967). These loose categories whilst providing the beginning foothold in research do not necessarily constitute relevance and workability. Instead the relevance to the problem must emerge empirically (Glaser & Strauss 1967). Strauss and Corbin illustrate in this regard, that theory is inductively derived from the study of the phenomena it represents. Meaning that it is discovered developed and provisionally verified through systematic data collection and analysis of data pertaining to that phenomenon (Corbin & Strauss 1990: 23). The emerging theory points to the next steps which are unknown to the sociologist prior to discovery of the emerging gaps in his theory and research questions suggested by previous answers (Glaser & Strauss 1967). Whilst the generation of codes, takes place quite early within the first days in the field (Corbin & Strauss 1990), the codes are qualified dimensionally (Corbin & Strauss 1998). Within this framework, not only are hypotheses simultaneously emerged and integrated with the codes, but also much of the complex analysis occurs simultaneously

during the process of data collection not restrictively after the data is finally collected. In sum, Glaser emphasizes that the logic of theoretical sampling dictates use of inductive approaches in connection with the important relevance of generating theory after data collection has started (Glaser 1978).

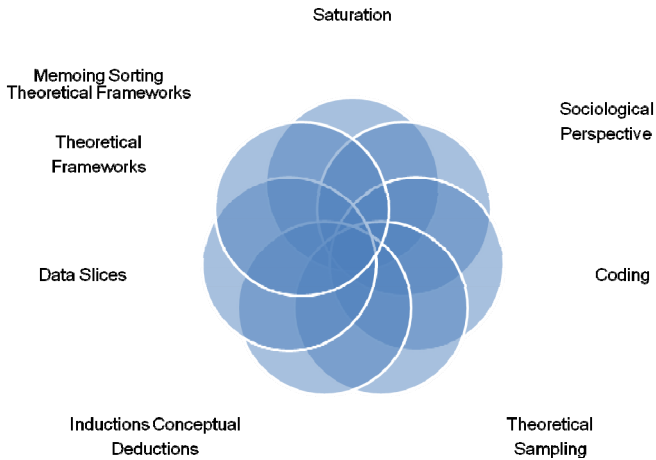


Fig. 3.1 Section 3.4 – Theoretical Sampling (Source: Grounded Theory (Glaser 1978; Diagram: Barongo-Muweke)

3.4.1 Basic Questions

These are applied in theoretical sampling to inductively but also deductively guide the sociologist in the next steps in research, whereby the analyst is guided by emerging gaps in his theory and research questions suggested by previous answers (Strauss & Glaser 1967). To concretise the objective according to Becker (1998), basic questions constitute pondering possibilities gained from deep familiarity with some aspects of the world, systematising those ideas in relation to kinds of information the sociologist gathers, checking ideas in the light of that information, dealing with the inevitable discrepancies between what was expected and what was found by rethinking the possibilities of getting more data and so on (Yin 2003). Basic questions then are used in conjunction with theoretical sampling (Section 3.5 & 9.4) to guide the sociologist in selecting which groups or subgroups they need to turn to next in data collection and where to find them. Since groups are selected not according to the purpose of testing facts or verifying preconceived frame-

works, this means that theoretical criteria and empirical relevance constitute the selectivity criteria as opposed to structural conditionalities and operational limitations of scientists.¹⁰ As I have already repeatedly pointed out in the foregoing analysis (Section 3.1 & 3.5.1), this is synonymous with all analytical procedures of grounded theory. The sociologist cites common factors and relevant differences to emergently generate qualifying conditions. This process allows for workability through a more systematic relevant and impersonal control over data collection as opposed to the preconceived, pre planned frameworks and arbitrary criteria constructed on the basis of existing structural limits of everyday social categories and group boundaries (Strauss & Glaser 1967). Basic questions are also applied in axial coding to uncover relationships among categories and to contextualise phenomena by locating it within a causal and consequence model or conditional structure that identifies the means through which a category is manifested (Corbin & Strauss 1998). Thus also facilitating a structural approach unveiling the relationship between structure and process, whereby structure set the stage in which problems, issues and events pertaining to a social phenomena are situated whilst process denotes the action and interaction over time of persons, organisations and communities to certain problems and issues (Corbin & Strauss 1998). This relationship is described by Glaser in terms of the interaction between basic social psychological processes and the basic social structural processes (Glaser 1978).¹¹ Grounded theory therefore offers the possibility for resolving the analytical tension between voluntarism that overemphasizes the reflexive of abilities of subjects to solve social problems and determinism that overemphasizes the role of structures in constraining agency (Section 4.5). Basic questions are therefore shaped by the whys, how come, where, when, how and with what results inquiries (Corbin & Strauss 1998).

3.4.2 *Theoretical Saturation*

This occurs when all data fit, whereby the sociologist ends the search for categories or appropriate number of groups surveyed when no additional data can be found that develops properties of conceptual categories. In trying to reach saturation, the analyst maximizes differences in his groups with the

10 Structural limitations may refer to the discrepancy between research funding arrangements and the social realities on the ground as is often witnessed in the case of output vs. outcomes oriented models.

11 This intrinsic relationship means that the sociologist focuses on explicating the ways in which processes actually process problems (Glaser 1978).

objective of maximising the varieties of data bearing on the category and thereby develops as many as diverse properties of the category as possible (Straus & Glaser 1967: 62; Glaser 1978). Figure I Section (3.5.1) depicts the analytical processes constituting grounded theory and leading to the whole framework of theoretical saturation.

3.5 Empirical Application of Methodological Framework

3.5.1 The Iterative Approach

In the preceding sections, I have implicitly analyzed in depth the iterative approach in grounded theory as a joint process of data collection, analysis and theory development. The iterative process in my research empirically comprised a series of overlapping processes including a) the generation of a sociological perspective, b) field preparation; c) data collection; d) coding; e) theoretical sampling f) inducted surveys and g) data conceptualisation.

Grounded theory stipulates that through the iterative process of data collection and analysis, the last stage of theoretical saturation and theoretical integration converge back at the sociological perspective, with the difference that the new sociological perspective constitutes the new elaborated, refined and modified theory (See Glaser 1978). The initial sociological perspective which also led to the discovery of the research topic was framed by my strong background in scientific research: Whilst an in-depth literature recherche on the level of research on gender, ethnicity, class and international migration as well as educational issues highlighted scientific gaps in the field of study, my professional experience and social political engagement contributed richly to the identification of empirical gaps (Chapter 2). These factors not only shaped my analytical abilities, multi-disciplinary perspectives and potential for anecdotal assessments relevant in addressing multi-pronged phenomena within the framework of grounded theory (Strauss & Glaser 1967; Glaser 1978), but also my motivation, commitment, philosophical orientation and identification with the affected (Chapter 2). Thus, also framing the relevant framework for addressing issues of authority, power, knowledge production, decontextualisation and expertisation as they relate to authentic voice representation in research (Spivak 1988 & Foucault 1980 & 1982; Hall 1978a & 1980; Freire 1970; 1972 & Giroux 2008).

The process of field preparation focused on constructing the initial survey on the basis of the requirements of grounded theory. Here the notion of the open approach to the empirical world played a central role in connection with the

scientific relevance of avoiding impositions of preconceived notions (Strauss & Glaser; Corbin & Strauss, Section 3.1 & 3.2). Subsequently, the stage of initial data collection which also constituted pilot interviews for the purpose of preliminary orientation used categories and hypothesis, which were broadly formulated prior to embarking on the field research (Section 3.5 & 3.3.1). My focus centred on capturing the affected's opinions and conceptualisation of every day experiences and the central issues affecting their lives rather than focusing on my hypothetical assessment of their situation as had been done in the original research design (See, Glaser 1978). To allow their empirical world to emerge, the interview thematic were guided by natural, connect and link interview transitions as defined by Shebib (2006). During the phase of field preparation, the initial contacts with possible interviewees and key informants were established.

Coding took place both during and immediately after the interviews. It involved the processes of open coding, axial and selective coding. This process formed the conceptualisation component of research, whereby during open coding, raw data were fractured into categories and concepts through the method of constant contrast and comparisons. During axial coding the data were put back in new ways identifying the conceptual relationships between categories and subcategories (Strauss & Glaser 1967; Corbin & Strauss 1990). Therefore axial coding constituted, in part, the process of biographical reconstructions. Selective coding facilitated the integration of categories to form the initial theoretical framework. The theorisation component of research was mostly carried out as part of the theoretical sampling, which was neither linear nor distinctive from the process of coding. Rather as an iterative process involving double-back steps, it drove the entire analytical and data collecting process (Glaser 1978; See also critically Section 4.5). Since both coding and theoretical sampling involved the use of basic questions, this contributed largely to the generation of the core category and conceptual comparisons which were drawn on to guide the next research steps as they relate to focusing the research question, identifying relevant data to collect, field locations and the conceptual fields or data slices to access in order to refine and elaborate on the emerging theory (Glaser 1978; See also, Section 3.5.4). Also emerging from theoretical sampling was a series of conceptual deductions and induction which framed the ongoing process of data collection, which I have termed within the framework of grounded theory as inductive surveys (See Figure I, Section 3.5.1). Unlike the open approach adopted in the initial survey, the inductive surveys constituted conceptual groups and focused

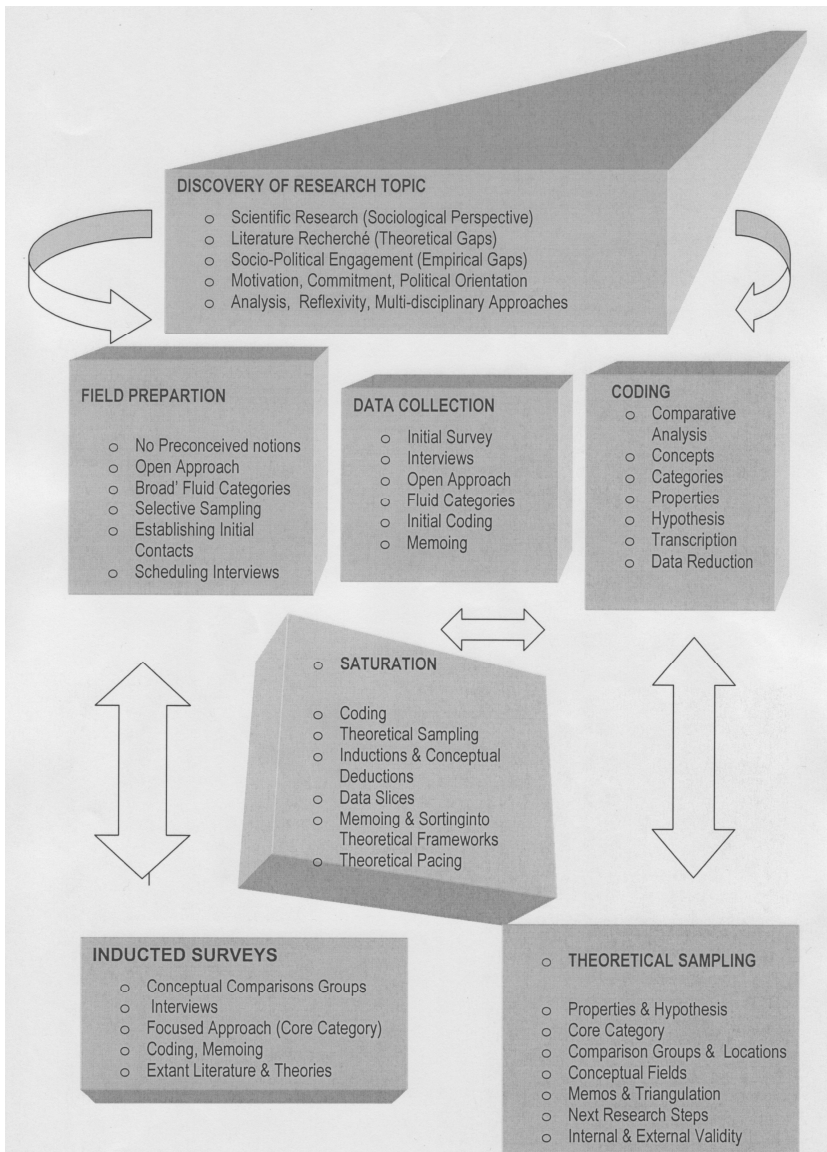


Fig. 3.2 Section 3.5.1 – Grounded Theory

interviews around the core category – social cohesion. As well, they constituted writing memos, coding and sorting memos and going back and forth into the stages of data analysis. As already mentioned at the beginning, the last stage of theoretical saturation and theoretical integration converged at the sociological perspective which unlike the initial sociological perspective constituted the new elaborated, refined and modified theory (See Glaser 1978). The diagrams in figure 3.1 (Section 3.2) & Figure I (Section 3.5.1) depict the logic model of research and the analytical processes constituting grounded theory and leading to the whole framework of theoretical saturation.

3.5.2 *Integration of Concepts vs. Descriptive Illustrations*

Since the major research objective is to generate transformatory substantive theory (Glaser & Strauss 1967; Glaser 1978; Section 1 & 2.2), the position I take draws on Glaser & Strauss (1967) which stresses doing theory using concepts: For Corbin and Strauss, grounded theory emphasizes that the analyst always works with concepts rather than specifics of data or cases, making conceptualisation central to the analytical procedure of grounded theory (Corbin & Strauss 1998). Glaser postulates that all concepts are grounded and that the power of theory resides in concepts rather than descriptive accounts (Glaser 1978: 134). Since all grounded concepts must have workability for the affected, they are transformatory and context sensitive. The credibility of the theory as an integrated set of hypothesis and not of findings is constructed through its integration, relevance and workability rather than by the use of illustration as proof. Since it is inductively generated (Strauss & Glaser 1967; Glaser 1978), grounded theory does not pursue explanations or literature as data but rather it uses the properties and dimensions derived from the comparative incidents to examine the data in front of the sociologist (Corbin & Strauss 1998). As Kerlings puts it, grounded theory constitutes a set of conceptual constructs that presents a systematic view of natural phenomena (Cresswell 1994). Grounded theory can therefore be defined through the unique capacity for operating empirical data and complex underpinnings into explicit designs and frameworks for problem diagnosis (See, Strauss & Glaser 1967). My theory whilst being rooted in data and constructed as a systematic representation of natural phenomena (Section 3.1–3.4), is developed on the basis of emergent categories and their properties which are conceptualised through multiple data sources (Section 3.6.4). Whereas grounded theory spells out the use of multiple data sources which constitute both the data of diverse systematic research and the substantive theories generated from such data (Glaser 1978: 143), Glaser (1978) emphasizes that existing theoretical

frames of different scholars are used only as supplements and consulted as sources of secondary data to refine the concepts after they had emerged – in order to avoid contamination of empirically generated concepts with preconceived concepts that may not really fit, work the data or have relevance. Since descriptive information gained through careful systematic data collection constitutes the grounding for the theoretical analysis, descriptive statements will be used only for imagery in order to promote better understanding and to introduce and support the concepts (Glaser 1978).

Glaser and Strauss have argued that grounded theory can be constructed either in form of a well codified set of propositions or a running theoretical discussion using conceptual categories and their properties (Glaser & Strauss 1967:31; Glaser 1978). The latter has constituted the model adopted in my research.

Glaser warns, however, that within the framework of ‘data triangulation’, the model does not deal with theories but relevant variables from diverse fields, which are integrated into a broader theory. In other words, it takes those relevant variables from competing theories that fit and work, while always trying to raise their conceptual level by reducing them to higher level smaller sets of concepts (See Glaser 1978: 14 & 15). The concepts as basic analytical units developed from raw data are inductively generated through the method of constant contrasting and comparisons of incident with incident for similarities and differences whilst categorising and labelling similar phenomena under unifying classifications as described above (Section 3.3.1 & 9.2). Full variability and generality of basic processes and core categories in data shape their transcending nature, which transgresses the boundaries of any single structural units, thus, undermining unit-focused theories (See Glaser 1978: 101). Within this framework, the model transcends preceding theories by placing all relevancies in a multivariate scheme or process of greater scope and higher conceptual level (See Glaser 1978: 14 & 15). This has empirically yielded intersectional analysis multidimensionality and (trans)locational approaches (Section 4.4–4.7 & 5). In addition, it explains the complex language of conceptualisation adopted in this work:

According to Strauss and Glaser (1967), it is through the constant comparison of many groups that their many similarities and differences are elaborated and analyzed. In my empirical research, whilst axial coding and theoretical sampling generated categories with multivariate properties, it also provoked complex triangulation as it relates to the diversity of emergent data slices, the associated conceptual fields for literature review and the challenges of inte-

grating multi-disciplinary perspectives within the framework of theoretical pacing¹².

Through grouping issues and defining their relevant concepts as laid out in section 3.3.1 & 9.2, I have identified the major categories at a higher level of abstraction, their properties and the relationship between them which also highlight the dependent and independent variables (See Glaser & Strauss 1967). As illustrated in chapters 8 & 9, the core category social cohesion was identified both according to its prevalent relationship with other categories which also integrates them as a whole as well as through saturation, relevance and workability (Glaser 1978). As the whole theoretical body of this work illustrates, I have consistently generated hypothesis from the empirical emergings to define the generalised relationships between categories and their concepts (See Strauss & Glaser 1967). Whereas the emerging categories reflect a complex and multidimensional phenomena, multi-disciplinary insights, intersectional analysis and eclectic approaches have been incorporated (Chapters 4 & 5).

Since social cohesion crystallised as the core category, it also generated the conceptual categories diversity, exclusion, social interaction and social capital with the operational dimensions relating to ethnicity, class, gender. To facilitate coding of families by unveiling the causes, contexts, contingencies, consequences, covariance and conditions (Glaser 1978: 74), the combined integration of a structural approach with a social interactionist model was empirically generated, which also explicated the independent and dependent variables. To integrate process analysis and confront variations, progressions, transitions, trajectories, shapings and cycling of the categories and their operational dimensions (Glaser 1978), nexus approaches were incorporated which brings into theorisation the transnational dynamics. This, analytical process was achieved through theoretical sampling¹³ and would not have been possible without the associated double-back steps involving constant shifting and rooting between previous steps and emergent theories. This entailed simultaneous and ongoing interaction between data collection, open coding, theoretical sampling, generating memos and emergence of core social psychological problems (Strauss & Glaser 1967; Glaser 1978; Corbin &

12 On theoretical pacing see, Glaser (1978).

13 Theoretical sampling refers to a process of data collection for generating theory whereby the analyst jointly collects, codes and analyzes his data as he decides what data to collect next and where to find them in order to develop his theory as it emerges. The process of data collection is controlled by the emerging substantive or formal theory (Glaser 1978: 36)

Strauss 1990). This, in turn aided the process of selective theoretical sampling, coding and memoing whilst focusing on the core (See Glaser 1978: 160). In this way, theory was gradually built up inductively from the progressive stages of data analysis (Glaser 1978: 39). To illustrate partially the grounded development of categories within the framework of theoretical sampling and process analysis (nexus), my research incorporated the empirically emergent notion of postcolonial subjectivity with its relevant operational dimensions including double ontology, social trajectories, subalternism, submerged or conditioned consciousness, ethnicity, gender, class, historicity and geopolitical conditioning etc. Similarly the abstract category 'postmodern family socialisation' was generated at a higher conceptual level constituting intersections of patriarchy, polygamy capitalism, gendered structural ambivalence, abstract systems and modernity disembedments as major operational dimensions (Chapter 4 & 5). Thus, also raising the conceptual level to narrower sets (Glaser 1978:15) by bringing together the theorisation of macro, mezzo, micro shifts and (trans)locational processes as substantive areas within the formal theory whilst also generating multivariate structural ambivalence as a conceptual category providing the theoretical code between categories and their properties as described above. Similarly multidimensional positionality, habitus, symbolic interactions, cultural configurations of class were generated to chart the properties of the category social cohesion/social interaction within nexus analysis.

3.5.3 *The Relationship between Data and Theory*

In analyzing the relationship between data and theory, categories were conceptualised within the strategy family through the combined application of the structural approach, social interactionist models (Glaser 1978) and feminist intersectional and multiple interventionist analysis (Chapter 4 & 5). Whereas feminist approaches constituted largely the fourfold vulnerability model, the relationship between the structural approaches and social interactionist models was particularly articulated through Bourdieu's theory of practice, Giddens structuration theory and Miles theory of the structural incorporation of migrant labour (Section 4.4–4.6). This powerful tool was centrally useful in not only unveiling the empirically emergent variables but also their interacting pattern, mutual dependencies, interdependency and effects (See Glaser 1978). A good example constitutes analysis of ethnicity within the German context, where a distinguishable pattern between the structural mechanisms conditioning migration status and the social interaction within everyday localised contexts was observed: Whereas in the everyday localized

contexts migrant women seemed to encounter egalitarian relations as opposed to differentiation on the grounds of racialisation and cultural centrism, their social interaction appeared constrained by their economic status. To conceptualise difference and differential effects within theory generation, economic status itself revealed a variety of cutting points¹⁴ that facilitated conceptualisation of boundaries, critical conjunctures and dichotomies. These were conceptualised in Bourdieu's terms as relating to cultural configurations of class and symbolic processes (Section 4.6.1 & 4.6.2) as objective mediators of the practices and experiences of subjectification. As well, geopolitical conditionings, ideological constitutions and historical situativity (Section 4.6.1; 4.6.5 & 4.7). The theoretical code of consequential effects structuring the relations of ethnicity, diversity and exclusion indicated a strong absence of a conscious effort or strategy directed towards managing and socially constructing difference within everyday localised social interactions (Chapter 4 & Chapter 8). These empirical emergings are therefore aligned with Miles and Phizacklea's approach to ethnicity as a structural category configured within mechanisms of differentiation as opposed to the culturalist notion of racism (Section 4.5.2). The culturalist approach was rejected as constraining the implementation and transformatory benefits of multi level strategies and multi level context sensitive approaches (see, Section 3.1.2). Viewing the social cultural context and habitus of Germany as broadly characterised by the social democratic paradigm or shifting social Catholicism as Lenz & Dietrich (1994) put it,¹⁵ this has strong scientific relevance and workability¹⁶ regarding the relative strength of the egalitarian habitus as a critical interventionist model for deconstructing postcolonial residues, modernity disembedments as well as the growing ethnicity, cultural centrism and cultural difference within transnational communities (Chapter 8). This view is vital for social and educational policy evolution within the North-South/South-North Dialogue and international development.

14 Glaser defines cutting points as a tool in theory generation indicating where the difference occurs which has differential effects (1978).

15 The Authors bring forth the issues that the challenges of identity building within globalisation process are transforming the German habitus of Social Catholicism towards a more individualized habitus.

16 Relevance is derived by allowing core problems and processes to emerge. By workability is meant that a theory should be able to explain what happened, predict what will happen and interpret what is happening in an area of substantive or formal inquiry. This is achieved through systematic social research identifying and analysing facts of what is going on (Glaser 1978: 4 &5).

3.5.4 *Slices of Data and Multiple Data Sources*

Strauss and Glaser (1967), emphasize the simultaneous use of multiple data sources converging on the same phenomenon and terms these slices of data with the argument that in theoretical sampling, no one type of data on a category or techniques for data collection is necessarily sufficient. Instead, different types of data are fundamental to generating different perspectives useful in facilitating a more sophisticated development and analysis of sets of categories and their properties (Pandit 1996). This view is supported by other qualitative methodologies which advocate for the use of multiple sources of data whereby no single source subsumes complete advantage over others but whereby the various sources are highly complementary (Yin 2003) and are fundamental to the construction of dense theories (Glaser & Strauss 1967; Glaser 1978).

As elsewhere already mentioned, since theory is generated from diverse slices of data on the same category, its broad and diverse data base allows for integrating into analysis more aspects of the substantive or formal area, and can therefore sustain more diversity in condition and exceptions to hypothesis (Section 3.5.4). While the researcher may use primarily one technique of data collection, theoretical sampling for saturation of a category facilitates a multi-faceted investigation with no limits to the techniques of data collection, the way they are used, or types of data acquired (Strauss & Glaser 1967). Slices of data may constitute field and survey data, which the researcher engages in for purposes of comparative analysis with the objective of transcending unbounding relativism and scientific biases through the integration of multiple modes of knowing. Slices of data can also constitute literature sources and anecdotal comparisons¹⁷ (Strauss & Glaser 1967). As well, archival records, interviews and participant-observation (See Yin 2003: 85). Since different slices of data are integrated for the main purpose of testing each other as opposed to different modes of knowing that must be explained and integrated theoretically or used for the verification of hypothesis, (Glaser & Strauss 1967), the analyst does not pursue explanations or literature as data but rather the analyst uses the properties and dimensions derived from the comparative incidents to examine the data (Corbin & Strauss 1998). During coding, theo-

17 Anecdotal comparisons refer to slices of data constituting the analysts own experiences, general knowledge or reading and the stories of others. Credibility is constructed through the degree of lived experiences of the analyst. Anecdotal comparisons as slices of data are particularly useful during the initial stages of starting the research project and in developing core categories (Glaser & Strauss: 1967).

retical comparisons as clarifying techniques are for example used to facilitate objective analyzes as opposed to labelling and classification prior to thorough examination of the object at the property or dimensional level, specifically when events and properties are not evident in data or when the analyst is confused or stuck about meaning of an incident, event in data or when the analyst wants to think about an event in different ways (Corbin & Strauss 1998).

The data sources in my research included empirical data, theoretical and analytical memos, field notes, news paper articles, key informants¹⁸, databases, expert interviews, participant observations, anecdotal and literature comparisons, extant theories and concepts which were generated for the purpose of refining and elaborating on emergent theory as opposed to the purpose of verification of hypothesis (Glaser 1978). The objective was to allow for the empirical world and its complex underpinnings to emerge and to systematically organize this into explicit theoretical frames (Glaser & Strauss 1967). Thus, linking grounded theory with critical pedagogy by critically interweaving theory, methodology and empirical world as the prerequisite for transformative action. As Freire has also argued, the prerequisites for change are rooted in reflexive action based on a coherent understanding and critical insertion of the affected in their social environments (Freire 1970; 1972; 1974). A further objective was to construct internal and external validity (Glaser & Strauss 1967; Yin 2003) in order to explore the contribution of independent social policy to the evolution of critical indigenous pedagogy and grounded social policies that can aid deconstruction of colonial residues and postmodernity disembedments.

18 The idea of using key informants and participant observation as sources of data stemmed from Yin in his illustration of Gans case study approach (Yin 2003).

4 Literature Review

4.1 Feminist Critique and Basic Premises: The Structural Approach

4.1.1 *Cumulative Models, Intersectional Analysis, Multiple Interventions and Social Constructionism*

Feminist scholars have contributed significantly to the study of international migration by integrating a structural approach grounded in an extensive critique of the gender biased approaches and cumulative models within traditional migration theories (See Hillman 1996; Lim 1995). Subsequently, they confront social differentiation through a critical analysis of socially stratifying mechanisms in a framework emphasizing theorisation within relational differences, subject positionalities and compound vulnerability whilst also integrating multiplicative, prescriptive and precariousness models as they relate to conceptualising the simultaneity of gender, ethnicity and class within institutional, legislative and daily social practices (Aulenbacher 2005 & 2006; Lim 1995; Morokvasic 1983; see also Section 4.1 & 4.2). Most specifically, the framework offers an explicit theoretical and practical basis for considering aggravating conditions, informing social policy and systemic changes. Therefore, it aspires to achieve social equity and social justice. Central to feminist theories and to my analytical framework, is a deconstructionist perspective that identifies gender and ethnicity as socially constructed categories which can therefore be deconstructed.¹ The social constructionist approaches focus on the problematic interaction of structural mechanisms and societal forces creating differences between the sexes, women of the majority and migrants whilst also leading to differential treatment by structuring diverse roles, statuses, opportunities, life trajectories and social experiences (Lim 1995; Hillman 1996; Morokvasic 1983; Butler 1993; Ollenburger & Moore 1992). Viewing traditional theories as gender neutral, feminist models theorise oppression away from the gender blindness and cumulative models to provide a critical view of the multidimensional structural inequalities at

1 On scientific consensus regarding the conceptualization of gender as a socially constructed category, review the works of Judith Butler (1990), Regina Becker-Schmidt (1995); Gudrun-Axeli Knapp (1995) and Gümen (1998a).

work through a focus on the histories, economies and interlockings of gender, race, ethnicity and class as systems of oppression and categories of difference (Morokvasic 1983 & 1984; Hillman 1996; Lim 1995; Lenz 1995 & 1996). Whilst adopting a structural analysis prioritising the impact of gender hierarchies, institutional processes, ideology, cultural systems, geopolitical and historical situativity (Chapter 4 & Section 5.4.2), they argue that gender and ethnicity are configured within the intersection of complex relations of domination and power whose interplay cannot be conceived narrowly in additive terms as mainstream scholars have postulated but also in their simultaneous interplay with implications for structuring manifold risks and constraints (Hillman 1996; Lim 1995; Anthias 2002; Review also critically Lenz 1995 & 1996; Becker-Schmidt 1995; Knapp Gudrun-Axeli 1995).

Feminist have thus, theorised differentiation at two interlocking levels of analysis. The first level constitutes a focus on the threefold structural model of oppression and the second level integrates a fourfold dimensional model (Chapter 4). The fourth dimension is added to the threefold oppression model with a view to integrate analysis of consciousness (Morokvasic Section 4.6). Within the dimensions of cumulativity and simultaneity, some have applied the term multiple consciousness (Harris 1990), whilst others like Collins (1990) have integrated the notion of interlocking systems of oppression. However, I draw a critical conclusion: A focus on the orientational implications of structural contradictions is still very under-developed in research (Section 4.6). This dimension will be empirically enriched through a focus on the reflexive embodiment of objective social structures as they relate to the hybridisation of self-making and subjective practices of postcolonial gendered and ethnicized categories. Bourdieu's theory of practice will facilitate a triangulation of self-making practices in the tensions shaping colonizer-non colonizer interactions as articulated in the empirical data on migrant women in England's class habitus and Germany's shifting egalitarian social democratic habitus (Section 6.1.6).

It is worth mentioning that although feminist scholars have applied and implied intersectional analysis to analyze the social construction of difference along the lines of gender, ethnicity and class using the threefold-fourfold vulnerability models, it is Crenshaw who first coined the term intersectional analysis as a deconstructionist approach (Crenshaw 1989; 1992 & 2000a & 2000b). To theorise the complex differentiation emerging from the simultaneity, structural tensions and triple inscriptions of gender, class and ethnicity, Crenshaw introduces the notion of intersectionality. This describes and

underlines the unique and distinct implications of social differentiation arising out of a combination of various forms of discrimination which cannot be compared to anyone form of discrimination standing alone (Crenshaw 1991). Crenshaw rejects the single axis approach to social discrimination with the argument that failure to capture and reflect the social reality within narrow conceptualisations effectively marginalizes those at the intersections leading to their invisibility (Crenshaw 1989). Whilst the strength of intersectional models lies in their analytical capacity for addressing relational differences as well as illuminating and accounting for aggravating conditions as described above, they also provide a sound basis for the theoretical explication and practical implementation of context sensitive multiple interventions². Having said that, it is important to emphasize the importance of a combined application of intersectional approaches with grounded theory in order to allow for an open explication and accurate articulation of the empirical world within intervention strategies (Section 3.1.2).

Whereas extensively applied in U.S.A., Chege in her groundbreaking work on the intersections of race and gender within EU law illustrates in this regard, that intersectional analysis as a multipronged approach and enabling framework for the horizontal and vertical integration of strategies within the framework of international comparative studies and collaborative problem solving is just beginning to subsume central theoretical and practical relevance in European legal studies and operative frameworks (Chege 2008). Whilst drawing attention to the dynamic nature of the interaction between structural processes, pluralistic axes of subordination and their consequences for the marginalised groups just like feminist scholars have consistently done (Chapter 4), Crenshaw has emphasized the importance of integrating the multidimensionality of phenomena into analysis (Crenshaw 2000a & 2000b). In line with postcolonialist like Fanon, Foucault and Bhabha Hommi (Section 4.6.1 & 4.6.2), she underlines the relevance of the time and spatial dimensions (Crenshaw 2000a & 2000b). For Acker, the interplay of intersectional and multidimensional axes is concretised through the ways in which gender relations simultaneously constitute class relations whilst also class relations themselves as concrete practices rather than as theoretical abstractions often constitute gender relations (Acker 1995). Yet others have conceptualised these relations in terms of racialised gender (Glenn 1992) or rather structurally ethnicized gender as I would opt to call it (See, Section 4.5.2).

2 For a deeper reflection on multiple interventions see Nancy Edwards, Mill & Kothari (2004).

Equally emphasized within the intersectionality framework are the explicit, implicit or subtle dimensions of the institutional, political and legislative processes socially constructing differentiation to produce outcomes that differ on the basis of sex, ethnicity and race within the implementation of practices which are not discriminatory in content but become so in combination with other rules and regulations (Boyd 1995).

Viewing the categories, gender, ethnicity, class as no longer sufficient alone to theorise and conceptualise social marginalisation, scholars have increasingly laid emphasis on the dimensions of ability and disability. Drawing on Bourdieu's theory of practice (1977; 1984, 1992a), I will consider this category and its empirical relevance within a performative egalitarian habitus for my research in more detail (Chapter 8).

The dimensions quality of life, subjective well being, lived experiences (Section 6.1.7) and the intergenerational transmission of the condition of social inequality (Estivill 2003; See critically, Section 4.11.2) are significantly gaining attention in scientific research. With specific regard to the variables quality of life and subjective wellbeing, social indicators of health are significantly used to quantify the dimensions of social differentiation (See Section 6.1.7 for a deeper analysis).

4.1.2 *Empirical Application*

Against this background, my thesis will integrate the notion of postcolonial subjectivity, habitus, nexus locationality, identity formations and the social networks perspective to broaden and apply the concepts intersectional analysis, multidimensionality and multiple interventions. Within in this framework, the fourfold model will be expanded to integrate (dis)ability as analytical category and to include Bourdieu's notions of cultural configurations of class, corporeal-, symbolic capital and their implications for the materialisation of space and belonging (Section 4.6.1 & 4.6.2). The centers and margins of intersectionality will further be expanded through post-structural and postcolonial analysis of semiotic practices of representation as structural and cognitive embodiments, signifiers of difference, and practices of subjectification (Freire, Fanon, Bhaba Hommi, Stuart Hall, Spivak, Derrida, Section 4.6.1), embodied habitus and means of political organisation (Bourdieu 1984 & 1972). As well, ontological trust (Giddens 1984). Ultimate aim is to explicate the complex dimensions of difference:

Drawing on Derrida's deconstructionist approaches (Derrida 1992), I will argue with Miles that not all difference is related to racism (Miles, Section 4.5.2). Rather there are complex differentiation mechanisms at play which must be deconstructed to enhance critical understanding and critical transformative action rooted in a coherent understanding of social reality (Freire 1972 & 1993). Grounded theory because of its focus on the variability and multidimensionality of social phenomena combined with theoretical rootedness in data and the diversity of categories empirically generated (Glaser & Strauss 1967; Glaser 1978), enhances intersectional analysis, context sensitivity and multiple interventions.

4.2 Dialectical Analysis, Essentialism and Universalism

Against the above background (Section 4.1 & 4.2), feminist theorisation whilst integrating both a structural approach and structural social work perspective allows for dialectical analysis linking subjectivity (the personal) and its constitution to the political structural sphere (Review critically, Butler 1991; Maihofer 1995; Kennedy 2006³). At the same time, it facilitates a confrontation of difference within an anti-essentialist, anti-prescriptive, anti-pathologist framework (Review critically Morokvasic 1983; Becker-Schmidt 1991; Maihofer 1995; Lenz 1995 & 1996; Gottschall 1999b; Anthias 2001a). Certainly in this regard, postcolonial feminist models have broadly addressed the limitations of universalistic notions that not only essentialise but also harmonise gender as analytical category whilst masking differential power, class subordinations, heterogeneous, shifting and multilayered identities as well as the complex and varied experiences with oppression amongst women (See Alice Walker 1983)⁴. Elsewhere I have based on empirical findings and projected the view that valorisations of difference have hindered the development of multi level strategic interventions (Section 4.5.2 & 5.2.3). As Anthias usefully formulates, the notion of multilayered identities has been emphasized in connection with the importance of recognizing the diversity of gender categories as they relate to the variety of positions women occupy in other categories of difference and location such as ethnicity, racialisation and

3 Similarly, critical pedagogists advocate for investigation of themes or analysis of root causes of oppressive situations within a historical context whereby socio-historical and political categories are made objects of reflection (Freire 1972).

4 See also Alice Walker reviewed by Kennedy (2006)

social class and how this juxtapositions the roles that women sometimes play as subjects and objects of oppression (See Anthias 2002).⁵

4.3 The Human Agents Perspective: Displacement, Ambivalence and Productivity

Human agency as a sociological concept is used to refer to the transformative capacity of human beings as social actors (Giddens 1984). It has gained vast importance in international migration as the critical terminology displacing earlier concepts which viewed migrant women as passive victims of structures. Within the human agency paradigm, migrant women are perceived in terms of social agents who while participating in economic, political and cultural processes strategically act to counteract disadvantages (Lim 1995; Hillman 1996; Anthias 2002).⁶ In the same light, the UN Secretariat (1995: 9) increasingly recognises the roles of women as too valuable a resource to waste. Thus, in their context the very act of migrating demonstrates agency and willingness to undertake risks in order to effect social economic improvement. Ochse (1999: 100) quite substantiates the meaning of agency in international migration through her more detailed review of the works of different authors. Indeed scholars highlight the need for a combined approach aimed at capturing the ambivalence structuring oppression and productivity (Maihofer 1995) or women's active performative roles as Judith Butler foregrounds (Judith Butler 1990 & 1993). Within this framework, others have applied and implied the importance of locating and interpreting women's agency within the structural constraints underpinning gender and ethnicity (Maihofer 1995; Lenz 1995 & 1996). Such a perspective is particularly relevant given the need to avoid creating a romanticised view of women's struggles and encounters with oppression. The position I take suggests that grounded theory, and pedagogical approaches are particularly useful in resolving the analytical tension between voluntarism that typically overemphasizes the reflexive abilities of subjects to solve social problems and determinism that overemphasizes the role of structures in constraining agency. Drawing on Freire (1970 & 1972), I will approach the affected as fully able yet not fully furnished with the agency necessary to negotiate the tensions of postcolonial

5 See Judith Butler (1990) on the multiplicity of gender categories.

6 Review Anthias (2002) conceptualization of women as particular objects of national and ethnic discourses in relation to the social and cultural reproduction of the group, nation as well as its symbolic configuration.

subjectivity (Section 4). I will therefore integrate a structural analysis of consciousness and subjectification practices in order to comprehend and address the educational, empowerment and transformatory needs of the affected as postcolonial subjectivities (Section 4). Scholars have also emphasized the need for keeping in sight the positive aspects of (im)migration (UN Secretariat 1995) by distinguishing between the ideological construction and constitution of women's status and roles on one hand and the lived experiences on the other hand. As Foner (1986) postulates, it is significant that although women's status may appear not to improve in objective terms or to the observer, at the micro subjective level the affected may assess their experiences as positive (Lim 1995:45).

With further reference to the human agents perspective, scholars have discussed the performative roles of women in relation to the gendered reproduction of agency and structure as it relates to ways in which women constitute and construct the symbolic configuration of the nation and ethnic boundaries through their cultural and social political roles embodied in the rearing of children, social and religious practices. In this way, women are also viewed as central actors linked to the gendering, configuration and reconfiguration of social identities (Anthias & Yuval Davis 1989; Chapter 8). Others have looked at the diffusion of glocalised⁷ cultural bridging and community building roles whereby migrant women as important agents of change actively devise strategies to make the transition between the norms and values of their societies of origin and those of their societies of destination (UN 1990:1). Similarly Ochse (1999) in her review on migration research in the USA whilst drawing on Brettell/De Berjeois (1992:50) addresses the concept of human agent⁸ in terms of a process of cultural change which Hondagneu-Sotelo (1994) has described in terms of a threefold fluid construct including invention, sorting and reinvention of cultures stimulated through the encounter of minority cultural baggage with dominant cultures to facilitate a dialectic or intercultural transformation and enrichment of both cultures (Ochse 1999). Similarly Brettell's sociological review whilst drawing on Gupta and Ferguson (1997) theorises ethnicity in relation to the interactive

7 See Dittrich & Lenz (1994).

8 This can be usefully interrelated with the notion of agency which according to Giddens (1984) theory of structuration articulates the capacity of individual agents as knowledgeable social actors, their intervention into the world through engagement in processing social experience and devising coping strategies despite adversities, tensions and contradictions of social life. See also Long (1992:23).

dimensions of culture and the multiple bases for self-representation (Brettell 2000). Hence also the dynamic character behind intersections of gender, cultures, class, race and ethnicity (Pessar 1996:49). Drawing on Gabaccia (1994), Ochse (1999) thematizes cultural change in terms of a lifelong active process constituting the invention of new cultures which are influenced by the conditionalities of migration. Thus, for Buijs (1993: 4), women's active performative roles, can be thematised in terms of the production and reproduction of social meanings. Yet others highlight their economic roles in relation to the restructuring of the labour market, specifically the weakened role of the firm in structuring employment relations, labour market functions and shifting them to the household or community. Here the informal contribution of migrants is underscored in relation to the support offered in substantive employment integration sectors like training on the job, language skills acquisition and socialisation into the work place. Most specifically it has been documented in relation to the instrumental role in mitigating the risks associated with the displacement of traditional labour market functions such as recruitment, screening, and training from the firm (Sassen 1998: 90 & 147).

4.4 The Threefold Oppression Model

In the foregoing analysis, the relevance of intersectional analysis and multidimensionality has been drawn out. Taking into account a threefold-oppression model as their point of departure for addressing the problematic interaction of multiple barriers of difference and their differential implications for gender and ethnicity as marginalised categories, feminist approaches provide an explicit theoretical and practical basis for problematising social constructionism, aggravating conditions as well as informing social policies and systemic changes. Their analytical framework typically advocates the achievement of social justice and social equity. They identify femaleness (i.e. position of women in society) as the first dimension of difference, exposing women to mechanisms structuring social discrimination and gender inequality. This is compounded by their class as foreign-born workers and nationality (ethnicity) with a weak social and economic position within international migration contexts. Thus, crystallizing intersectional vulnerability in women's lives, that also leads to exploitation (See for example, Hillman 1996:46; Lim 1995:51): As workers they are often marginalised through segmented occupational structures which relegate them to low income groups or fill up unattractive, unprotected workplaces without any possibilities for upward mobility (UN Secretariat 1995:46; Lim 1995:51). Using Bourdieu's theorisation of

the habitus (Bourdieu 1983 & 1986), it is possible to problematise aggravating conditions in terms of the non-recognition of international credentials and the marginalising effects on the labour market integration. Whilst affecting all migrants, these mechanisms are particularly concretised in the situation of the undocumented migrants for whom precarious and low-paid work outside the formal economy is often the only option leaving them prone to exploitation within the sex industry (Morokvasic 1993; Anthias 2001a). Hence also building minority categories in the host society (Gutiérrez Rodríguez 1999). Potts however, draws attention to the broader risks for class segmentation amongst women since migration of husbands, implies a double burden and roles for women who stay behind (Potts 1990: 213).

Scholars raise major theoretical issues that concretise the debate on the social construction of femaleness in more tangible terms and allow for a more detailed analysis relating gender construction to processes of social stratification (Lenz 1995; Compare Becker-Schmidt & Knapp 1995 & 2007; Knapp & Wetterer 2001 with further references), the articulation of classical relations, modes of capitalistic production within the domestic sphere (Meillassoux 1981; Anthias 2001b) and their contradictory outcomes for women. According to Lenz (1995:34) for example, the three dimensions of vulnerability are interlocked and reinforced through women's dual roles and the regulatory role of the state. At the reproduction level within the confinements of the private sphere, gender is configured within the symbolic, interactional and institutional frameworks of the family as a modern construct as well as within gender specific socialisation and social interaction occurring in everyday localized contexts⁹. Whilst the production level in the public sphere is structured by the sex division of labour and the gender asymmetry, the reproduction dimension is also structured by economic processes¹⁰. In their analysis scholars conceptualise the two dimensions of oppression in terms of a double orientation/double societal model/doppel ontology/ or *Doppelten Vergesellschaftung*.¹¹ (Compare Wetterer 1992 & 1995; Axeli-Knapp & Wetterer 2001;

9 Review also Gutierrez 1999.

10 See also Lenz (1995) reviewed in *Gutierrez (1999)*. Drawing from Marxist theory, Meillassoux problematizes the unequal incorporation of the domestic sphere within capitalist modes of production and the role of women as a labor reserve and reproduction of the next generation of workers.

11 Angelika Wetterer (1992) in her review on the scientific debate about the marginalisation of women in highly skilled occupations, conceives the interface of the productive and reproductive spheres as a structural hindrance linked to the sex division of labour whilst also constructing the double burden, double orientation and double vulnerability of women.

Becker-Schmidt & Knapp 2007 with further references). Thus, the theorisation that gender identity is constructed on the basis of gender hierarchies and difference shaping individuation and socialisation processes (Becker-Schmidt 1985 & 1995). Within this framework Becker-Schmidt and Knapp theorise the term 'ambivalent gendered subjectivities' and integrate the role-conflict model to bring forth the issue that in contrast to men's roles which are constructed in relation to each other as complementary and interdependent, women's roles are shaped as independent and conflicting, emerging as a product of complex relations of power and domination. Thus, they also define gender as a structural category constituting stratification criteria and relations of social inequality (Beckers-Schmidt 1980; 1993; Becker-Schmidt and Knapp 1995; 2001 & 2007).

Therefore, drawing on Marxist theory, Meillassoux (1981) explains gender oppression in terms of the relationship of exploitation structuring the sphere of production and reproduction within the intersections of capitalism, patriarchy and biology. Meillassoux problematises the unequal incorporation of the domestic sphere within capitalist modes of production and the resulting conflicting implications and contradictory outcomes for the family not only because of its role as a labour reserve and the centre for the production and reproduction of labour but also because of its role in the reproduction of the social relations of labour contained in the functions of birth, nurture and education of the current and future generation of workers (Meillassoux 1981). Whereas women as the first exploited class constitute a reserve army of labour to be brought in and thrown out of gainful employment according to the demands of capital (Meillassoux 1981)¹², Phizacklea, pays significant attention to the external structural constraints on women's agency within this framework. She argues that since their subordinate position as a reserve labour subjects them to threats of unemployment, this constitutes a powerful weapon for employers that are deployed to deter any organised resistance to oppression and exploitation. Therefore she conceptualises women's vulnerability in terms of their subordinate politico-legal and ideological relations (Phizacklea 1983). This view is important in articulating the subjectification of the labour market and the implications for practices of self-making. Looking at employer – employee relations within increased deregulation of labour markets, scholars conceptualise difference and structural ambivalence in terms of the subjectification of work as articulated in the interface of corpo-

12 Review also Beechey & Kosack in Phizacklea (1983).

rate globalisation, gender and the domestic sphere (See critically Becker-Schmidt 2002). Consequently, within the Marxian paradigm, social classes are perceived as mutually dependent within the productive system, establishing simultaneously bonds of co-dependency and a distinctive and irresolvable antagonism at the very heart of the social order (Giddens 1971). Whereas Giddens theorisation has been empirically articulated in my research conceptualising postmodern polygamous family habitus (Section 9.8), social classes are theorised in terms of collective social organisations constructed in relational conflict, underpinned by the relations found within the economic structure (Anthias 2001b).

To summarize the foregoing analysis, the double burden of women's dual roles is shaped by the unequal relationship between the family, the state and the labour market as patriarchal structures. The threefold oppression model, demands a broader analysis of gender configuration not only in terms of gender relations and gender hierarchies but also in terms of the structural underpinnings and interlockings of ethnicity and class relations constructed within concrete geographical and historical contexts (Rodriguez, Chapter 1). Gender, ethnicity and subjectivity are therefore approached in terms of manifold power and subjugating mechanisms at the intersections of historical, institutional, social and symbolic processes (Phizacklea 2000; Rodriguez; Miles, Section 4.5.2 & Bourdieu, Section 4.5.2 & 4.6.1 & 4.6.2).

4.5 Empirical Application of the Framework

4.5.1 Ambivalent Gendered Subjectivities, Postcolonial Legacies and Nexus Situativity

To apply the above analytical framework to my research, the concept of gender as analytical category and structurally fragmented construct will be stretched to include the dimensions of postcolonial subjectivity as a category experiencing relatively more structured ambivalence than women of the majority whilst also having less options for negotiating it¹³ because of the complex social construction within the overlappings of the triad ontology of gender, colonial legacies and residues, their perpetuation, complication and destabilization within the tensions and contradictions of transnationalism,

13 Connidis & McMullin (2002) in their analysis of sociological ambivalence and family ties discuss how women with a migration background face more structured ambivalence with limited negotiation options.

(trans)locational positionality and cultural hybridity (Section 4.6.1 & 4.6.2). I will integrate the notion of shift in micro, mezzo and macro sociological variables to theorise gender identity through a focus on the interplay of colonialism, capitalism and globalisation with abstract and multivariate articulations in the domestic sphere as well as complex implications for ethnicity, gender and class as they relate to social capital and social cohesion (Section 9.10). Such an approach will amongst other things, facilitate understanding of the ways in which gender relations and practices of subjectification are shaped and reinforced by configurations of power, modernity, cultural shifts and their implications for democratisation, health promotion and sustainable development (Section 9.10).

At this point, my paper argues that a deconstruction of biographies is achievable through an eclectic framework integrating feminist, pedagogical, sociological approaches, structural analysis, postcolonial theories and grounded theory to unveil the structural underpinnings of subjectivities while proposing a pedagogical strategy for harnessing women's developmental capacity and bringing about social transformation.

4.5.2 *Ethnicity vs. Racism as Analytical Categories*

Lenz approaches ethnicity as a structured set of social relations constitutive of a broader system of social inequality¹⁴ and a distinguishing category characterising the individuation and socialisation processes within international migration (Lenz 1995:39). Within this framework, she integrates a Marxian perspective locating the centrality of the economic in the construction, maintenance of social differentiation and the associated underpinnings of socially stratifying mechanisms. Just like Rodriguez has argued (Chapter 1), she highlights the relevance of situativity by arguing that gender, class and ethnicity are constructed within the tension structuring negotiation and differentiation processes generated within concrete historical, political, economic and social spaces. In line with Sassen Koob (Chapter 1 & Section 5.6.2), she further integrates a post-structural analysis to locate the reconstruction of gender differentiation and ethnicity in the interplay of class relations structuring both modern states and the international world order. Against this background, she postulates that, whilst the social construction of vulnerability is conditioned through structural relationships existing between nations and is first determined at the national levels and then also at the international level, the struc-

14 Critically review Anthias 2001b analysis on gender, class and ethnicity.

tural constitution of gender is linked to the positions and extent of economic independence or subordination occupied by various nations within the capitalist world order¹⁵.

Phizacklea (1983:6) in her neo-Marxist analysis on the concept of “race” helps us to understand the mechanisms of social construction at the international level through the critical perspectives offered on the social relations constructed between migrant labour and indigenous labour, and how this is structured by a deep division construed on the basis of the racist ideology responsible for the social construction of exclusionary practices and fragmentation of the working class. Similarly, in his neo-Marxist theory on ‘race’ and class, Miles emphasizes the structural constitution of ‘racialised’ identities in a context that fosters class analysis as it relates to highlighting the role played by the social relations of production and ideology in providing the structural, material, political and historical framework for instantiating the process of racialisation and racial categorization. His framework takes into account the complex totality of economic, political and ideological processes shaping internal and external class relations (Miles 1982; Phizacklea & Miles 1980) to produce unequal life chances and conditions reflective in the structural constitution of ethnicity.

For Miles (1989), there is a broad range of exclusionary practices in society that are not merely a product of racism; rather, they are constitutive of the wider structure of class disadvantage.¹⁶ This is the view that appears to empirically emerge from data in my research. Consequently, for Lenz (1995: 39), the gender relations in national states embody structural dimensions of ethnicity. Viewing ethnicity as a structural category, Anthias confronts the limitations of culturalist approaches as narrow conceptualisations focusing on the cultural and symbolic aspects with particular behavioural or action elements flowing from this (Anthias 2001b). Critiquing the implications of social collectivization processes, Lenz (1995) articulates the risk inherent in using ethnicity as a cultural point of reference as well as a basis for homogenizing difference and group identities so that subjective norms and subjective value systems become signified to form the basis for defining ethnicity and nationality. Within this context, she traces a further dimension of vulnerability as socially constructed within the objectification of social relationships

15 See also Miles (1982); Phizacklea & Miles (1980) on a Marxist theoretical analysis of the social construction of race.

16 See also Miles in Anthias (2001b).

existing between individuals and groups. Subsequently according to her, gender, class, and ethnicity as structural constructs constitute context contingent and heterogeneous categories constructed within heterogeneous regimes, institutions and historical legacies.¹⁷

To deconstruct the structural underpinnings of subjectivity and collective identities, the categories and hypothesis empirically emerging in my research are strongly aligned with Miles' (1982; 1984) and Miles & Phizacklea's neo-Marxist theorisation debating the scientific validation of race (Miles & Phizacklea 1980): Whereas Miles and Phizacklea identify the relevance of conceptualising social differentiation in terms of processes underpinning racialisation as opposed to conferring analytical meaning to the category race (Miles & Phizacklea 1980), the categories from the German case study point out to the relevance of conceptualising and theorising biographical data (Glaser & Strauss, Section 3) in terms of ethnisation processes as they relate to exclusion, diversity and gender by contrast to race. This perspective while empirically emerging seems to provide a more pragmatic and transformatory approach to the dynamics of transnationalism, identity and social cohesion. Within a deconstructionist framework, ethnicity appears to empirically emerge as a structural category constructed not only within multidimensional inequalities of power and international class relations but also within in the interplay with institutional and legislative processes, multi-fold geopolitical conditionings, congruent and conflicting relationships with time and spatial dynamics as well as a host of historical and symbolic processes (Section 4.4–4.6). Therefore to conceptualise my data on subjectivity, status and collective identities, I will draw on Phizacklea (1984) and Miles (1982 & 1984) to reject both a culturalist approach to ethnicity as well as the notion and application of race as analytical category. Instead I will integrate Lenz (1995) approach to ethnicity as a structural and differentiating category with analytical relevance fostering a structural analysis of difference and its historical and political underpinnings within transnational social spaces (Section 4.6.1 & 4.6.2).

I argue that this structural approach to ethnicity provides a theoretical foundation for advancing a more sophisticated approach to categories which is adhesive to context sensitive multiple and multi level interventions (3.1.2).

Within this framework, my empirical findings suggest further that an expansion of the margins of intersectionality through a scientific incorporation of

17 Review critically Gutiérrez Rodríguez (1999).

the theories of social closure as they relate to migrant status and industrial relations is pertinent to theorising ethnicity and deconstructing biographies (Section 4.6.5 & 4.7). As I have repeatedly shown, whereas Portes (1995) brings into analysis the structural and relational embeddedness, Anthias expands on these perspectives through the concept of (trans)locational positionality to theorise gender, ethnicity and class in relation to the notion of multiple intersecting identities, their social construction within complex, shifting locations, dislocations and their contradictory outcomes (Anthias 2001a & 2002, Section 4.6.1 & 4.6.2).¹⁸ This approach is essential to understanding ethnicity because it facilitates integration of the social networks perspective into analysis with a view to highlight the implications of class, gender, ambivalent locations, social political positioning and collective social organisation for the social construction and transformation of difference, hierarchisation and marginalisation (Section 4.7). As I will demonstrate in the next sections, Bourdieu's concept of habitus further enriches multidimensionality and multi level interventions (Section 4.6.1; 4.6.2 & 9.4.1) through a complication of the convergences of social structures, symbolic systems and embodied habitus. As well, through theorisation of the notions of cultural and corporeal capital in order to contemplate the materialisation, institutionalisation and (de)legitimation of belonging. Whilst these mechanisms structurally and psychologically hierarchise, subordinate and marginalise ethnicized gender, this view underscores the importance of a deepened understanding of the dynamics of diversity and exclusion as multidimensional processes that cannot be conceived narrowly in terms of racism. As well, to broaden understanding of the structural underpinnings of ethnicity, the empirical categories generated in Germany's performative oriented egalitarian habitus point out to the need for integrating ability and disability as analytical categories (Section 9.5).

Integrating ethnicity as a category of analysis as opposed to race has the generative potential for transformatory action.

Since this perspective builds on the works of previous social scientist, pedagogists and social activists that have contributed extensively to deconstructing racism, this provides an historical framework with empirical relevance and meaning of conscientisation for future praxis orientation and subjectification practices.

18 For a deeper analysis on the issue of translocational positionality, see Anthias, Section 4.7.1

Since ethnicity as a category of analysis implicitly incorporates a cultural similarity perspective as a cohesive basis (Section 5.3) in which all people are conceived as mere ethnicities (Miles & Phizacklea, Section 4.5.2), this can contribute to deconstructing internalization in both dominant and minority groups while providing an international framework for confronting diversity and difference including what scholars have hitherto unsightly referred to as, 'tribalism'. This is specifically true in view of the growing fragmentation of (im)migrant communities through the uncritically reflected salient constructions of difference on the basis of ethnicity (*tribes*).

4.5.3 *Integrating Ability and Disability as Analytical Categories*

Less attention has been paid to ability and disability and the intersections with ethnicity, gender and class within international migration research (See Stienstra 2002). However, feminist scholars like Rose Marie Garland Thomson, have contributed to the debate on the social construction of identities through a focus on selectivity mechanisms linked to the intersections of social political, biomedical and technocultural systems of representation and their outcomes for ranking, legitimising and subordinating specific identities over others (Rose Marie Garland Thomson 1997). Froschl, Rubin and Sprung while identifying discrimination as a challenge for all people with disabilities, have highlighted the complex vulnerability of women and girls, which is intrinsically linked to the interface of the multiple disadvantages as a result of the double and triple discrimination on the basis of sexism, ethnicity and disability (Froschl, Rubin & Sprung 2007). To concretise these arguments, research understudying gender specific labour market segmentation has addressed the causes and implications of gender, age, disability and ethnicity as discriminatory variables. In this regard, Offe (1977) has argued on the basis of his famous study on the structure of unemployment in West Germany that the high unemployment rates of women, young people, people with disabilities and immigrants reflect the alternative social roles that these groups are vested with in welfare states. According to him, special welfare arrangements and cultural norms facilitate and legitimate the labour market exclusion of these groups for trade unions and for the affected groups. Therefore, he conceptualises gender, age, ability, and active citizenship as ascribed attributes rather than possessive properties (Gottschall 1999).

4.5.4 *Empirical Relevance*

Whereas attention to (dis)ability demands a broad framework integrating the categories mental, intellectual, physical ability and their differentiated implications for the affected (Rose Mary Garland Thomson 1997; Nichols 2003), such a conceptualisation seems to bear significant meaning within the context of an aging society (Nichols 2003). In considering Germany within the dominant paradigm of a *Leistungsgesellschaft*/Performative, egalitarian *Habitus* and shifting social Catholicism, some of the biographies in my research indicated that the salience of physical and mental ability in terms of hard work, punctuality, language, order, age and humanitarianism coupled with the ability to conform to norms of transparency, social justice, equality, fairness, truth, tolerance and acceptance seemed to constitute the major basis for social integration rather than skin colour or race (Chapter 9). Since Lim postulates that migrant women embody the interactions between the norms and attitudes of female status in sending and receiving countries (Lim 1995), the social democratic paradigm has been linked to the relative less salient constructions of ethnicity that is observed amongst immigrant communities embedded within the class-based hierarchisation mechanisms of England's class habitus (Chapter 8).

4.5.5 *Multivariate Structural Ambivalence, Dual Ontology and Subalternism*

Authors have not considered the social demographic structures of families (Lim 1995) in terms of changing patriarchal social institutions as constantly transformed through colonialism, capitalism, globalisation, transnationalism and their implications for the social construction of difference on the basis of gender, class, ethnicity within collective identities (Chapter 9.10–9.13). This absence as it relates to the socialisation of gender within the structurally transformed postmodern polygamous family systems has hindered a critical understanding of the dynamics of (trans)locationality, materialisation of belonging and identity as they relate to social cohesion, health components and democratisation (Section 9.10–9.13). Findings in this category have concretised further the already empirically identified need for deconstruction through a structural approach and multi level analysis fusing feminist analysis of capitalism, family and the domestic sphere with Germany's shifting social democratic/Marxian paradigms¹⁹ and egalitarian habitus as an orienta-

19 For a definition of the social democratic paradigm see Dittrich & Lenz (1994).

tion model that parallels the traditionally egalitarian and collective systems of African societies (Section 4.4 6.1.6 & 8.6.2).²⁰

Critical to deconstructing biographies within this framework is an integration of Becker-Schmidt and Knapp's conceptualisation of 'ambivalent gendered subjectivities' (Section 4.4) to facilitate a confrontation of postmodern socialisation and individuation processes shaped by triad ontological structuring – a transient web of manifold ambivalent social locations, systems of subordination, complex differentiation and their simultaneous interplay underpinned by confluent and dislocating mechanisms that Giddens has sociologically identified as the increasing disembedding from externally referential systems, symbolic relations and the emergence of complex abstract systems of internal referentiality (Giddens 1984; see also Giddens, Section 9.9).²¹ My theorisation will be framed within a postcolonial and structural analysis to facilitate differentiated understanding of the historical situativity of abstract systems in African societies, specifically their evolution within hegemonic power constellations, abstract discursive practices and the ambivalence of double time and space (Fanon 1969; Bhabha Hommi 2000). I argue that these have complex outcomes for constructing alienated, submerged and multiple consciousness (Freire 1972; Foucault 1980)²², or subaltern identities as Spivak puts it (1988; 1990). This perspective is significant for the deconstruction of biographies since it not only unveils the social structural underpinnings of subjectivity in a context of intersecting macro and mezzo factors and their implications for impacting structural, cultural shifts and antagonistic mechanism at the micro household level, but it also destabilises essentialist and pathologist conceptualisations of the self (Chapter 9).

To broaden this perspective, I will draw on post-structural theory and position analysis of hegemonic discourses as well as their implications for consciousness, modes of self-construction and social identities beyond the colonial oppositional power binaries of oppressed-oppressor to integrate the intersectional approach and draw attention to the implications of nexus identity constructions within pluralistic axes of oppression and subordination²³ through a focus on the multiplicity, shifting, juxta positionings of subjectivities and

20 For a similar view compare Dilger & Wolf (2004) with references.

21 To avoid static images and homogenisation of culture as a concept, Tsiakalos (1992) points out to the need for differentiating between the degeneration of humanity with culture.

22 Foucault (1980) addressed the role of discourse in subjugating the knowledges of marginalised groups.

23 See also Crenshaw on intersectional vulnerability (Section, 4.6.1).

their dynamic interaction with structural processes (Section 4.1 & 4.2). To highlight the implications of gender hierarchies and gender oppression within polygamous family systems, I will implicitly draw on Anthias (2002) in her poststructuralist theorisation of multilayered identities to bring into perspective the variety of social relations and positions occupied by women in the diverse categories of difference and location as they are shaped and reshaped by juxta positionings in which some identities are configured as both subjects and agents of oppression (Section 4.2). Thus, it is possible to problematise the complexity and challenges that intersectional oppression posits for gender identity and social cohesion.

We know, however, that women are not passive reactors to processes but that they actively deploy agency (Anthias 2001 & 2002; Hillman 1996; Lim 1995; Butler 1995; Becker-Schmidt 1995; Morokvasic 1987). Subjectivities are never finished, sealed entities or closed totalities but are located in a continual process of future becoming (Stuart Hall 1996a; 1996b; 1996b & 1991) through their constant reflexivity (Mead 1934). They are always constituted within representation and the continued search of diasporic narratives of displacement for an identity (Stuart Hall 1996a). Within the tensions and negotiations of 'inn-group' and 'out-group', (Tajfel & Turner 1986), individual preferences, group identification and social identities are constructed through the active creative agency of subjectivities (See Tajfel, 1981; Turner 1985).²⁴

Consequently, to integrate the human agency approach and theorise women's struggle to change structures of oppression within this framework (Section 4.3), their active performative roles and reflexive self-construction can be conceived in terms of a counter hegemonic discourse bearing different meanings for heterogeneous women located within different social positionings and life trajectories.

As elsewhere already mentioned, grounded theory and pedagogical approaches whilst critically fusing analysis of structural and social interactionist models will provide the necessary tools for resolving the conflict between voluntarism and structural determinism. Thus, I will seek to resolve the contradictions articulated through the sociological overemphasis on the reflexive ability of agents in changing structures and the overemphasis on the impacts of structures in constraining agency (Sections 3.5.1). Whilst approaching the consciousness of the postcolonial subjectivities as conditioned rather than

24 Review critically Dahlia Moore (2000) on the social construction of gender identity, nationalism and social action.

emancipatory (Section 4.6.2.3), I will draw on critical pedagogy to identify and unveil the material and signifying contexts in which oppressive meaning has been historically constructed while also making their dislocating implications the objects of reflection within capacity building (Freire; Section 4.6). It is therefore possible to draw on Becker-Schmidt's conceptualisation to pedagogically construct subjective and objective ambivalence tolerance as a critical adoptive tool for postcolonial subjectivities (Becker-Schmidt, Section 4.6.2.3).

Freire from a critical pedagogical point of view integrates a strength based perspective to underline the significant importance of approaching the oppressed within a dialogical context deconstructing domestication and promoting emancipatory conceptualisations of the self through both a critical insertion of subjectivities into their social political environments and a transformatory perspective that recognises possibilities for change while fostering new constructions of reality (Freire 1970 & 1972).

In this light, I understand my work in terms of social development and a supportive role investigating the transformatory capacity and educational needs of women with a view to evolve pedagogical interventionist approaches that can empower women with analytical resources and tools for bringing about change through their own doing (Review critically, Freire 1970).

Grounded theory through its critical framework (Strauss & Glaser 1967; Glaser 1978; Strauss & Corbin 1990), makes possible the development of a pedagogy for the people with the people (See Freire 1970) – Not only are the aspired changes anchored in evidence based knowledge to facilitate workability and outcomes for bottom-up processes (See critically, Strauss & Glaser 1967; Glaser 1978; Strauss & Corbin 1990) but also theoretical sampling and biographic interviews (Glaser 1978) provide a forum for critical inquiry in which men as subjects rather than recipients or objects of discursive practices pursue meaning in cooperative and respectful dialogue with each other (Freire 1970 & 1972).

Best practices for theoretical practice orientation and capacity building are developed within the structural context of the threefold vulnerability model in conjunction with critical pedagogy, feminist approaches, intersectional analysis and systems oriented sociological perspectives. To conceptualise my data, I will explore the implications of intersectional vulnerability for the social construction of subjectivities within modern family systems as it relates to

outcomes for ethnicity, status, class, identity and social cohesion in a context of transnationalism, globalisation and postmodernity.

4.6 Fourfold Oppression Model

4.6.1 Intersectional Vulnerability, Multivariate Structural Ambivalence and Subjectification

Subjectivity and consciousness constitute components added to the analytical dimensions of the feminist threefold oppression model and they are significantly gaining meaning. Wetterer (1992) and Becker Schmidt (1995) emphasize a focus on the self and its construction in relation to reflexivity by investigating the role of the active performing individual in light of their ability to change structures. Looking at modes of self-construction and their implication for agency, Morokvasic (1983) has argued for a coherent attention to consciousness as a category of analysis. She proposed a fourth dimension to the threefold-vulnerability model to illustrate that women continue to bear the brunt of multiple inscriptions of barriers of difference and discrimination not only because they are women or because they belong to the working class and are members of the minority groups but also because they are into accepting subordination as normal. In this regard, postcolonial theorists have repeatedly conceptualised the consciousness and agency of colonial subjects as conditioned in nature rather than emancipatory due to the historical subjugating dynamics of power and structure (Foucault 1969; Freire 1970 & 1972; Spivak 1989 & 1990; Derrida 1994).²⁵

To avoid the limitations inherent in voluntarism that overemphasizes the reflexive abilities of subjects to solve social problems and determinism that overemphasizes the role of structures in constraining agency (Section 3.5.1), Glaser underscores the importance of analyzing the interaction between basic social psychological processes and the basic social structural processes (Glaser 1978).²⁶ Subsequently, critical pedagogy has underscored the important relevance of identifying and unveiling the material and signifying contexts in which oppressive meaning has been historically constructed while also making social political categories and their dislocating implications the objects of reflection within capacity building (Freire 1972). In this sense,

25 Review also, Section 4.5.4.

26 This intrinsic relationship means that the sociologist focuses on explicating the ways in which processes actually process problems (Glaser 1978).

scholars whilst integrating a systems oriented approach underscore the important relevance of locating and theorising postcolonial subjectivities and their subjectification practices within the structural conditionings of abstract epistemic systems especially as they relate to postcolonial legacies and residues (Review critically, Spivak 1989, 1988 & 1990; Derrida 1994; Foucault 1969 & 1980; Freire 1970 & 1972; Stuart Hall 1978a; 1978b; 1978c)²⁷. Thus, bringing into analysis the dimensions of disalienation, subaltern nostalgic consciousness and their dislocating implications (Freire 1970 & 1972; Spivak 1988 & 1990). Here, postcolonialist like Fanon (1969 & 1967), Foucault 1969 & 1980 and Bhabha Hommi (2000) integrate the concept of double ontology to theorise the complex discursive conjunctures, their implications for splitting the consciousness, dualising subjectification practices of post-colonial subjectivities and the constraints of identity construction within the ambivalence of double time and space. To explicate the specific jeopardy and ambivalence of postcolonial subjectivities, this analysis of postcolonial double ontology must be linked to analysis of the double ontology of gender as a result of the unequal incorporation of the household and feminised roles within capitalistic modes of productions. Hence the notion of triad ontologies or triad ambivalent gendered subjectivities could be introduced to accurately articulate the postcoloniality of gendered identities (Section 4.4).

To theorise subjectification practices against this background, Giddens (1984) through his structuration theory conceptualises the dialectic between agency and structure and how this conditions the continuous production and reproduction of the social order. Whereas the pedagogist Bernstein (1990 & 1994) theorises the production, re-contextualisation and reproduction of particular forms of consciousness, specific social identities, social boundaries and orientation to meaning as rooted in social relations, both scholars facilitate critical inquiry into the social structural underpinnings of meaning (*ibid.*). Therefore, to clearly articulate postcolonial subjectification practices and capacity for recognising and changing structures of oppression, the postcolonial scientific debate on the social construction of difference, subaltern and gendered identities within colonial legislative and institutional processes as they relate to the transformation of fluid social relations, essentialisation and fixation of colonial subjectivities through codification of ethnicity²⁸ has been particularly important.

27 Review critically, Section 4.5.4.

28 Nabudere (1981 & 1982).

As I will demonstrate below drawing on Bhabha Hommi, difference and subordinative agency as an internalized social construct and subaltern subjectification category has also been linked to the implications of Western representationalist discourses for arbitrary, differentially and systemically conditioning the construction of social and cultural signs (Bhabha Hommi 2003). Whereas scholars (Derrida 1992, 1994; Spivak 1989; Hall 1978a & 1980a) emphasize the logic and discursive context in which narratives are constructed,²⁹ Foucauldian postmodern theorisation, conceives subjectivity in terms of a structural configuration and manifestation of socially constructed categories within hegemonic and counter hegemonic discourses that are historically situated and legitimated through discursive practices, power and political practice (Foucault 1965, 1980 & 1982)³⁰. Althusser whilst underscoring the centrality of discourse and cultural contexts for the social construction of subjectivities, theorises the self and gender in terms of structured social political categories. Thus, locating subjectivity and its constitution within the mechanisms of ideology, heterogeneous regimes, institutional dynamics as well as daily norms and practices (Althusser 1971).

Consequently, within Foucauldian postmodernist feminist discourse analysis (Foucault 1965 & 1980), theories attentive to the historicity of texts and textuality of history (See critically, Mantrose 1989; Hall 1970)³¹ have emerged in connection with increased recognition of the role of subject positionalities, active performative agency and the ability of subjects to engage in and generate meanings out of texts (Hall 1980a; Smith, qtd. in: Skeggs 2001a).

To theorise consciousness as setting the stage for subjectification, performativity and change practices within the fourfold model of oppression, I will fuse systematic research on international migration with the hitherto untheorised social cultural background of (im)migrants. I will explicate the nexus of postcolonial subjectivity, multifarious structural ambivalence, shifting terrains, multiple geopolitical conditionings, historical situativity, congruent and contradictory relationships of time and space (Chapter 4). Drawing on feminist, sociological poststructural approaches, I will theorise self-making in terms of the ways in which difference and gendered selves are constructed, contested and transformed at the discursive conjunctures of transnational and

29 Review also Gutiérrez Rodríguez (1999).

30 See also critically the works of Spivak (1989, 1990); Derrida (1994).

31 In addition, Stuart Hall problematizes the implications of a textually mediated world in which the interpretation of events and their meaning is intrinsically linked to their representation (Stuart Hall 1970).

postcolonial locations and displacements (Review critically Alexander & Mohanty 1996). For Stuart Hall (1991:49). The premise is that identity as an antagonistic category is socially constructed as a contradictory notion, framed through numerous conflicting and competing discourses which are not only consistently composed across the silences of the other but are also written in a context of ambivalence and desire (Section 4.6.1 & 4.6.2). The relevance of locating and theorising diasporic identities and subjectification practices within their social construction in a framework of binaries and social spaces created between them (Stuart Hall 1996b) as intersecting gendered axes of difference (Crenshaw, Section 4.1.1) has subsumed central relevance.

To explicate further the relationship between structure and agency and show how subjectivities are conditioned to function in oppressive structures, Some have integrated dialectic analysis to problematise alterity paradigms and have hence raised questions regarding the constitution of identities as the self in the other and the other in the self (Said 1978). Poststructuralists and pedagogists have questioned authority issues as they relate to representationalist discourses and the legitimacy of knowledge production within hegemonic relations (See critically Foucault 1965, 1980 & 1982; Freire 1970, 1972 & 1974; Hall 1999). As already mentioned above, Bhabha Hommi critiques the ways in which Western representationalist discourses arbitrary, differentially and systemically conditioned the construction of social and cultural signs (Bhabha Hommi 2003).

Within the fourfold oppression model, one can also theorise the materialisation of belonging and cultural space as reinforcers of subordinate agency (Section 8 & 9). The analytical fusion of the historicity of gender, double location and class as they relate to objective generating structures and their implications for framing subjective practices and the psychological modes of representation constitutes a central deconstructive approach in this area (Nuscheler 1995b). Nuscheler concretises postcolonial subjectification practices in terms of the social construction of cultural inequalities and the implications of class as a signifier of difference. He does this through his analysis of the occupational identity of postcolonial subjectivities as it relates to the stimulation of Eurocentric class based cultural capital, symbolic artefacts, tastes and value judgments in a local context structured by wide economic inequalities (1995b)³². Said similarly analyzes the configuration and implications of exotic images and Eurocentric paradigms as psycho-sociological sys-

32 Compare also Brett (1973); Fanon (1969) and Bhaba Hommi (2000).

tems of representation (Said 1978). Globalisation has become an increasingly relevant theme (Dietrich & Lenz 1994). Empirically this analytical scope can be expanded through Bourdieu's theory of praxis to incorporate insights into the operations of symbolic interaction and cultural configurations of class (Bourdieu 1997, 1984 & 1993)³³. As well, through his concept of Habitus, social field and unequal incorporation to problematise the relevance of dominant social norms, social practices, hierarchical structures and their implications for the discursive construction of identities and practices of subjectification within the nexus of power and knowledge (Bourdieu 1984; 1992a & 1992b). This includes comprehending the triple inscription of gender, ethnicity and class in a context problematising the variable distributions of identities in social space as a result of the compositions, evolution, trajectories of their cultural capital and the reflexive performativity of affected agents (Bourdieu, qtd. in: Skeggs 2001a).

In their synthesis of the basic premises of feminist genealogists, Mohanty and Alexander (1996) argue for a deliberate focus on the implications of global capitalism and the consolidation of multi-national corporations for the diffusion of Eurocentric life styles and consumer culture in relation to how inequality structures cultural representations. In terms of reflexive performativity as it relates to the capacity for recognising structures of oppression and collectively organising through social political mobilisation, it is significant that this seems to materialise belonging, fragmentise collectivisation practices in a way that hinders social transformation. Subsequently, fixations and dichotomisations of us/them based on class, ethnicity and social status observed within migrant communities (Section 8.6.2) manifest some of the ways in which heterogeneous patterns of perpetuation, disruption and dismantling of colonial legacies can empirically be concretised, how they intersect with structural processes and are implicated in women's biographies, consciousness and social identities and how this can be linked to the social construction of a plurality of antagonisms and multiplicity of ambivalences that Gilroy also identifies in his works (1992 & 1993a). Most specifically this can be theorised in terms of their implications for social capital (Chapter 8 & 9). Therefore as earlier discussed above, this implies that any comprehensive approaches and theoretical framework in which transformatory pedagogy, sociology and feminism as critical interventionist and theoretical tools for contestation can

33 See, Section 6.1.1 and Chapter 8 & 9.

be developed must take into account the manifold dimensions, intersections and transformations of constructed identities (Section 4.1.1).

Whereas such a complex theorisation facilitates multidimensional and intersectional problematisation³⁴ of difference in terms of complex social change and positionalities as they relate to the multiple intersecting identities with complex hierarchical and asymmetrical relations whose symbolic and material manifestations are conditioned by shifting locations and dislocations as a result of the interplay of ethnicity, class, gender and subjectivity within transnational social space (Anthias, Section 4.7), I have empirically demonstrated that, this broadened focus facilitates a destabilization of race as analytical category (Section 4.5.2). At a higher level of conceptualisation, the fusion of postcolonial discourses with nexus analysis incorporating Bourdieu's post-structural theory of practice (Bourdieu 1992a; 1983; 1984; 1993 & 1997), Giddens' and Bernstein's structuration theory as well as Anthias (trans)locational model (Section 4.7.1) can be viewed as instrumental in empirically demonstrating the various ways in which subjects draw upon and reconstruct postcolonial legacies and residues within processes of self-making, situativity in hierarchisation mechanisms and shifting matrixes of social fragmentation (Chapter 8.7 & 8.6.2). Within this framework and within the context of cultural hybridity, Bailey and Stuart Hall (1992:2) introduce the notion of fractured and decentred identities (Section 4.6.2).

Theorisation of deterritorialisation processes as they relate to and are conditioned by disembodied cultural representation (Bhabha Hommi 2003) can analytically be approached at two different levels: On one hand, it demands a focus on the complex intersecting implications for the configuration, reconfiguration of hierarchies of corporeal identities and underpinnings of class distinctions (Skeggs 2001a). On the other hand as empirical findings from Britain's class habitus, have also illustrated (Section 8.6.2–8.9), this demands analysis of the implications of hierarchisation for identity, diversity, exclusion, social cohesion and social capital by highlighting the notions of gendered classified bodies as social constructs, their intersections with ethnicity and gender and their implications for differentiation processes (Skeggs 2001a)³⁵.

34 On multi-dimensional and intersectional approaches see, Section 4.1.1.

35 Skeggs (2001a) in her analysis of the labour of appearing feminine, draws attention to the ways in which class distinctions underpin the symbolic economy, operations of hierarchies in the markets of corporeal capital and their intersections which have major implications for the structural constitution of gendered identities, judgments of the female body and the contemporary politics of recognition, power, legitimation and marginalisation.

Spivak draws on the Anti-Oedipus expansion of Marxian arguments to combine a cultural and materialistic analysis of value, its emergence and its coding as a structural category governed by social relations (Spivak 2003). He argues that since capital decoded and deterritorialized the socius by releasing the abstract, it also led to a crisis which contemporary discursive systems of marginality seek to resolve through codings of value in the politico-cognitive sphere (Spivak 2003: 205). 'In that sense, 'postcoloniality' as a deconstructionist framework shifts from marginality and frozen entity to position itself into the centre as a transformatory tool (Spivak 2003: 206).

To summarize the foregoing analysis, scholars have underscored the importance of locating women's everyday experiences within the framework of the larger social, structural and ideological contexts conditioning experience (Smith 1987; Anderson 1997). It is through the work of poststructuralist and postcolonial subaltern discourses like (Foucault 1969; Althusser 1971; Spivak 1988 & 1990a; Derrida 1994;) and critical pedagogical and sociological analysis of consciousness and its constitution within historical situativity, ideological relations, economic and geopolitical conditionings (Freire 1970 & 1972)³⁶ that implications of the interplay between agency, discourse and institutional processes become most apparent.

4.6.2 *Empirical Application of the Framework*

4.6.2.1 Deconstructing Fixation and Structural Ambivalence

Viewing complex power constellations, colonial legacies and colonial residues as complex processes of social change which are manifested as constitutive of postcolonial subjectivities, it is possible to problematise and contest subaltern identities in a framework integrating the threefold/fourfold oppression model (Section 4.4 & 4.6) whilst also explicating the problematic of dual/triad orientation with a view to theorise the implications of structural gendered ambivalence (Becker Schmidt & Knap, Section 4.4–4.5). Whereas this stresses the relevance of integrating eclectic approaches, intersecting theories and structural analysis for the deconstruction of biographies, my empirical findings suggest that the relationship between multiple, conflicting

36 From a structural social works perspective, Mullaly whilst drawing from Horton (1996) to make his point, defines alienation in terms of a separation from the social systems and a separation of people from each other in a society that reduces them to commodities and subjugates them to a loss of their collective consciousness (Mullaly 2007). Basing on the example of Aboriginal consciousness, McKenzie and Morrissette (2003) concretize the implications of colonial alienation for self worth, community, cultural and self identity.

and sometimes also congruent discourses shaping and reshaped by locationality within pluralistic axes of subordination³⁷ must be explored (Chapter 4). To fuse international migration with the sociology of the labour market and the social cultural background of migrants, I will explicate the nexus of post-colonial subjectivity, multifarious structural ambivalence, multiple geopolitical conditionings, historical situativity, shifting terrains, the contradictory and congruent relationships of time and space (Chapter 4). To resolve the analytical tension between voluntarism and determinism, and to explicate the structural constitution of nexus identities, I will fuse Bourdieu's theory of practice with Giddens' and Bernstein's structuration theory as well as Anthias (trans)-locational positionality models (Section 4.6.1). This interpretation of multidimensionality, intersectionality and multiple interventions has complicated identity studies by destabilising the validity of race as analytical category and promoting a cultural similarity perspective approaching difference in terms of the structural constitution of ethnicity within unequal international relations of production (4.5.2).

In considering the fusion of objective structures as complex processes of social change, subjective practices and processes of self-making, the categories in my research articulate the uncritically reflected salience of ethnicity with fixation, differentiation and sometimes also pathological dimensions increasingly shaping the identities of (im)migrant women of similar national backgrounds (Section 8.6.2–8.9). As I shall argue in chapter five, these emergings can be amongst other things traced to the ideological shortcomings that have prompted the narrow implementation of targeted programs aimed at addressing the educational needs and subjectification practices of mainstream communities as a result of an over-emphasis on diversities across categories and the failure to address diversities within minority categories (Section 5). The notion of cultural hybridity³⁸ offers theoretical and analytical resources for deconstructing hegemonic fixations and binarisation within colonial institutional and legislative processes, specifically those relating to the structural codification of ethnicity.

One classification of counter hegemonic discourses is through Bhabha Hommi's notion of temporarily and his debate on the third space which he integrates to theorise cultural hybridity as analytical category, enabling the

37 See also Crenshaw and the framework of analysis on intersectional vulnerability (Section, 4.1.1).

38 Ang (2001) postulates that the concept of hybridity is effective in destabilizing the essentiality of the self/other dichotomies as well as the notions of fixed identities in modern society.

conceptualisation of identities as non coherent, less unified and less directed, while also bringing into analysis the implications of changing historical and discursive conjunctures with the generative potential for destabilizing the essentiality, homogenization, territorialisation and fixation of ethnicity within transnationalism (Bhabha Hommi 1990b). To make his arguments, he locates the constitution of diasporic subjectivities within the third space described as the ambivalent space of cultural representation in between sameness and otherness (Bhabha Hommi 1990b). Similarly, Bailey and Stuart Hall (1992:2) whilst contesting conventional assumptions about ethnic absolutism, articulate the notion of fractured and decentred identities.³⁹ Anthias, through a post-structural analysis of identity constructs a twofold deconstructionist approach that seeks to reconceptualise the notion of difference within a framework problematising boundaries in terms of imaginaries and fluid constructions as opposed to fixation and rigidities (Anthias 2001a). In educational policy terms, this view is congruent with critical pedagogy because it offers building blocks for advancing social reflexivity and modes of self-construction that foster social cohesion of oppressed communities. Basing on the narratives of women, I will empirically illustrate the various ways in which difference is not only structurally configured in subjectivities (Chapter 8 & 9) but also reproduced within specific situations including how it is explained, circulated and how difference as a construct interferes with various structures of power (Nadine Dolby 2000: 900 & 901).

4.6.2.2 Postcolonial Pedagogy, Sociology and Social Work Praxis

As partially introduced in the foregoing analysis, integrating the above conceptualised notion of cultural hybridity as a category of analysis in combination with intersectional approaches enables (Section 4.6.2.2) a postcolonial pedagogy, sociology and social work praxis by facilitating as Bernstein postulates, critical inquiry into the social structural and social political underpinnings of identities (Bernstein, Section 4.6.1). Emancipatory pedagogical interventionist models seek a fusion of the perspectives developed here to incorporate a transformatory approach that takes into account not only the consciousness of the affected at the level of subjectivity but also social reflexivity in the broader communities in which they are embedded (Freire

39 From a somewhat different perspective, mainstream theorist Estivil (2003:51) in her analysis on social exclusion, problematizes time and space as they relate to economic cycles, demographic changes and the intergenerational inter-linkages or transmission of the conditions of inequality (Section 4.1.1).

1970 & 1972). Thus, drawing on liberative pedagogy (Freire 1970; 1972 & 1993) and classic sociological and postcolonial paradigms (Section 4.6.1), I will argue that understanding the contexts and structures in which subaltern consciousness is developed and that identifying the trajectories of disruption, fragmentation and perpetuation of colonial residues provides a framework in which transformatory pedagogy and sociology as critical interventionist and theoretical tools for contestation can be developed. My research empirically draws on a comparative analysis of colonised-coloniser encounters as England's case demonstrates and colonised-less coloniser encounters as the Germany case extensively demonstrates. In other words, my findings illuminate the ways in which spatial spaces are structurally configured within processes of transnationalism and how this impacts on the social construction, re-construction and transformation of consciousness, agency and modes of self-construction which as I have argued constitute the key determinants for social cohesion (Chapter 8 & 9).

4.6.2.3 Social Democratic, Marxian Paradigms and Ambivalence Tolerance as Deconstructionist Models

Whereas the above perspectives form the point of departure for my data analysis, I will argue here on the basis of the hypothesis emerging from research categories in Germany, that beside structural policy initiatives, an attention to the social-democratic and Marxian paradigms within educational processes is fundamental to advancing deconstruction of colonial disalienation, while also providing cornerstones for evolving critical indigenous pedagogy and facilitating the social construction of collective identities. Since the egalitarian social democratic/Marxian paradigms parallel the traditional Ubuntu habitus and collective systems of pre-colonial African societies, this further legitimates their workability and pedagogical relevance. Within this framework, Becker-Schmidt's conceptualisation of subjective and objective ambivalence tolerance offers further critical tools for empowerment (Becker-Schmidt 1987b). My comparative analysis of women's biographies in England and Germany is designed to demonstrate the empirical relevance of the geopolitical, ideological and historical specificity of narratives (Chapter 8 & 9).

4.6.3 *Diversity of Literature Reviews vs. Knowledge Fragmentation*

The drastic rise in international labour migration and its associated increased importance in sustaining the European capitalist systems (Castles & Kosack 1973 & 1985) have awakened increased interest for the migration thematic

both in public discussions and scientific literature as illustrated through the rapid increase in the publications on the topic (Anthias 2001a, 2000). This is especially true given the increased feminisation⁴⁰ of labour and migration in a context of rapid global changes characterised by large numbers of refugee flows and undocumented migrants (See Hillman 1996; Potts 1993; Koser 1997; Anderson & Phizacklea 1997; Lutz 1997; Castles & Miller 1998). As well, the growing recruitment of migrant women in the services sector (Oso & Garson 2005). To avoid a reproduction of existing knowledge, it is important to draw attention to the variety of reviews and different works distinguishing the current theoretical debate and level of research. Amongst feminist scholars specialising in gender issues, reference has been made to the scientific works and publications of authors like the UN Secretariat (1995), Lim (1995); Hillman (1996), whereby Morokvasic (1983) comprehensive analysis offers critical perspectives on the different approaches that have distinguished the varying historical phases of female visibilisation in migration research. Although her review is relatively old, it is critical to understanding the migration problematic since the issues addressed still prominently shape current research. Albeit in reconceptualised forms.

In Germany, scholars from intercultural pedagogy like Nora Rätzhel and Anita Kalpaka (1993) have contributed richly to the historical development of the debate on 'racism' within the German scientific community. Whilst Gutierrez Rodríguez (1999) and the OECD report (2005) adequately review the broader trends regarding the feminisation process and the visibility of women in labour migration, Ochse's (1999) comparative analysis broadens the perspective to include the American context. Drawing on both mainstream and feminist approaches Karin Gottschall's (1999a) literature review, offers critical perspectives on the dynamics of labour market segmentation, social inequality and their implications for gender, ethnicity and class within the German sociological debate. It is important to note that, whilst the general research on women has stayed behind (Gabaccia 1991:61; Weinberg 1992), mainstream approaches have provided useful information at the macro level as well as addressed sociological issues that have important relevance to the empirical findings in this work. Despite their gender blindness, the empirical findings strongly suggest that these approaches can usefully be applied particularly because of their potential for shedding light to the dimension of economic integration. Thus, alleviating some of the limitations inherent in the

40 For a more detailed analysis on the feminisation of migration, see Chapter 1.

micro sociological perspectives that have dominated research on women (Chapter 1; Section 4.8 & 4.10). Authors in this category include Heisler (2000); Brettell (2000); Faist (2001) and Tilly (1990). Incorporating some of their views and the views of the authors presented in their studies is hence central to our overview in this chapter (Section 5.4–5.6).

4.6.4 *The Assimilationist Perspective*

Migration as a dynamic aspect and scientific theme is multi-disciplinary approached by anthropologists, demographers, psychologists, pedagogist and the historians etc. In the economic field, research concentrates on the causes of migration as well as the economic, social and political consequences in the destination societies. Drawing from Hillman (1996), it is possible to postulate that scientific research has been shaped to an extent through the discrepancy between macro and the micro sociological oriented approaches and the analytical attempts to reconcile the two. Whilst within the framework of economic analysis and geographical research, much attention evolved around problems of the labour market, the ‘Gastarbeiter’ phenomenon crystallized as a major theme which also drastically impacted on the evolution of policy, legislation and institutional regulation of migration, social work, intercultural, social pedagogical praxis and the gender dimensions (Nora Rätzkel & Anita Kalpaka 1993). As well, social networks and kinship relations (Hillman 1996; Böhning 1972; Beyer 1976).

Within the German Sociological debate, the ‘Gastarbeiter phenomenon’ has been identified as one single factor that significantly influenced the early development of research on migrant women (Nora Rätzkel & Anita Kalpaka 1993, See also critically, Section 4.8). According to Rätzkel and kalpaka (1993) and the scholars showcased in their review, as the Gastarbeiter movement evolved into the permanent settlement of (im)migrants and influenced the development of new educational programs, community and settlement projects, this awakened interest of feminist scholars in research. Following these new developments, disciplines in the broader social sciences whilst integrating micro sociological oriented perspectives largely incorporated analysis of assimilation, acculturation and integration in the social and economic contexts of the destination societies (Hillman 1996). Phenomena of spatial and social segregation in the cities formed much of the research focus. Indeed Heisler (2000) in her review indicates how the assimilation perspective has assumed a dominant role in sociology stretching as far back as 1920s. Illustrating on the basis of the American example, Gabaccia elaborates

how the assimilationist framework whilst incorporating migrants through settlement houses providing courses for language, professional skills, and host culture acquisition, originally centred focus on transmitting the images and role model of the American middle class women (Compare Ochse 1999 with further references). Thus, the tradition-modernity dichotomy criticised often by Morokvasic (1983) and the cultural deficit approaches, which we shall return to later in our discussion (Section 5.2). Significantly, the focus in literature and discourse that emerged around the beginning and middle of the 1980s was largely associated with these events and hence shaped by a concerted inquiry of scholars into the mechanisms of negative cultural constructionism and an examination of the implementation frameworks. This has been extensively critiqued within the German scientific debate (Chapter 5): The assimilation and differentiation approaches have constituted a regular and longstanding component in much of the scientific work conducted (Kalpaka and Norah Rätzkel 1985).⁴¹ Here also as Ochse has illuminated in her overview, the political strategies towards (im)migrants since the mid seventies have embarked on a one sided integration debate with a single focus on the adaptation requirements of migrants as opposed to double orientation models that concurrently address the cultural adjustment needs of the dominant societies. The core of critique is that these strategies have implicated both the cultural deficit and the positive cultural difference approaches to explain integration barriers and consequently legitimate the enactment of a restrictive alien's policy (Ausländerpolitik) (Ochse 1999:73). Thus, one could add that this approach has perpetuated a monolithic structure. Moreover drawing from Anthias (2002), this can further be approached in terms of cultural relativism as it relates to outcomes for fixing identities and creating binaries while invisibilising the multiple, shifting locals and positionalities of women. Whereas the multidimensional, intersecting and complex nature of women's positioning disqualifies a simplified approach to migration (Section 4.1.1), it is important to incorporate a broadened perspective that allows for a focus on transnationalism and hence, fosters greater understanding of migrant networks as constituting the social, symbolic and material ties between homelands, destinations and relations between destinations. Within this context, Anthias introduces the concept of (trans)locational positionality (Anthias 2000, 2001a & 2002), which I have integrated within the framework of grounded theory and intersectional analysis to interpret data and conceptualise the emerging categories in research (Section 4.7).

41 On both scholars review also Ochse (1999:27)

4.6.5 *Differential Social economic Integration and Political Correctedness*

4.6.5.1 Straight line – Assimilation, Structural Monolithicism vs. Diversity

In American research, as early as the late 1960s and early 1970s when the persistence of racial inequality led to a rejection of the assimilation model and its integrated view of the single melting point, this induced the development of several new models of immigrant incorporation. While opposing the idea of ‘straight line-assimilation’ the new models became more structurally oriented and focused on the process of interaction between the host society institutions, social economic structures and the characteristics of new comers (Heisler 2000).

Straight line assimilation has occurred in different parts of the world as well and can be most clearly exemplified through the Canadian context, where the monolithic integration of immigrants takes on structural dimensions and plays out on the formal Canadian Labour Market. The position I take is that within diversity, we see structural homogeneity or monolithicism crystallizing and assuming a more dominant role. Here immigrants are typically excluded on the grounds of lack of Canadian experience, non recognition of foreign experience and discriminatory cultural hiring practices (see Social Planning Council [SPC] 2008).

To illustrate empirically the relevance of the fourfold vulnerability model, it seems logical to debate the social constitution of ethnicity in terms of institutional contexts structuring difference and inequality in the spatial construction of skills legitimated by a-historisation mechanisms as adequately concretised in the term ‘Canadian Experience’ with its inherent bi-polarlogic explicitly incorporating a deficit approach to ability as it relates to the international experience of (im)migrants. But these mechanisms also seem to constitute ethnocentric and reductionist notions of difference as well as hegemonic relations affecting incorporation into labour markets, social-networks and institutionalising social inequality. Thus, they can further be analyzed in terms of their impact in masking structural underpinnings of hierarchies and power-relations constructing precariousness (See Barongo-Muweke 2006).

To incorporate multidimensionality, it is further clear from the above that institutional practices and underpinnings of structural homogeneity vs. diversity whilst ignoring the potential benefits of intersectional analysis, have

incorporated cultural deficit⁴² approaches to negatively construct immigrant's identity and promote unequal incorporation into segmented labour markets. Drawing from Morokvasic, one can rightfully argue that within such an approach, gender is constructed in terms of the capacity of access to modernity, whereby women must first be promoted in order to be better adapted. This exemplifies the systematic reconstruction of social reality on the basis of the common sense stereotype which situates women at one end of the traditional-modernity dichotomy (See Morokvasic 1983, also Section 4.10.1). Thus, the overlay simplistic, single axis approach and unidimensional perspectives with consequences for social segregation, disintegration of (im)migrants communities, identity crisis and racialisation of poverty as some have put it (Galabuzi, Chapter 1).

With regard to our debate on international migration and the triple inscription of gender, ethnicity and class, it is necessary to draw further attention to political correctness as the new mainstreaming paradigm for managing diversity. However, with paradoxical relations and contradictory outcomes for masking and reinforcing multidimensional discrimination and the marginalisation of minority communities:

Whereas religion has broadly been identified as a coping strategy and tool for resilience within international migration, one can draw attention to the dismantling of minority cultural rights and freedom of expression through the erosion of the MERRY CHRISTMAS greetings in the public place within the context of managing diversity. This is unpedagogically coupled with the elimination of religious education in public schools (Section 11). At the same, we see a disintegration of (im)migrants' communities rooted in the structural monolithicism/homogeneity and structural assimilationist integration models (Section 4.9). Obviously these dynamics enhance intersectional, multidimensional and compound vulnerability (Section 4.1.1).

Whereas one may rightfully ask 'where is the diversity?' in the German scientific debate, the feminist group FEMIGRA has theorised the concept Multiculturalism in terms of new forms of labelling', symbolism, reductionism and another marketing slogan which etiquettes antiracist notions and tolerance whilst inherently sustaining objectification and oppression of (im)migrants (FEMIGRA 1994)⁴³. Thus, political correctness highlights the neces-

42 On cultural deficit approaches see, Section 5.2

43 Review also *ibid.* in Ochse 1999.

sity of rethinking the intersections of gender, ethnicity and class within institutional processes, political discourses and discursive practices.

Diversity can be conceived as a political concept whose variable, shifting meanings, interpretation and implications are rooted in the social political and historical evolution of the different societies in view (Review critically, Chege 2008). Whereas binarisations of White/Black, Latino/White etc., appear extensively absent in Germany both within scientific literature, legal applications, self definitions of immigrants and daily social interactions, my empirical observations seem to indicate that immigrant women with an African background comparatively embody a configuration of much more emancipated identities, with much higher levels of social integration based on the Marxist egalitarian values of social justice, equality, human worth and human dignity, truth, transparency, order, hard work as opposed to skin colour or other racialised definitions (Section 8.7 & 8.6.2). Thus, not only representing a cultural similarity perspective in significant ways but also emancipatory notions of identity: Whereas Canadian youths with an African background appear to struggle with their African identity (Social Planning Council Research Team [SPCRT], 2006), in Germany, African cultures and identities appear to enter into egalitarian dialogue with the mainstream society (Section 5.2.5). By contrast to the underpinnings of class dynamics observed in England (Chapter 8) but also growingly shaping the Canadian context (Chapter 1), youths in Germany with an African background appear to display relatively much higher levels of self esteem (Section 8.11.1).

Therefore, intersectional comparative analysis of the structural underpinnings of class, ethnicity and gender has revealed that social in-equality within the German context can be conceived more within Miles theoretical model (Section 4.5.2). Hence also within the German egalitarian habitus⁴⁴, deconstruction of colonial residues and subaltern identity formations appears to be the case for (im)migrant women whereby class as defining England's habitus appears conducive for perpetuating colonial residues with implications for the fragmentation of social identities. It is significant that salient constructions of difference along ethnicity (intra self ethnisation) within (im)migrant communities appear to characterise a growing tendency in England and Canada as opposed to Germany.

44 On habitus see Bourdieu, Sections 4.6.1 ; 4.6.2 and 6.1.6

In synthesizing the dominant views in international migration research, Lim conceives migration as a move between gender stratified systems and identifies the need for examining empirically on the basis of concrete situations the extent to which such a move erodes or improves women's position. Thus, linking micro and macro aspects (Lim 1995:32). Subsequently, according to Radcliffe, women's status can be viewed as the direct product of the prevailing views in the nation, ethnicity and family (Radcliff 1990) whereby immigrant women as constructed identities, can be approached as embodying the interactions between the norms and attitudes of female status in sending and receiving countries.

Thus, I have elsewhere argued that Germany through its shifting social market economy/Marxian/social democratic egalitarian habitus (Section 6.1.6) or social Catholicism paradigm as Lenz and Dietrich have also described it (Dittrich & Lenz 1994) appears to provide a model of orientation to diversity within the framework of international-comparative and intersectional analysis: The extensively egalitarian relations of production imply that the value and remuneration of labour highly reflect equality of condition on the formal labour market as laid out in the social beliefs and values of the social democratic paradigm. Although there are still structural issues to contend with, I have systematically postulated that marginalisation and experiences with exclusion seem to bear totally different meanings for women embedded in different habitus (Section 6.1.6). Hence, the differential gender configuration within structural underpinnings of ethnicity and class as they relate to concrete geographical and historical contexts (Gutiérrez, Rodríguez Chapter 1).

The relatively higher structural equality in the remuneration of labour appears to tie into other social spheres conditioning the quality of life and wellbeing, collective consciousness and social integration. Since (im)migrants embody both the norms and values of both background and destination communities as already mentioned above, (im)migrant women in Germany appeared to embody relatively much more cohesive identities than their counterparts in England and Canada where salient and fixed constructions of ethnicity and class were observed.

Hypothesis I –

Intersectional Analysis is Fundamental to Reconceptualising Diversity

Intersectional analysis, multidimensionality, structural approaches and multiple interventions have largely been ignored in the theoretical and practical social integration of (im)migrants. This has had implications for reducing the

concept of diversity to sloganism and symbolism. This, in turn, operates as complex exclusionary mechanisms. If combined with the marginalisation that arises from the economisation and politicisation of the settlement and integration sector, such system intrinsic contradictions emphasise migrants' position of disadvantage arising and reinforced by multiple exclusions from the positions of power (Section 5.2.1 & 5.2.2). As the Canadian situation exemplifies, the absence of a structural and systematising approaches has had strong implications for the crisis of identities, racialisation of poverty and disintegration of immigrant communities. As part of responsive policies within the framework of reconstruction pedagogy, context sensitive sociology and structural social work, a broader definition of diversity that rethinks the margins, intersections and simultaneity of gender, ethnicity and class is paramount to effecting social transformation.

Political correctness as a new mainstreaming paradigm and single axis approach requires deconstruction in order to make explicit its inherently oppressive and exclusionary dimensions that reinforce multidimensional discrimination, intersectional vulnerability and institutionalised precariousness.

The above factors demonstrate the need for democratic representation of immigrants as equal stakeholder in settlement and integration work.

Hypothesis II – Social Democratic Paradigm and Egalitarian Habitus as Empirical Models

Within the framework of international-comparative analysis, Germany provides a model of orientation based on the values of the social democratic paradigm which are rooted in more egalitarian relations and equitable distribution of resources, value and remuneration of labour (Section 6.1.6). However, these are currently being dismantled under the introduction of neo-liberalistic paradigms. Thus, the need for Germany to strengthen liberal-humanistic paradigms rooted in greater conditions of equality on the labour as evidence-based community building tools.

4.6.5.1.1 Theorising the Impacts of Welfare Regimes

Scholars theorise ethnicity in terms of the differential integration of categories and labour into welfare systems (See Gottschall 1999a with further references). In considering the Canadian debate, mainstream scholars have drawn attention to the case of the aboriginal populations and problematised differential integration into welfare regimes along the lines of ethnicity, gender,

class and its institutionalisation through colonialism with dire consequences that are still mirrored in the highly marginalised and dependent condition of the affected communities. Whereas able bodied male aboriginals were excluded on the basis of the logic of the British poor laws as eligibility criteria, (Moscovitch & Webster 1995; Shewell & Spagnut 1995), these conditions together exacerbated family dysfunction, crisis of identity and mental health disorders (Chappell 2006).

Whereas Potts' review on female international labour migration (1992:35),⁴⁵ represents the level of research in the context of the German scientific debate, it is critical to note that the significant advancements in American research have had a less impact on the research carried out in this area, whereby as Hillman has pointed out, the economic integration of women has been investigated mainly within the confinements of domestic employment (Hillman 1996:51). Within this framework, scholars have critiqued the house-wife reductionist approaches (Hausfrausierung) (Firat 1987). Moreover where attempts have been made to redress imbalances in research, as the case of intercultural pedagogy clearly indicates, these have concentrated mainly on christian heterosexual autochthon women ignoring the unique issues facing minority groups (Ochse 1999).

Equally important, some scholars have drawn on the experiences of minority women with a Turkish background, to explain the sociological context of all minority women (Chapter 1). Needless to account the accentuated variation in research levels to the constitution of America as a classic immigration land where the active agency of migrants ties into a central role in development as opposed to countries like Germany where migration although has played a central role through the Guest-Worker episode, the operating mechanism of the welfare regimes (Sozial-Markt-Wirtschaft) have impeded on migrant's social economic functions consequently articulating problem oriented images (Ochse 1999). Whilst drawing on Burk to make her argument, Chege has noted in this regard that currently, attention to the intersectionality and multi-dimensionality debate is growing within the legal and sociological fields in Germany and that by contrast to traditional settlement communities like U.S.A, Canada and Britain, presumptions of homogeneity had previously hindered fast development of intersectional scientific research in the area (Chege 2009). In the foregoing comparative analysis on structural assimilation and structural monolithicism, I have drawn on the Canadian example to

45 This has also been linked to the stratification hypothesis (Section, 4.9).

seriously question the assumptions of homogeneity and their diverse implications for the disintegration of (im)migrant communities and identities within classical settlement countries (Chapter 1; Section 4.6.5).

4.6.5.1.2 Industrial Relations and Social Closure

In the German debate, Offe and Kreckel while embracing the Habermas strand of critical theory [in opposition to the neoclassical theory, structural functionalism and traditional Marxist theory], offer critical perspectives on differential integration by underscoring the importance of conceiving the labour market as a politically regulated system rather than purely economically regulated (Gottschall 1999a). They look at state legislation on social security, corporatist structures of industrial relations, the linkages of employment, training and educational systems to promote differentiated understanding of labour market structures. Thus, combining Marxist with Weberian based approaches (Gottschall 1999a). Similarly, in the Canadian debate, Peck (1989) and Rubery (1978) view employers as participants in the wider systems of discrimination that evaluate the skills and potential productivity of workers with taken-for-granted sexist and racist stereo types (Hiebert 1991). Peck (1996), underlines the relevance of the regulation approach to capture the role of national, regional and local states in establishing the policies and regulations in which labour markets operate (also see Speck, qtd. in: Hiebert: 1991).

For Gottschall (1999a), whereas differential integration may reflect the result of interacting strategies of the supply and demand side which are regulated by the state,⁴⁶ the notion of social closure practiced by occupational groups that are powerful enough to define the rules of inclusion exacerbates labour market segmentation. In the Canadian debate, John Porter talks of ‘charter groups’ and applies this concept to the British and French as the first ethnic groups to come to Canada who dictated the terms of entry for other ethnic groups. While entry status was granted to those ethnic groups willing to accept lower occupational status, Canadian society became constructed as a ‘vertical mosaic’ stratified along ethnic lines (John Porter 1965).

Data analyzed by the Ottawa Social Planning Council in the study on Exclusion, Diversity and Inclusion (SSPRT 2006), demonstrate how social closure is currently most exemplified through the systematic barriers instituted by the Canadian Medical Association that hinders extensively the professional inte-

46 Review critically the liberalism, social democratic and Marxist paradigms.

gration of internationally trained doctors and devalues their skills despite the acute need of physicians. Observations here suggest that social stratification is a direct consequence of the structured nature of power inequality and historical relations as specifically reflected through the role of industrial relations and the emergence of new managerial groups. It has been demonstrated that the Canadian Medical Association seems to illustrate the impact of industrial relations in a context institutionalising precariousness by maintaining artificial barriers to the labour market and their legitimisation through institutional devaluation of skills (Barongo-Muweke SSP 2006).

Kreckel (1992) while drawing on Parkin concretises the gendered dimensions and implications of the theory of social closure. According to him, where women's skills equal their male counterparts, their discrimination on the labour market derives from lack of social and political representation due to their family obligations: meaning that they are excluded from the power triangle of capital, male workers and the state that via corporatist action secures labour market inclusion for the standard worker while making it difficult for other groups to get in (See also Gottschall 1999a). Hence Rubery (1978) theorises the dual labour market segregation whereby labour markets are structured not only through the actions of employers but also through the ability of workers to maintain, develop, extend and reshape their organisations and bargaining power. Within this context, Kreckel (1992) also looks at the implications of gender selective systems of education and training and how they contribute to the devaluation of industrial labour (See also Gottschall 1999a). To analyze intersectional vulnerability, it is necessary to integrate into analysis the influences of factors such as sex selective education and training in the countries of origin which constitute the primary determinants in shaping differences and inequality of opportunity in migration (Radcliff 1980:382–384). Within this framework, the role and impacts of new managerial groups can further be illustrated through their implications for downward occupational mobility and occupational segregation in the service sector, but also labour market situativity within the operations of marketised employment relations in a significantly deteriorated contractual and legal environment (Sassen Koob 1998): The issue of migrant women constituting the new exploited class as a source of cheap flexible labour (Potts, Chapter 1), working irregular hours under unsheltered employment conditions and lacking job security has gained significant relevance (United Nations Secretariat 1995; Sassen Koob 1998).

4.6.5.1.3 Social Capital

Basing on the symbolic systems of knowledge and evaluations in which individuals and collectivities are embedded, recognized and miss-recognised (Bourdieu 1986 & 1989); Bourdieu theorises the resources for identity configuration in terms of their transferability and their determinate effects on the distribution of persons in social space within economically mediated processes (Bourdieu 1983 & 1992). In other words, Bourdieu links processes of misrecognition, recognition and legitimation to institutional parameters and unequal structural incorporation of subjectivities in order to analyze the various ways in which performances become legitimated, authorized and prioritised institutionally, discursively and through practice (Bourdieu 1983 & 1992; Skeggs 2000a). He categorizes four different forms of capital in terms of the economic, cultural, social and symbolic. Whereas economic capital refers to the material resources available for the subjective construction of identities, cultural capital constitutes three dimensions namely, the embodied, objectified and institutionalised capitals (1983 & 1989). Fowler whilst interpreting Bourdieu describes embodied capital as a time bound process articulating long lasting dispositions of the mind and the body (such as corporeal capital) (Skeggs 2001a). The objectified form is approached as a fluid and easily transferable form of capital relating to cultural goods like books, artefacts, etc. The institutionalised state refers to forms of capital like educational qualifications.

Social capital articulates the totality of actual and potential resources that are based on long lasting connections and membership within networks of reciprocating recognition. Therefore the realization of individual personal identities, their recognition and legitimisation are configured within social relationships (Bourdieu 1983) as they relate to symbolic interaction within hierarchical force fields, market places or games of recognition and misrecognition (Bourdieu 1977; 1990, 1984). In his interpretation of Bourdieu, Fowler argues that symbolic capital refers to the forms that the different capitals assume once they have been perceived and recognized as legitimate. Whereas cultural capital has to be legitimated before it can have symbolic power, legitimation is the key mechanism in the conversion to power. Women play a key role in converting the economic into symbolic capital through the display of taste play (Skeggs 2001a). Cultural capital is a gendered process. My empirical finding show how this is drawn on to materialise belonging, define difference, subjectification and collectivising practices (Chapter 8 & 9)

4.6.5.2 Application of the Theoretical Framework to Empirical Analysis

The empirical data and categories generated out of my research support the relevance of theorising Bourdieu's concept of social capital (Section 4.6.5.1.3) as it relates to the operating mechanisms of social closure, industrial relations, the weak position of immigrants and the intersection with the congruent and conflicting dynamics of time and space⁴⁷. What makes such a conceptualisation empirically relevant is that it offers key elements for broadening the theoretical framework in ways that discuss the direct and indirect structural underpinnings of ethnicity, gender and social capital while also establishing interlinkages with the dynamics of social networks (Chapter 8 & 9). As well, it enables a sophisticated confrontation of difference through a focus on cultural configurations of class, symbolic interaction and the variable distribution of identities within economically mediated social spaces (Section 4.6.1). From a pedagogical perspective, integrating the notion of social closure, industrial relations and symbolic interaction offers a critical framework for problematising and legitimising pedagogical tools referenced to the actual challenges that migrant women face, while also affording the opportunity for empowering women to build stronger communities. In policy terms, this concretises the application of empirically driven research to capacity building, development of action plans and goal setting to effect the social integration of migrant women (Section 3.1 & 3.2). An integration of the time dimension, symbolic processes and social historical factors seems to dispute the integration of race as analytical category (Section 4.5.2) and draws into the centre impacts of complex intersectionality and simultaneity of social mechanisms and power inequalities producing and re-enforcing dichotomies as well as capitalistic organic relations (Chapter 1).

From another perspective, it seems adequate to debate these issues in terms of binaries and a structural process that instantiates social stratification through a multiplication of social differences along the lines of class, ethnicity, gender, time and space etc. It is possible to postulate once again through the ideas developed here that exclusion and inequality are social constructs which can hence be deconstructed through policy and pedagogical intervention.

⁴⁷ Relates to situativity in double ontology (Section, 4.6.1 & 4.6.2).

4.6.5.2.1 Dichotomisation of Time, Space and Social Identities

Through the term double ontology, scholars have emphasized the importance of integrating into analysis the congruent and contesting relationships of time and space as they relate to the social construction of postcolonial subjectivities (Section 4.6.1 & 4.6.2) within nexus and (trans)locational situativity (Section 4.7 & 4.12). Within reference to international migration, dichotomisation of time and space needs to be understood through its implications for the fragmentation of work biographies, life opportunities, social trajectories and life conditions. Whilst some scholars have addressed the constraints of the stratification hypothesis (Section 4.9), it is needless to say that without strategic objectives and policy, (im)migrants will continue to exist in a context of multiplistic ontologies (See critically Bhabha Hommi; Fanon; Nuscheler, Section 4.6.1 & 4.6.2). Due to the impartibility of systems as the empirical survey in Germany and the Canadian case clearly demonstrate, foreign trained (im)migrants suffer huge losses in terms of time and financial resources spent in retraining skills in which they had often already gained sufficient training (Chapter 8). I have already demonstrated within the context of international migration that structural dichotomies configured within professionalisation processes as they relate to skills devaluation, weak industrial relations and the marginalising operations of systems of social closure structurally condition the spatial dynamics of network integration (Section 4.6.5). Consequently they also determine the quality of information flow which largely affects incorporation into the labour market (Boyd 1989). As comparative data from Germany also indicate, structural barriers to the labour market seem to represent the independent variable socially constructing the dimensions of ethnicity as well as materialising belonging and social differentiation whilst constituting identities and conditioning social interaction – in terms of structured social relations (Section 10.3).

To broaden the centres and margins of difference, a sophisticated confrontation of the time and space structural dichotomies is relevant. One needs to understand the complex intersections of industrial relations and notions of social closure (Section 4.6.5) with the double ontology of postcolonial subjectification. As well, the fourfold jeopardy as it relates to the configuration of difference within dualising and subordinating axes, intersectionality and simultaneity of gender, ethnicity and class (Section 4.1.1). All these further appear to highlight conditioning mechanisms and selective instruments structuring difference, hierarchy and marginalisation at diverse levels.

In this section, the theoretical and empirical relevance of these dynamics is to show how migrants become trapped in a vicious cycle of vulnerabilities directly linked to their structural conditioning. This perspective is instrumental in facilitating the implementation of multiple and multi level strategic interventions. Whereas ethnicity as a structural configuration cannot be understood outside the context of international class relations (Lenz, Section 4.4 & 4.5 Phizacklea; Miles, Section 4.5.2) and the political economy of migrant labour (Miles, Section 4.5.2), my empirical findings illustrate, that multidimensionality and intersectional analysis enhance our understanding by showing as Miles has also argued, that experiences with difference are not always linked to race (Miles, Section 4.5.2). As I have elsewhere most clearly demonstrated using the example of the Canadian context, we see a dichotomisation of society instantiated through the establishment of inequality in the spatial skills construction as well as time (Section Chapter 1; Section 4.6.4 & 4.6.5). And, this is reinforced through the 'Habitus' as theorised by Bourdieu (Bourdieu, Section 4.6.1). This appears to have fundamental implications for the dynamics of spatial segregation, the quality of network formation and regressive labour market incorporation (Chapter 1 & Section 4.6.5).

To broaden our perspective on the intersectionality, simultaneity and cumulativity of structural vulnerability (Section 4.4–4.7), findings from empirical data and theoretical debates can be used to illustrate how the dichotomisation of time and spatial processes not only produces and perpetuates the double ontology inherited in colonial legacies and residues but also appears to configure in Meillassoux terms organic relations within capitalistic modes of production (1981): To conceptualise the interlockings of gender, ethnicity and class within this framework, I have articulated elsewhere most clearly on the basis of Canada's habitus of volunteering and its intersection with systemic barriers and institutional processes incorporating the stratification hypothesis to devalue international credentials and international (non-Canadian) professional experience (See critically, SSP Research Team 2006). Against this background, I have argued that (im)migrants appear integrated as peripheral sectors within the capitalistic spheres of circulation in such a way that capital (labour, power and commodities) are extracted from them but not reinvested in them. Thus, they appear to remain outside the sphere of production (Meillassoux 1981). Therefore what authors have identified as a racialisation of poverty and the increased articulation of the conditions prevailing in the peripheral region of the world (See Galabuzi 2001) appears concretised in my view as the contradictory organisation of economic relations in which binarised modes and relations of production operate whereby one sector

dominates and begins to change the other producing economic dualism⁴⁸: One sector becomes maintained as a means of social organisation from which the other benefits by not only pumping its subsistence but also depriving it of its means of reproduction and consequently destroying it in the end (See Meillassoux 1981). In sum, this structural framework is useful analytically for theorising not only migrant identities but also the disintegration of (im)migrant communities – it concretises the way forward to structural deconstruction of difference and to the implementation of multi-level strategic interventions.

To theorise the problematic of intergenerational transmission drawing on Meillassoux (1981), once again the operations of organic relations can be partially demonstrated through their implications for the migrant family: The same paradoxes whereby domestic relations of reproduction are organically combined with capitalist modes of production are seen to operate here as well (Chapter 4). In Canada, data indicate that the difficulties which (im)migrant families face bring them to the realization that their actual benefits of migrating will lie in the second generation (their children) (See also SSP Research Team 2006). The implication of these processes for migrant families in England, Germany and Europe at large are yet to be empirically established.

At this point, nexus, postcolonial and (trans)locational analysis broaden understanding of intersectionality through unveiling the simultaneity of complex processes of social change and their dualising articulation in the shifting, structurally disembedded polygamous African family habitus – structural mechanisms manifesting complex social change in terms of subjectification and collectivising practices in a context of new power constellations, complex gender hierarchies, structural dichotomisations and pluralistic cultural shifts (Chapter 9). Integrating these analytical levels demonstrates more adequately the extents and ways in which institutional contexts underpin the intersections of gender, class, ethnicity and postcolonial subjectivity (Section 4.1; 4.4 & 4.6).

To summarise the foregoing analysis, not only do the structural conditionalities constructing social differentiation for (im)migrants become clear within the above analytical approach (Miles, Section 4.5.2) but also the interplay with factors found in the social field which re-enforce social stratification (Bourdieu, Section 4.6; Radcliff 1990). This is perhaps most precisely exem-

48 The dichotomies, binaries and polarisation traced at all levels of society

plified through the intersections of networking, voluntarism, stratification hypothesis, industrial relations, gendered ambivalence and segmented labour market incorporation as structural mechanisms within capitalist modes of production. For postcolonial subjectivities, their situation is aggravated through multiplistic ambivalent localities and nexus situativity in complex discursive conjunctures. Thus, illustrating the need to understand and critically deconstruct the internalization of structure at both subjective and community levels as well as the need for integrating consciousness as a category of analysis (Freire 1970, 1972 & 1993; Barongo-Muweke 2006).

Hypothesis I – Theorising Ethnicity, Multidimensionality and Miles Theoretical Model

Drawing on a fusion of Miles theoretical model, feminist threefold/fourfold approaches, Bourdieu's theory of practice and Giddens theory of structuration (Section 4.5.2), the structural constitution of ethnicity can be debatable in terms of a dichotomisation of society – instantiated through the social construction of inequality within the relations of production, time and space as they relate to a series of broad intersecting factors beyond ethnicity, gender and class to include spatial skills construction, stratification hypothesis, industrial relations and systems of social closure. These appear reinforced through the 'Habitus' with fundamental implications for spatial segregation, the quality of network formation and regressive labour market incorporation. Under these mechanisms migrants build weaker communities and parallel societies.

4.6.5.2.2 Class, Ethnicity and the New Gender Order

In the German scientific debate, differential social economic integration can be traced in research through its dominant focus on themes regarding the labour participation of government sponsored migration. And these constitute simultaneously the numerically largest categories (Ochse 1999: 80, 87 & 137). Anthias (2000 & 2001a) raises major issues regarding the implications of differential labour market integration for constructing class divisions amongst women. Citing the case of domestic workers, scholars argue that this does not only reproduce the gender asymmetries, hierarchies, traditional gender specific roles and social inequality but that women of the majority may improve their position at the expense of migrant women. Scholars have applied the term 'servants of globalisation' to conceptualise female migration in terms of

the shifts and changing manifestations of domestic service within the international division of reproductive work (Salazar 2001).

For scholars, the internationalization and associated Commodification of caring labour can be conceptualised in terms of the new gender order whereby the capacity of middle class women of the majority to access positions of economic and political power is facilitated through the labour of a large pool of low paid migrant women employed in the service sector (See critically Ozyegin & Hondagneu-Sotelo 2008; Morokvasic 2007; Rommelspacher 2005; Brenner 2002:). Sassen theorises the current global restructurings in terms of the growing service sector, the increased demand for unskilled cheap labour in the North (Sassen 1993) and the 'counter geographies of globalisation' which devalue and feminize (im)migrant labour (Sassen 2003). Lutz Helma has argued that domestic work inherently perpetuates the existing social order through the configuration of subjectivities within the naturalised traditional gender arrangements and dichotomies (Lutz Helma 2008). Hence, the relationship between the private and public spheres also provides a central site for analyzing the subjectification of the labour market within the interface of deregulation and corporate globalisation as they relate to the simultaneity of gender, class and ethnicity (See critically, Lutz Helma, Section 4.4 & 5.4.2).

This suggests that, whereas gender essentialism and asymmetries have extensively been destabilized through the contribution of feminist scholarship and activism making gender issues no longer as contentious as they once were for women of the majority (Oechsle & Wetterau 2006), for migrant women, gender still plays a significant role in defining social inequality. To integrate an intersectional perspective, Anthias (2000, 2001a & 2002) discusses the multiple locationality of multilayered identities in connection with the need to take into consideration the juxta positioning of identity in order to integrate broader meaning that also captures the exploitation of (im)migrant women by other (im)migrant women within ethnic networks who may exploit them to enhance their own labour mobility, social and economic status. Global chains of affection' is the term coined by Hochschild to describe globalisation in terms of hierarchisation processes and multidimensional ways in which women replace each other in the traditional role division of labour and feminisation of care. She concretises that, whereas women in the countries of destination are replaced by (im)migrant women, the latter are in turn, replaced by other women who perform the tasks of child-rearing and care in the countries of origin (Hochschild 2002).

4.7 The Social Networks Perspective

4.7.1 *Multidimensionality: Transnationalism and (trans)locational Positionality*

Today, general research has expanded to include the international dimension studying the international interconnections and the framework of global development (Faist 2000). Boyd (1989) conceives the networks perspective as the bridge between structural approaches and the psycho-sociological perspectives emphasizing the individual migrant as actor in the migration process. In this connection, researchers have challenged the overlay simplistic conceptualisation of migration as a linear and permanent movement to emphasize the cross border, back and forth or multi-directional movement of people, goods, capital and ideas (Vertovec 2002 with further references). Subsequently, many works have emerged that integrate a social networks perspective⁴⁹ through a focus on transnationalism whereby scholars approach international migration in terms of a complex configuration of gender, social relations and relationships within multiple social spaces and locations that cut across international borders (Goldring 1996 & 2001; Hondagneu-Sotelo & Avila 1997; Kearney Michael 1995; Faist 2000; Mahler 1999). Tilly enriches this perspective through his conceptualisation of transnational processes in terms of migrating networks (Tilly 1990).⁵⁰ Portes advocates a conceptualisation of migration in terms of a process of network building, which depends on and, in turn, reinforces social relationships across time and space (Portes 1995). Whereas analytical fusion of the variables social closure, industrial relations as they relate to the dimensions of gender, ethnicity and class (Section 4.6.5) have widely been ignored within the social networks framework, close attention has been given to the role played by gender as a central organising principle of social relations (Anthias 2000; 2001a) and the need to understand the distinctive positions and roles of men and women in network formation (Section 4.7.2; Chapter 8 & 9).

Whereas the social construction of gender is adequately analyzed at a theoretical level in terms conceptualising the double/ threefold models and four-fold oppression levels (Section 4.4 & 4.6.2), perspectives on the geographical and political domains of configuration require adequate attention (Rodríguez Gutierrez 1999:12). Influenced by Kearney (1995) and his definition of trans-

49 For a review on the social networks approach to explain international migration, see Kearney (1986); Portes (1995); Massey et al (1999); Vertovec & Cohen (1999); Brettell (2000).

50 For a detail review on transnational networks, see Steven Vertovec (2002).

nationalism, Anthias conceptualises migration in terms of the (trans)locational positionality which captures the complex, multifarious and shifting positioning, locations and dislocations of gendered and multilayered identities (Anthias 2000, 2001a & 2002). Similarly Pesser & Mahler introduce the concept of gendered geographies of power to theorise the spatial and social scales underpinning transnational relations (Pesser & Mahler 2001) ⁵¹. What their model has been most effective in showing is the configuration and reaffirmation of gender relations and ideologies within the complex gender, class and social hierarchies as well as differential access to power and resources in transnational networks. Thus, the two models articulate in Kearney's terms the complexity of social action in a multidimensional global space with unbounded, often discontinuous and interpenetrating sub-spaces (See Kearney 1995:549).⁵² Within this framework, it is worth mentioning the empirically observed emergence of virtual communities organised by (im)migrants and how this can be linked to the new gender hierarchies and extents to which the dynamics of class, subjectivity and ethnicity may be (trans)located in cyber space (Chapter 8). On a different note, some authors like Choldin (1973) whilst recognising existing advantages of networks, have pointed out to the danger of networks in slowing down the psychological integration process. According to Choldin this would follow from the long term effect of isolating migrants from the community at large and the associated risk of impeding the acquisition of language skills and employment opportunities. As well, perpetuating unequal gender relations (Lim 1995:16).

4.7.2 *Theorising Gender Relations within a Social Networks Perspective*

Gender as a socially constructed category is explored in migration research through a focus on gender inequality with the argument that men and women encounter differential structural constraints as well as social economic opportunities both within the background societies and the host countries, whereby the relative vulnerability of women plays a determining role in shaping female status and articulating it in migration (Hillman 1996: 44)⁵³. From a historical perspective, it has been argued that colonialism as impacting phe-

51 Social scales constitute basic units like the family, state and individual

52 See also Kearney reviewed in Brettell (2000).

53 Today as Anthias (2001a) postulates on the basis of her earlier works (Anthias 1983; 1992) and that of different scholars like Phizacklea (1983); Brah (1996); Anderson and Phizacklea (1997), it is clear that gender, the structural barriers and the economic, social and demographic roles of women are assuming increased relevance in research.

nomena affected the various social, economic, political and educational institutions which condition the constitution and construction of gender. Demonstrating on the basis of colonial rules and regulations which hindered and sometimes prohibited the migration of women (UN 1995), authors point out to the fact that the factors which condition the status of women, also build their context of migration (Lim 1995:38–39). Whilst integrating the human agents perspective constructing women not as passive victims of structures but as social agents with active performative roles (Section 4.3), scholars have also looked at the role of gender hierarchies and intersections of gender relations with social structures and institutions as the framework for understanding the motives, potential and gendered agency in an increasingly feminised migration (Review critically Lim 1995:37; Rodriguez). In their reading of Stark, Casa and Garson point out to the shift in research focus from the individual perspective to the household and the community as the driving force behind migration (Casa and Garson 2005). In their synthesis of the works of Hondagneu-Sotelo, Kofman and Willis & Yeoh, Tastsoglou and Alipranti highlight the growing theoretical emphasis laid on gender as a structural category, set of social relations and central organizing principle of the entire migration, which impacts the decision, circumstances and outcomes of migration for both women and men (Tastsoglou & Alipranti 2003). The perspective that women are emerging no longer as dependents but as key decision makers in the migration process has gained significant relevance (UN Secretariat 1995b; Lim 1995; Casas & Garson 2005). Gendering transnational movements is the notion integrated by Anthias (2000, 2001a: 146–147) to synthesize and conceptualise the major concepts characterising feminist scholarships on the dimensions and implications of gendered relations in transnational networks.

4.7.3 Operationalising the Conceptual Framework

To explicate the dimensions of geopolitical conditioning within the framework of my research (Section 4.6. & 4.7) and to enhance theoretical and context sensitivity (Glaser 1978), the categories in my research emergently fit with a fusion of Anthias' theoretical model of (trans)locational positionality (Anthias 2000, 2001a & 2002), Pesser & Mahler's concept of gendered geographies of power (Pesser & Mahler 2001), Bourdieu's (1983) conceptualisation of habitus, Giddens' structuration theory and Jenson's model of social cohesion (Section 4.11). As well, their convergence with the feminist structural fourfold theoretical model of intersectional oppression and vulnerability (Sections 4.4 & 4.6 respectively). This conceptualisation is broadened

through a social networks perspective (Section 4.7), which incorporates a perspective on the congruent and contesting relationships of time and space (Bhabha Hommi, Section 4.6.1 & 4.6.2).

Empirically, the social networks perspective can be theorised at three levels: a) through narratives of collective belonging as evidenced in self organisation and translocal communities of belonging linking the dynamics of community building to the problematic of identity construction and subjectification within complex positionality at the crossroads of manifold hierarchising, differentiating mechanisms and matrices of oppression (Chapter 8 & 9); b) the structurally weak networks of migrants which can be linked to the acute lack of industrial relations, the marginalising operations of systems of social closure on international labour markets and their implications for dualising ethnicity (Section 4.7); c) networks comprising (im)migrant enclaves that primarily function as social support systems and informal economic enterprises. Within multidimensional and intersectional analysis⁵⁴, problematised are the interlockings of gender, ethnicity, class and subjectivity and their simultaneous interplay with structural mechanisms of social closure, industrial relations, time – spatial dichotomisations and their fundamental implications for the dynamics of spatial segregation, the quality of network formation and unequal labour market incorporation (Section 4.6.5.2.1). To expand theorisation of the margins and centres of difference using this framework, I have empirically applied the social scientific notions of gendered geographies of power (Pessar & Mahler 2001) and (trans)locational positionality (Anthias 2000, 2001a & 2002). Within this context, I have drawn on Portes (1995) to integrate into analysis the relational and structural embeddedness as they relate to the differential power and social positioning of migrants (Section 4.7). Whereas Anthias conceptualises social networks in terms of configurations of gendered relations, class and other categories of difference including life trajectories that are constitutive of the group themselves (Anthias 2001a), scholars have looked at the role of social networks as tools minimizing risks and maximizing profits through reducing the direct and indirect costs of migration by providing lodging, assistance in job placement, housing, acquisition of new skills and decreasing the social-psychological costs and challenges of adjustment (For a review, see Lim 1995; Hillman 1996). Whereas the quality of networks and flow of information constitute a prime instrument facilitating incorporation into labour markets (Boyd

54 Section, 4.1.4

1989:641), the relevance of theorising social networks within the framework of gendered geographies of power and (trans)locational positionality appears quite exemplified within the Canadian context:

Applied to the Canadian context, the social networks perspective seems to strongly indicate that, structural dichotomisation on the basis of ethnicity has influenced class formation and social polarisation between the dominant categories and the marginalised groups, with significant consequences for social cohesion (Section 4.6.5.2.1). In considering dichotomisation as it applies to the qualitative differences in networks of (im)migrants and the populations of the majority, I have drawn on Bourdieu (Section 4.6.1 & 4.6.2) and argued in this regard, that within the 'Habitus'⁵⁵ of networking and voluntarism, the level of structural embedment as it relates to labour market incorporation determines the quality of neighbourhood and thus, to a large extent also, the quality of information flow, health and subjective wellbeing⁵⁶. This in turn, conditions labour market entry. At the same time, skills devaluation, reductionist concepts of difference on the basis of non-recognition of international credentials and lack of Canadian experience seem implicated in a series of intersecting mechanisms which anchor and further legitimate social inequities by devaluing the professional abilities and individual agency of immigrants (Section 4.6.5.2.1). On the other hand, as the broad literature has also demonstrated, empirical findings seem to suggest that the structured nature of ethnicity (Lenz 1995 & 1996), while reinforcing power hierarchies and differential social positioning (Anthias 2001a & 2002) is directly linked to the reproduction of other complex and heterogeneous forms of exclusion experienced by (im)migrants (Chapter 8 & 9): It is significant that ethnic networks in which (im)migrants and minorities facing marginalisation from the mainstream become inserted are broadly identified as patterned by other dimensions of socially stratifying mechanisms of power hierarchies and material relations along the lines of class, gender and ethnicity (United Nations Secretariat 1995; Lim 1995).

To apply this analysis to role of networks as informal enterprises and systems of social support, it is significant that the intersections of class positions and dynamics within transnational processes have further been theorised in terms of their implications for shaping the structure and evolution of niche economies – this is articulated in the ways in which specific groups have occupied

55 See also Bourdieu (Section 6.1.6)

56 Review also critically Portes, Section 4.7.

middle man positions as small-scale traders between mainstream producers and consumers (Bonacich 1980:14). Heisler in her sociological review problematises the dynamics of the ethnic enclave in relation to the marginalising mechanisms linked to the operations of dual labour markets where the exclusion of migrants in the primary market confines them to employment in the secondary market where they are exploited as cheap labour (Heisler 2001:81). Thus, Low has adopted the notion of mosaic of enclaves to describe the structural constitution of social networks within the ethnic city (Low 1997). In England, for example, class appeared to play a significant role in networks formation influencing also the process of Self ghettoisation amongst immigrants, whilst in Germany, migrant status appeared as the prime determinant of networks formation influencing social integration into the dominant society (Chapter 8 & 9).

The role of social networks in conditioning the generation of social capital and structuring the relationship between the public, private and voluntary sector has empirically emerged whereby the comparative analysis of England and Germany demonstrates partially the relevance of integrating the dimension of time as analytical category. Research notes that in England by contrast to Germany, the presence of stronger networks due to the longer settlement time of the Black Community appears to mitigate the impacts of social isolation while also facilitating the construction of industrial relations, promotion of civic participation and thus also structural integration (Section 6.1.3).

What is further central to our study is a conceptualisation of networks that aims at theorising the ways in which difference, consciousness and subjectification practices are structurally constructed at the conjuncture of transnational and postcolonial locations and dislocations (Review critically, Alexander & Mohanty; Bhabha Hommi; Stuart Hall, Section 4.6.1 & 4.6.2). As elsewhere mentioned, aim is to generate context sensitivity, workability and evidence based knowledge (Glaser & Straus; Glaser, Section 3.1.1). As well, critical interventionist models for social transformation (Freire 1970; 1972 & 1993). Such a framework, whilst relating the self and its constitution to complex social changes and the associated structural underpinnings at macro, mezzo and micro sociological levels, their dynamic nature and interplay illustrating how changes in the various domains condition the modes of articulation of (im)migrant women⁵⁷, has also brought into light, the complexity of identity

57 Bronfenbrenner (1979, 1993) made the systems theory fashionable in developmental psychology by emphasizing development in terms of the relationship between the individual, a

construction in the nexus of colonial legacies and postcolonial situativity, multidimensional locationality and shifting discursive fields.

Drawing on a fusion of Giddens' structuration theory, Bourdieu's theory of practice and Bernstein's structural pedagogy, (Section 4.6), I have also integrated dialectic analysis and emancipatory interventionist paradigms to investigate the continuous (re)production of the social order in a context resolving the objective and subjective divide inherent in feminist approaches (Section 4.6.1 & 4.6.2). In addition, I have integrated a structural approach combining poststructuralist analysis, sociological concepts and critical pedagogy to address extensively the situativity, structural, ideological, cultural configurations and transformations of gender (Sections 4.6.1 & 4.6.2).

Hypothesis I – Institutional Networking is Fundamental to Social Integration

In considering the implications of the differences in quality of networks as structurally determined through structural location at national, local, international and (trans)locational levels as well as the dynamics of time and space; it is significant that institutional networking for (im)migrants and minorities emerges as fundamental to empowerment and social integration. This constitutes important criterion in policy intervention: This seems inevitably required in view of the major systemic barriers faced by (im)migrants in a context where most institutions are already networked. Strategic objectives for policy development should empower settlement agencies to develop programs for institutional networking and operate based on an investigation of the empirical reality through university community research partnerships and needs assessment. Special institutional bridging support for new (im)migrants who need to acquire professional experience, education, training and system orientation would automatically promote integration.

4.7.4 Remittances: Gender and Dual Roles

A number of scholars including Vertovec & Cohen (1999) and Vertovec (2002) have underscored the central role of remittances in the migration process. Adepoju explains the emergence of social networks in terms of an articulation of the impacts of structural adjustment programmes in the family. This has given rise to a new phenomenon of dual households consisting of (im)mi-

host of contextual variables constituting macro, meso, micro systems and their interplay (Bee, Boyd & Johnson: 2006)

grants and family members who are collectively trying to maximise economic returns from both background and destination communities with the objective of securing household survival (Adepoju 1995:100). Casas and Garson (2005) whilst drawing on the scholars showcased in their review, integrate the human agency perspective to highlight the dual roles played by (im)migrant women as economic, social and cultural development agents participating in both the economies of background societies and the countries of destination. Their conceptualisation is useful because it captures the notion of remittances as it relates to the ambivalence of agency and location (Section 4.3). This is articulated and concretised through the significant contributions to social security and the maintenance of transnational households in an (im)migration context that has not necessarily translated into status improvements for the affected migrants (Critically review, Casas and Garson 2005; Hillman 1996; Lim 1995).

4.7.5 *Household Strategies*

Studies in this area mainly incorporate the domestic-public model, while using Marxist feminism that analyzes women's status in relation to different spheres of activity whereby the interrelationship between production and reproduction form central points of focus. Emphasized are the female roles, genderised experiences and the complex transformations brought about in kinship relations as a result of migration. While examining the labour force participation of women, the model studies the impact of salaried employment on domestic roles and power, health issues as well as issues of political consciousness-raising (Brettell 2000: 109). While addressing gender specific factors that influence migration, scholars emphasize the role of patriarchal structures in relation to gender hierarchies specifically the degree of female subordination to male authority which may affect women's autonomy for decision making (Lim 1995:38; Hillman 1996:44).

In this context, research also handles the complexity of strategies developed to organise for child arrangements through the tie-in of kinship networks into transnational movements (Brettell & Simon 1986). Notwithstanding the complex balancing of social and economic resources, Lim attaches great importance to the analysis of the extent to which the social demographic structure of the family conditions and regulates migration. As well, the analysis of the role played by cultural and psychological factors provided by social networks in fostering the adaptation of migrants in the new environment (Lim 1995). Anthias and Yuval-Davis have analyzed household strategies in terms of the

gendered reproduction of agency and structure, specifically the ways in which women constitute and construct the symbolic configuration of the nation through their cultural-political roles which are embodied in the rearing of children, social and religious practices. In this way, women have also been viewed as central actors in the gendering, configuration and reconfiguration of ethnicity (Anthias and Yuval-Davis 1989). Thus, for Buijs (1993: 4), it makes sense to thematize women's performative roles in terms of the production and reproduction of social meanings (See also critically, Chapter 1 & Section 9.10–9.11).

In further connection, Adkins and Leonard (1996) have critiqued the omission of a focus on the implications of the family for the social construction of women's gendered cultural identity in marriage and in the division of work within the family.

As I will argue in the next section, my empirical findings reveal that the disintegration of the postcolonial polygamous family habitus within the intersections of gender hierarchies, colonialism, capitalism, and patriarchy has escaped scientific attention, with major implications for gender, social cohesion, and social capital. This scientific gap emphasizes the relevance of grounded theory and independent social research as emancipatory tools promoting validity, context sensitivity and workability for postcolonial subjectivities and postcolonial institutional building (Section 3.1.1).

To integrate a transformatory perspective within structural social work and critical pedagogy, therefore, my work is framed within recognition of women's central role in grassroots processes and social development as they relate to the building of social capital, internal constitution of democracies and social cohesion.

I will locate women's agency and subjectification practices in a broader structural context of macro, mezzo and micro sociological impacting factors. I will integrate the concept of gendered ambivalent subjectivities (Becker-Schmidt; Axeli Knapp, Section 4.4 & 4.5) whilst also facilitating theorisation of the social construction of gender within geo-historical situativity, postcolonial legacies and residues, shifting discursive fields and practices.

4.7.6 *Theoretical Gaps and Empirical Relevance: The Disintegration of the Family Habitus*

As introduced in the foregoing analysis, what scholars have ignored in the scientific debate on social networks and household strategies regards the postmodern disintegration of the postcolonial polygamous and collective family habitus and the subjective manifestations in a context of the multi-dimensional and simultaneous interlockings and articulations of capitalism, gender hierarchies, colonialism, patriarchy, globalisation and (trans)locationality. As well, their articulation in the domestic sphere and their implications for bringing about pluralistic cultural, structural shifts, a multiplicity of ambivalences and antagonisms at the household and grassroots societal level. The absence of a coherent attention in literature has hindered a critical understanding of the dynamics of diversity in African nations as they relate to gender identity, subjectification practices, social cohesion and democratisation in a sustainable transformatory context (Section 9.10–9.11). According to my empirical observations this complex process of social change can be conceptualised at three levels of analysis: The first level constitutes the disembedding of family systems through migration processes as a result of slave trade, urbanisation and the introduction of the mining industry (the South African case). Secondly, the postmodernity disembedding at the household level of society as a result of embeddedness within alienating mechanisms of colonial encounters, legacies and residues. Thirdly, it is important to conceptualise and establish interlinkages with the transformation of the gender order through capitalism and international migration. For a detailed analysis on these issues see (Section 4.5.5). The latter two analytical levels will constitute focus of my attention (Section 4.5.5 & Chapter 9).

To combine perspectives from grounded theory, sociology, feminism, post-colonial analysis and pedagogy for policy implications, my findings have pointed out to the need for capacity building and conscientisation grounded in Glaser's workability principles which facilitate generation of context sensitive interventions, multi level strategic interventions and evidence-based knowledge (Section 3.1 & 3.2). Here, my empirical findings have advanced identification of the relevant contexts for evolving indigenous critical pedagogy and sociology that relate to outcomes for social cohesion and social capital. Within this framework, I have argued with Premakumari for the establishment of a social infrastructure of critical pedagogy in postcolonial societies with the aim of providing forums for critical inquiry into the transformatory relevance of education (Premakumari 2007). Critical to decon-

structuring biographies within the framework of theorising the implications of social change for subjectification practices in the postcolonial polygamous family habitus, is an integration of Becker-Schmidt and Axeli-Knapp's (1982) conceptualisation of 'ambivalent gendered subjectivities'. This social scientific model for theorisation usefully expands analysis of the hitherto untheorised centres and margins of difference through facilitating a confrontation of postmodern socialisation and individuation processes within a framework structured by intersecting manifold and transient social locations, axes of subordination, simultaneous compound differentiation and a complex interplay underpinned by confluent dislocating mechanisms that Giddens has sociologically identified as the increasing disembedding from externally referential systems, symbolic relations and the emergence of complex abstract systems of internal referentiality (Giddens, Section 9.8.1).⁵⁸ Such a perspective allows for a theorisation of multivariate structural ambivalence (Section 4.6.1 & 4.6.2) in a context illuminating the gender specific structural relationship that marks the private and public sphere (Habermas, Sections 5.4.3). Findings in this category have concretised further the already empirically identified need for deconstruction through the value systems inherent in the egalitarian & social democratic/Marxian paradigms (Section 8.7 & 8.6.2).

My theorisation will be framed within a postcolonial and structural analysis to facilitate differentiated understanding of the historical situativity and implications of abstract systems and discursive practices for subjectification processes in African societies, specifically their evolution within hegemonic power constellations and the ambivalence of double time and space (Fanon 1969; Bhabha Hommi 2000). As well, the complex outcomes for constructing alienated, submerged (Freire 1970 & 1972; Foucault 1980)⁵⁹, or subaltern consciousness as Spivak puts it (Spivak 1988 & 1990).

This perspective is significant for the deconstruction of biographies since it not only unveils the social political underpinnings of subjectivity in a context of intersecting macro factors and their implications for impacting structural, cultural shifts and multivariate gendered ambivalence at the micro level, but it also destabilises essentialist and pathologist conceptualisations of the self: To broaden this perspective, I will draw on post-structural theory and position analysis of hegemonic discourses and complex processes of social change as

58 To avoid static images and homogenisation of culture as a concept, Tsiakalos (1992) points out to the need for differentiating between the degeneration of humanity with culture.

59 Foucault (1980) addressed the role of discourse in subjugating the knowledges of marginalised groups

well as their implications for consciousness, modes of self-construction and social identities beyond the colonial oppositional power binaries of oppressed-oppressor to integrate the intersectional approach and draw attention to the implications of pluralistic axes of oppression and subordination⁶⁰ through a focus on the simultaneity of manifold shifting, juxta positionings of identities and their dynamic interaction with structural processes (Section 4.1 & 4.2). Anthias in her poststructuralist theorisation of multilayered identities brings into perspective the variety of social relations and positions occupied by women in multiple categories of difference and location such as power, ethnicity and social class that recast some identities as both subjects and agents of oppression (Anthias Section 4.2). Thus, whilst rejecting universalistic approaches harmonising gender as analytical category and masking hierarchical power structures, differences and oppression existing amongst women as a classical subordinated group (Section 4.2), it is possible to problematise the complexity and challenges that intersectional oppression posits for gender identity and social cohesion. We know, however, that women are not passive reactors to processes but that they actively deploy agency (Morokvasic 1987b; Lim 1995; Butler 1995; Becker-Schmidt 1995; Hillman 1996; Anthias 2000, 2001a & 2002). Subjectivities are never finished, sealed entities or closed totalities but are located in a continual process of future becoming (Stuart Hall 1991 & 1996) through their constant reflexivity (Mead 1934). They are always constituted within representation and the continued search of diasporic narratives of displacement for an identity (Stuart Hall 1996). Within the tensions and negotiations of 'inn-group' and 'out-group', (Tajfel & Turner 1986), individual preferences, group identification and social identities are constructed through the active creative agency of subjectivities (See Tajfel 1981; Turner 1985a & Turner 1985b).⁶¹ Consequently, to integrate the human agency approach and theorise women's struggle to change structures of oppression (Section 4.3), their active performative roles and reflexive self-construction can be conceived in terms of a counter hegemonic discourse bearing different meanings for heterogeneous women located within different social positionings and life trajectories.

To address and resolve the subjective-objective analytical divide, postcolonial theorists and critical pedagogists, have repeatedly conceptualised the con-

60 See also Crenshaw and her framework of analysis on intersectional vulnerability (Section, 4.1.4).

61 Review critically Dahlia Moore (2000) on the social construction of gender identity, nationalism and social action.

sciousness and agency of colonial subjects as conditioned in nature rather than emancipatory due to the subjugating dynamics of power and structure (Fanon 1969; Freire 1970 & 1972; Foucault 1980; Spivak 1988 & 1990; Derrida 1994).⁶² They locate and theorise postcolonial subjectivities within the conditionings of colonial legacies and residues (Freire 1970 & 1972; Foucault 1980; Spivak 1988 & 1990; Derrida 1994). Thus, they bring into analysis the dimensions of disalienation, subaltern nostalgic consciousness and their dislocating implications (Review critically, Freire 1970: 1972; Foucault 1980; Spivak 1988, & 1990)⁶³.

Drawing on the Foucauldian postmodern theorisation, I will approach subjectivity in terms of a structural configuration and manifestation of socially constructed categories within hegemonic and counter hegemonic discourses that are historically situated and legitimated through discursive practices, power and political practice (Section 4.6.1 & 4.6.2). Stuart Hall (1991:49) theorises identity in terms of a contradictory construct, configured within multiplistic competing and conflicting discourses which are consistently composed across the silences of the other in the complex contradictions of ambivalence and desire (Section 4.6.1). To understand fully the social construction and transformation of subjectivities within nexus constellations, I broaden my analysis beyond Hall's notion of oppositional power binaries and the social spaces (Stuart Hall 1996a; 1996b; 1996c; 1986;). Instead, I have incorporated the (trans)locational positionality and multilayeredness of identities in order to complicate theorisation of the complex localities of identities as they differentially participate in hierarchisation and exclusionary processes (Section 4.1 & 4.2). To conceptualise my data on social cohesion, a fusion of feminist theories as they regard the notion of structural ambivalent gendered subjectivities and Halls conceptualisation of oppositional power binaries and the contradictory outcomes within post-modern polygamous family systems is relevant. To expand on the binaries articulated in his theoretical framework, for example, the us/them and women/men (Stuart Hall 1996a; 1996b & 1996c; 1986), I will integrate Bourdieu's conceptualisation of legitimate cultural capital/ illegitimate cultural capital (Bourdieu, Section 8.6.3 & 8.6.2; Section 9.8.2–9.8.5) as they relate to hierarchisation, exclusion and the politics of recognition and misrecognition (Skeggs 2001a) within primary socialisation and individuation processes.

62 Review also section 4.6.1 & 4.6.2

63 See *ibid.*

Freire (1970 & 1972) from a critical pedagogical point of view, integrates a strength based perspective to underline the significant importance of approaching the oppressed within a dialogical context deconstructing domestication and promoting emancipatory conceptualisations of the self through both a critical insertion of subjectivities into their social political environments and a transformatory perspective that recognises possibilities for change while fostering new constructions of reality. In this light, I understand my work in terms of community development and a supportive role investigating the transformatory capacity and educational needs of women with a view to evolve pedagogical interventionist models that can empower women with analytical resources and tools for bringing about change through their own doing (Review critically Freire 1970). Grounded theory through its evidence-based framework (Strauss & Glaser 1967; Glaser 1978; Strauss & Corbin 1990), makes possible the development of a pedagogy for the people with the people (See Freire 1970) – Not only are the aspired changes rooted in empirical realities to facilitate workability, context sensitivity voice construction and outcomes for bottom-up processes (See critically Glaser 1978) but also theoretical sampling and biographic interviews (Glaser 1978) provide a forum for critical inquiry in which men as subjects rather than recipients or objects of discursive practices pursue meaning in cooperative and respectful dialogue with each other (Freire 1970 & 1972).

Best practices, action plans and capacity building are developed within the structural context of the three/fourfold vulnerability model in conjunction with critical pedagogy, feminist approaches, dialectic analysis and systems oriented sociological perspectives.

To sum up, the foregoing analysis and highlight the relevance for conceptualising my data, I will explore the implications of intersectional vulnerability, multidimensional oppression and nexus situativity for the social construction of postcolonial subjectivities in modern family systems as they relate to outcomes for gender, ethnicity, status, class, subjectification – identity and social cohesion in a context of transnationalism, globalisation and postmodernity.

4.8 History of Feminist Research

4.8.1 *Absence of Women in Research*

With reference to female migration, three major trends of development can be identified according to scholars (Morokvasic 1983; Hondagneu-Sotelo). The earliest period constituting the 60s and the phase before the mid-seventies (Morokvasic 1983) is structured clearly by the absence of migrant women in the literature (Review also Treibel 1988; Apitzsch 1994:240; Westphal 1996:17). Since this stage is classified as representative of the gender blindness era⁶⁴ whereby migrants were perceived dominantly as gender neutral categories, it was also characterised by the dominant application of the patriarchal family model as a paradigm for explaining migration (Morokvasic 1983 & 1984). As well, a pervasive focus on waged employment and temporary labour migratory movements (Hillman 1996; Rätzkel & Kalpaka 1993; compare also Ochse 1999 with further references). Whereas focus of attention was mainly on industrial workers (Hillman 1996; Rätzkel & Kalpaka 1993; Westphal 1996), the term migrant worker articulated the image of a young, able-bodied man (United Nations Secretariat 1995a). Scholars point out to the fact that, since the economic activities of women were located mainly in the informal economy, domestic service, personal care and prostitution; this reinforced their sociological invisibilisation (Oso & Garson 1985; UN 1995). In this connection, scholars have argued that migration policies have also played a role in reinforcing the sociological invisibilisation of women by downplaying women's participation and underrating their economic roles through linking their legal status to their spouse's (UN Secretariat 1995). Whereas women admitted in the dependants' category may be prohibited from participating in economic activities, those admitted in the independent category as migrant workers may not be allowed to change jobs (Boyd & Russell, qtd. in United Nations Secretariat 1995). Anthias on the other hand, problematises the implications of the undocumented nature of much of the migration as fundamental in structuring its relation to the market, in terms of the hidden or private economies within the service sector, the household (domestic service) and the sex industry (Anthias 2000 & 2001a). This articulation can be identified in the discrepancy between statistical representation and sociological constructions (Morokvasic 1983 & 1984). The discrepancy has continued to shape trends and perspectives in today's

64 On gender blindness see Phizacklea (1988); Bachu (1993); Brah (1996); Lim (1995) and Hillman (1996).

research phase, therefore remaining as the subject of debate and controversy (See Farber et al 2008).

To briefly illuminate on the quantitative dimensions, scholars have also linked the invisibilisation of women in research to the gaps in official statistics (UN Secretariat 1995). Tapinos and kritz complicate this analysis by linking the problematic of official statistics to the difficulty of operating the various definitions of what constitutes an international migrant, the complications brought about by undocumented migration and a general lack of consensus on what type of statistics ought to be recorded (Lim 1995). Review also critically (Hillman 1996; Nuscheler 1995a). My empirical findings (Section 10.1 & 10.2) collaborate the findings of other scholars that point out to the lack of readily available information and gender differentiated data (UN 1995; Hillman 1996; Zlotnik 2003) as posing serious obstacles to research. From a comparative perspective, however, it is significant that England's census data is much more advanced in providing quantitative data on African women than the census data or other statistical sources in Germany. The new 2006 census data in Germany may have alleviated some of the past shortcomings.

4.8.2 *Sociological Visibilisation and Theoretical Limitations*

Whereas the periods characterising the visibilisation of women in research tend to overlap, the second stage can be classified as constituting the period from around the mid-seventies onwards in which women were first sociologically visibilized in migration research (Morokvasic 1983). As the Germany case illustrates, this coincided with the recruitment stop on Guest workers, which was followed by increased family-reunification (Westphal 1996:17). Indeed within the German Sociological debate, the 'Gastarbeiter phenomenon' has been identified as one single factor that significantly influenced the early development of research on migrant women (Nora Rätzzel & Anita Kalpaka 1993).

According to Rätzzel and kalpaka and the scholars showcased in their review, as the Gastarbeiter movement evolved into the permanent settlement of (im)migrants and influenced the development of new educational programs, community and settlement projects, this awakened interest of feminist scholars in research (Rätzzel & kalpaka 1993). In his contribution, Zlotnik (1995) documents the predominance of family reunification following the recruitment stop on labour migration and the associated implementation of a restrictive labour migration policy in the rest of Europe during the mid seventies.

Böhning (1972) and Beyer (1976) theorise these transitions in terms of the emergence of social networks based on kinship relations.

Whilst conceptualising the gendered dimensions in terms of the feminisation of labour, Zlotnik (1995) draws attention to the predominance of women in the entry flows, despite their disproportionate minority representation in terms of the stock of migrants (Casas & Garson 2005). So whilst these transitions highlighted social structural aspects and emphasized the relevance of legislative and institutional processes in constructing and conditioning the status of migrants on the basis of gender, age, lifecycle, educational and social status as well as cultural attributes (Hillman 1996), they were responsible for adding a new and unforeseen social dimension to the original labour participation and the associated shifts in the focus of attention in scientific research (See Westphal 1996:17; Morokvasic 1993). In this connection, whilst critiquing the institutionalisation of social work and social pedagogy that followed processes of family re-unification after the guest worker recruitment stop, Rätzkel and Kalpaka (1993) draw attention to the different works of scholars who studied the controversies, novel constraints and implications of the external social political context for the development of research and frontline work. By emphasising the example of Tsiakalos (1982) in contesting the scientific validity of the hypothesis, motivation and commitment of social scientists developed within the contingencies of contractual arrangements, Rätzkel and Kalpaka (1993) are sensitive to the role of critical pedagogy in changing structures of oppression.

Whereas the research period in the 1970s and early 1980s was characterised by counter sexist and andocentric biases (Compare Hondagneu-Sotelo 2005 with further references), Rätzkel and Kalpaka highlight the centrality of Miles Marxist oriented theoretical model in influencing the debate on race, ethnicity, class and gender within the German scientific community as it relates to deconstructing race as analytical category and integrating the political economy of migrant labour to conceptualise differentiation as rooted in the structural constitution of ethnicity (Rätzkel and Kalpaka (1993), See also Miles, Section 4.5.2). As elsewhere mentioned, Rätzkel and Kalpaka pay attention to the frameworks in which feminist researchers debated, critiqued and deconstructed the unequal incorporation of migrant women and the institutional invisibilisation of their scientific voices (Rätzkel and Kalpaka 1993). These developments are linked to the ground breaking work for integrating critical approaches within migration research and the basis for the translation of scientific discourses into processes of change.

Although the second stage constituted the first step in taking migrant women out of their sociological invisibility, it is significant that this too was shaped by binarisations of the private/public divide and the invisibilisation of women through the bread winner model which, whilst constructing and reaffirming gender hierarchies and patriarchal ideologies not only reduced women's roles within the framework of the family and in relation to children but also promoted essentialist and reductionist notions of gender (See critically, Gümen 1996; Steinhilber 1994:18; Oso & Catarino 1996). Looking more closely at the stereotypical representation and perpetuation of images, different scholars have again directly associated this with the selective structure of the 'Gastarbeiter labour migration, since mainly men dominated in the factories of middle and north Europe (See Hillmann 1996). Moreover, as Westphal has demonstrated, the overshadowing impact on the economic role of migrant women and their invisibilisation in scientific literature derives further from the prevailing picture of the ideal German woman: Whereas for autochthon women after marrying their engagement was typically organised in the household as house wives and mothers, the constraints of labour participation had forced migrant women to leave their families behind (Westphal 1996 & 1997):

Morokvasic in her critique clearly articulates the pervasive misconceptions of female roles in literature – theoretical constructions of women as dependent followers of men (wives, or mothers), unproductive, illiterate, isolated, bearers of many children and secluded from the outside world (Morokvasic 1983; review also critically amongst others Andizian and Streif 1982; Brettell and Simon 1986:3; Sellar 1994:6). Anthias links the public/private divide to the operations of state mechanisms and their role in socially constructing the personal lives and experiences of women as private and detached from the structural conditionalities of gender hierarchies and subordinations, however, with legal discriminatory outcomes for their labour participation as the case for sex trade illustrates (Anthias 2000 & 2001a).⁶⁵

Thus, scholars critique the reductionist and homogenising housewife conceptualisations applied to migrant women irrespective of the diverse categories of difference (Firat, Chapter 1). Within this framework, Erdam emphasizes the need for theorising the structural economy of gender, the interface with cultural identity and conditionalities of migration (Erdam 2003). Basing on

65 Drawing on (Campani 1997), she argues that for undocumented immigrants or refugees, rape and other forms of abuse become explained as individual pathology rather than emanating social processes of gender hierarchy and subordinations.

the situation of domestic workers, Radcliffe critiques the patriarchal system inherent within ideological constructions of families and national repertoires in relation to the intersections with gender, ethnicity and their contradictory outcomes for women (Radcliff 1990). Thus, scholars theorise the role of societal norms (Radcliff 1990; compare also Lutz Helma 2008 with further references).

Other scholars have problematised the dominance of the stereotype and the cultural variable in terms of the universalistic approaches to gender that fail to differentiate multilayered identities, ethnicity, class and subjectivity of women irrespective of the varied national, cultural origins and their high labour force activity (Morokvasic 1983; See also Mehrländer, qtd. in: Westphal 1996; Morokvasic 1987b; Anthias 2002).⁶⁶ In the German scientific debate, Çaglar (1990) criticises the incorporation of the positive cultural difference as a theoretical approach and links this not only to the production of a static image of culture but also to perpetuating limitations which homogenize culture as a category of analysis. In this regard, I have argued that this perspective promotes linearism and hinders the development and implementation of multi level strategic interventions that are required to effectively bring about change. Against this background, I have demonstrated the empirical relevance of cultural similarity perspectives (Section 5.2). Steibhilber (1994:17) looks at the incompatibility of biased problem focused perspectives to criticise deficiency orientation and its incorporation in approaches conceptualising migrants' cultural identities. Hebenstreit (1986:198) and Nestvogel (Chapter 5) discuss the problematic of feminist ethnocentrism,⁶⁷ which Rätzl and Kalpaka (1993: 305–306) concretely link to the establishment and perpetuation of paternalistic relations with migrants within the early projects and community work following the family reunification and recruitment stop. Moreover, this happened in a framework of the tradition-modernity dichotomy where migration was misconceived as the promoting variable for modernity, change and emancipation through access to gainful employment and

66 Anthias (2002) highlights the limitations of cultural relativism and cultural stereotypes not only because of their implications for homogenizing and totalizing cultures, but also for masking the differences and hierarchies, the existence of class, oppression as well as the diversity of position and location between and within the so called „cultural groups“. Similarly Morokvasic (1983) critiques the negative implications for producing static image of societies undergoing rapid transformation while also masking differences between and within countries.

67 She looks at the interpretation of the emancipatory process in relation to the dominance of Eurocentric views (See Ochse 1999:47)

western culture (Morokvasic Section 1.1.1; Castles & Kosack 1985; See also Westphal 1996:24). Well articulating the ‘secondary sociological blindness’ drawing on cultural deficit theories to reconstruct migrants as passive victims of background culture⁶⁸ (See Arndt-Schug & Franger 1991:266) and masking the structural contradictions of the threefold/fourfold oppression model underpinning the intersections of gender, class and ethnicity (Section 4.4 & 4.6).

Other studies have also contradictorily revealed that labour participation, may not necessarily correspond to linear development from patriarchal oppression (See critically Pessar 1995:42) to egalitarian gender relations and control over resources (Anthias 2000, 2001a & 2002). Whilst scholars have emphasized the importance of understanding mobility as a process constituting both gains and losses (See critically Morokvasic 1984a & 1993⁶⁹), the integration of a structural approach is underscored to highlight the implications of class relations within capitalist modes of production (Miles 1982, 1989; Miles & Phizacklea 1984). As well, scholars identify the need for understanding the constraints brought about through the complexities of pluralistic orientation and gendered ambivalence (Section 4.4. & 4.5) as they relate to the double burden of combining child rearing activities with labour participation, and furthermore, their impact in placing limits on the choice of work (See Pessar 1995:45). This has the tendency to trap women in low paying part-time work (UN Secretariat 1995).

Further perceptual shortcomings inherent within in the tradition-modernity dichotomy; have been traced within the failure to incorporate into analysis the labour participation of migrant women in their societies of origin prior to migration (Morokvasic 1983; Pooley & White,⁷⁰ qtd. in: Hillman 1996). Such a perspective is needed in order to problematise the operations of international class relations as capitalist’s modes of production as described above (Phizacklea 1982:112). Such a perspective must also integrate (im)migrant women’s social cultural background as a unit of analysis (Morokvasic 1983; See also Chapter 9). The absence of the historical background of women has been linked to the underpinning assumption that migrant women were not engaged in waged employment prior to their migration (Morokvasic 1983 & 1987b). By contrast, biographies of working class women in Europe (Brettell 1979 &

68 See also Morokvasic (1983).

69 Review Abadan-Unat in Morokvasic (1993).

70 Pooley & White 1991 lament the absence of historical studies, interactional approaches and longitudinal research (Hillman 1996).

1982) and America (Seller 1994) have contradictorily shown relatively high labour participation rates of women before migration. In this connection, Sayed has discussed the negative implications that ahistorisation, reductionist and ethnocentric approaches pose for research through projecting partial views of the migration process (Morokvasic 1983). This has had the major implications for not only masking and hindering a coherent analysis of structural oppressive mechanisms within destination societies but also hindering the incorporation of the human agents perspective that conceives the active agency of women in relation to the social political, cultural, symbolic and economic ways in which women manage the migration process (Morokvasic 1983; Anthias 2001a & 2002; See also Section 4.3).

Within this framework, scholars trace and critique the limitations of the stir and add approach which incorporated women as variables for measuring the relational educational and labour market integration of women vs. men in a framework failing to theorise the social and power relations configuring gender (See Leeds 1976; Compare also Hondagneu-Sotelo 2005 with further references). Thus, the scientific constructions of skewed women analyzed in isolation from the broader impacting societal mechanisms, gender hierarchies and how they stand in relation to each other (See critically Gabaccia qtd. in *ibid.*; Gümen 2003) and to the dynamics of international migration. Therefore this approach ghettoised (im)migrant women within segregated subfields (Hondagneu-Sotelo 2005). During the 1980s, however, as corporate globalisation intensified and the dependency on low paid pool of disenfranchised Third World Women increased (Sassen qtd. in: *ibid.* & Sassen, Section 5.6.5), this shifted the research attention from women only approaches and sex role constraint perspectives to analysis of the integration of gender into corporate globalisation strategies (Hondagneu-Sotelo 2005).

To summarise the foregoing analysis, the integration of gender into the social sciences as analytical category first took place *towards the end of the 1970s* (See Morokvasic 1983; Krasberg 1979; Mansfeld 1979) and was followed by analysis of women's economic roles on the labour market (Ley 1979; Krasberg 1979). The sociological visibilisation of women in research was fuelled by the critiques of scholars like Leeds calling out to the attention the fact that the tendency to focus on migrant women as isolate entities rather than complementarily in relation to the various roles and sets of factors articulating discriminatory criteria negatively incorporated reductionist and individualistic approaches in research (Leeds 1976: 69 & 71; See critically, Chapter 5). Thus, in addition to the guest worker movements and the recruitment stop

(Hillman 1996; Kalpaka & Rätzzel, Section 4.8.2), other factors that provided the social scientific context and contributed to the sociological visibilisation of women include: a broad feminist investigation of women's roles combined with recognition of female migrants' contributions as economically important; a general shift in sociology, education and policy towards women (Morokvasic 1983; Hillman 1996; Hondagneu-Sotelo 2005); the emergence of studies highlighting the unreliability of official data and the under-presentation of migrant women economic roles (Morokvasic 1983; Casas & Garson 2005).

4.8.3 *Cultural Constructionism and Social Hierarchisation*

From the late seventies and 1980s the second feminist research stages integrated approaches promoting the visibilisation of women's economic roles, social environments and interaction with host societies (critically review Morokvasic 1983; Casas & Garson 2005; Hillman 1996; Kalpaka & Rätzzel 1985). This phase, however, was still shaped by major deficits and as scholars illustrate, the problematic of gender blindness has persisted and women have remained substantively invisible in literature (See Buijs 1993; Brah 1996a). This is specifically true despite increased feminisation of migration and labour (UN 2005; Castles and Miller 1998) – in classic immigration countries like Canada and U.S.A, we are currently witnessing more women than men migrating (See Pesser 1996). Similarly, data from the Labour Force Surveys in OECD countries show a higher proportion of women in the foreign-born population in most of the member countries (Casas & Garson 2005). As I have already demonstrated (Section 4.6.5), the focus in literature and discourse that emerged around the beginning and middle of the 1980s was predominantly centred around deconstructing the assimilationist and differentiation approaches and hence shaped by a concerted inquiry of scholars into the mechanisms of negative cultural constructionism and an examination of the implementation frameworks (Kalpaka and Norah Rätzzel 1985; see also, Chapter 5).

Looking at the ideological construction of exotic femininities, Baringhorst has traced and critiqued the persistence of cultural differentiation approaches in a framework drawing attention to the shifting manifestations underpinned

by a fusion of the human agent's perspective within scholarly works appearing in the late 80s with reductionist notions of gender (Baringhorst 1993)⁷¹.

Anthias critiques the limitations of cultural constructionism as an approach in terms of the cultural hierarchies and difference it constructs amongst women by demonstrating how exoticising is drawn on to rank and prioritise the cultural capital of (im)migrant women on the basis of the degree of fit to Western lifestyles. A solid example constitutes the prioritised westernised image of the Russian women and the submissive, nurturing traits of the mail order brides from the Philippines (Review critically Anthias 2002). Similarly, she exemplifies the hidden intersections of gender, class and ethnicity with agency articulated through the prioritised cultural capital of the submissive, nurturing traits as the case of the mail order brides from the Philippines illustrates (Anthias 2002). Drawing on the case of the domestic maids from Sri-Lanka, she critiques constructions, homogenisations and normalisations of the image of the European woman as the ideal woman and the outcomes for pathologising and configuring women as victims and passive reactors to processes (Anthias 2002).

Drawing on Helma Luz (1997), she identifies the role of alterity paradigms and conceptualisations of Muslim women within the 'other-other' framework – as reflecting a dichotomy with the Western European Model of womanhood (Anthias 2002). Thus, Skeggs whilst integrating a structural approach with the dimensions of class and gender analysis shows how the appearance and value of femininity as a form of cultural capital is utilised, theorised, known, judged and misrecognised. Against this background, Skeggs draws on Bourdieu to link the politics of misrecognition to the politics of re-distribution (Skeggs 2001a, Section 8.7.1). Drawing on Fraser, Skeggs articulates the argument that the latter is displacing the former (Skeggs *ibid.*). To concretise empirical relevance, the biographies of women in England indicate that embeddedness within a class conscious society appears to exacerbate rather than deconstruct the traditional-modernity dichotomy to the extent that migrant women's modes of representation and social differentiation appear constructed along the intersections of class, ethnicity, gender and postcolonial subjectivity with consequences for fragmenting social capital (Chapter 8). Therefore to incorporate the dimension of ethnicity and conceptualise my

71 The implications of cultural difference approaches for subjectification practices have been extensively handled in section 5.3.1

data within this framework, Bourdieu's theory of practice and framework⁷² for analyzing the cultural configurations of class, symbolic capital and symbolic interaction within specific habitus engagements has been integrated – with a view to explicate identity building of postcolonial subjectivities in the nexus constellations of England's class conscious habitus on one hand, the egalitarian social market habitus of Germany and the structurally disembedded social habitus of African societies on the other hand (Chapter 4; Section 6.1.6; Section 8.7 & 8.6.2).

During the late 1980s and early 1990s intersectional approaches to gender, class and ethnicity began to emerge (Hondagneu-Sotelo 1995). These have shaped research perspectives until today. A good example constitutes the work of Yuval-Davis (2006). Other studies which emerged during this time and have continued to shape scientific focus include analysis of households and intergenerational conflicts as spearheaded by Grasmuck & Pesser (1991)⁷³.

Anthias summary of the current themes on migration and mobility in Europe illustrates that the third research stage is shaped by a central shift away from a migration problematic altogether towards the needs for permanent settlement of populations (Anthias 2000 & 2001a). Integrating problem oriented approaches, the new focus looks at the incorporation and exclusion of migrants (Section 4.11). Anthias brings forth the issues that in Britain, themes regarding race relations and ethnic studies subsume dominance (Anthias 2000 & Anthias, qtd. in: Anthias 2001a; See also Miles 1989). Basing on her earlier works with Yuval Davis (1992), she further draws attention to the most recently emerging concerns with issues relating to identity, new ethnicities, difference and diversity characterising debates in this area.

Drawing on Cohen 1997, she also adequately concretises the emergency of theories of diasporisation and of new Diaspora social forms, including issues relating to consciousness. Citing the works of Hall 1990, Gilroy 1993a; Cohen 1997; Anthias 1998b she illustrates that subjects regarding hybridity and transnationalism have played a major role. And, of course as many others have done, she draws on different scholars such as Anthias 1983; 1992; Phizacklea 1983; Brah 1996a; Anderson and Phizacklea 1997 to identify the increased relevance of gender as analytical category. As well, she cites the works of Anthias & Yuval Davis 1989; Charles & Hintjens 1998; Wilford and Miller 1998 to identify the increased importance of the role women play in

72 See Bourdieu 1997, 1993 & 1984

73 Compare also Ochsen 1999; Hondagneu 2005.

the reproduction of the ethnic boundary. Others point out to the evolving mainstreaming approaches and deconstruction of gender asymmetries framed by the increased recognition of the multiplicities of masculinities and femininities which are interconnected, relational and embedded in relations of class, race and nation (Compare Hondagneu-Sotelo 2005 with further references). Quoting Koser, Anthias underscores a further impact issue that refugee and undocumented migrants increasingly subsume a central position in research (Anthias 2000 & 2001a). The growing importance of the social networks perspective within a context of transnationalism has also been underscored by scholars (Kearney 1986; Tilly 1990; Grasmuck and Pesser 1991; Boyd 1989; Portes 1995; Brettell 2000; Anthias 2000 & 2001a & 2002; Vertovec 2002). Certainly within this context, general research has expanded to include the international dimension studying the international interconnections and the framework of global development as will be demonstrated in section 5.4–5.6.

4.9 The Stratification Hypothesis – Dualising Ethnicity

4.9.1 International Relevance and Analytical Expansion

4.9.1.1 Systemic Barriers and Fragmentation of Women’s Biographies

The ‘stratification hypothesis’, both Krasberg (1979) and Ley (1979) argue, has characterised research perspectives in the German scientific literature between the 1970s and 1980s. They highlight the invisibilisation, devaluation and fragmentation of women’s professional qualifications perpetuated within this framework and show that within this paradigm, women are conceived as ‘unqualified workers’. Whereas Farrokhzad thematizes the contradictions experienced within processes of social mobility as they relate to the declassification of educational and professional biographies (Farrokhzad 2003), both Krasberg (1979) and Ley (1979) link the stratification approach in literature to the operations of systemic barriers, recruitment policies and the incompatibility of systems accrued to international differences in the state regulation of occupations as well as a narrow conceptualisation of women within the framework of traditional gender specific roles: Looking at the role played by the institutional patterns of evaluation and interpretation, they bring forth the issue that, since women are recruited on the basis of their formal training, their informally acquired skills which were recognized and practiced in the unregulated sectors in sending countries are usually not taken into consideration. Thus, they escape recognition within the regulated occupations in Ger-

many. This was especially the case with hair dressers and dress makers (compare also Gutiérrez Rodríguez 1999:28 with further references). Within this context, Kreckel (1992) looks at the implications of gender selective systems of education and training and how they contribute to the devaluation of industrial labour (See Gottschall 1999a). Whereas these themes have quantitatively been addressed in research, the relationship between scientific findings and social political implementation has not been spelled out (Compare Gutiérrez Rodríguez 1999; Ochse 1999 with further references). Based on my research findings, the comparison of Germany with England indicates, that in Germany, the incompatibility of systems of background societies has also regressively affected women's professional biographies. As well, it has affected the recording of statistics. According to my statistical analysis, since the category worker denotes engagement in manufacturing production (Hillman; Rätzel & Kalpaka; Westphal, Section 4.8.1), this has seemed to underscore the irrelevance of the academic background for recording statistics. As the African case demonstrates, indeed, analysis of the labour market situation with regard to female migrants in Germany is marked by a striking invisibilisation of skills profiles, educational levels, occupational status and economic activity rates (Chapter 10). Thus, this has had the major implications for limiting scientific observation on African women almost entirely to empirical means. My grounded methodological approach is subsequently framed within the increased recognition at the contemporary level of research of the generative potential of narrative-biographic interviews to shed light to the labour participation of migrant women (Compare Gutiérrez Rodríguez 1999 with further references). As elsewhere mentioned, it is worth mentioning that the new 2006 micro census data that was released after my above analysis might show improvements.

4.9.1.2 Cultural Hiring Practices and Subjectification of Labour Markets

Current trends indicate that, the stratification hypothesis is valuable and still relevant both theoretically and practically – as a concept, it can be broadened and applied to conceptualise current discursive practices within the international context: As the Canadian debate illustrates, researchers have broadly documented the systematic devaluation of the skills of (im)migrants and new Canadians practiced and legitimated on the labour market through the notion of 'Canadian Experience', the non-recognition of international credentials and cultural hiring practices (SPCRT 2006; See also Section 4.6.5.2.1 &

4.7.3). Whereas for Morokvasic (1983)⁷⁴ this can be conceptualised in terms of the operating mechanisms of the stereotype, Phizacklea (1983) theorises the marginalising role as tools for exploitation in the labour market. She postulates that this has major implications for the creation of the ethnic economy. Indeed, the implication of discriminatory cultural hiring practices has often been problematised within this framework. Jenkins (1986) has observed that discrimination on the basis of ethnicity operates through the recruitment policies of company managers which go beyond applying technically appropriate criteria for suitability of job positions to integrate notions of acceptability thereby including appearance, speech style, personality, attitude, manner and perceived potential for ‘fitting in’ (Review Watson 1995). It is important to investigate the extents to which intercultural conflicts potentially emerge and how they are (mis)recognized and how this may have strong implications for jeopardising the status of female migrants. From an interrelated perspective Wetterer (1992) and Wits (1992) draw attention to the challenges encountered by veiled women to critique the gendered institutional practices and their interlocking with ethnicity in terms of mechanisms that hinder (im)migrants from transforming their cultural capital into the labour market. Hausen conceptualises such systemic barriers in terms of the ways in which religion and gender are tied into institutions through a binarisation of gender characteristics with implications for polarising and dissociating profession and family life (Hausen 1979).

Whilst theorising the subjectification of the labour market, Becker-Schmidt observes that the above dynamics have been maintained and accelerated within the interface of deregulation, corporate globalisation, gender and ethnicity (Becker-Schmidt, Section 4.4).

4.9.1.3 Material Signification: Two-tier Systems, Social Segregation and Identity Crisis

What is perhaps most integral to comprehending the ‘stratification hypothesis’ on the international labour market are the structural impacts as they relate to segmentation and its manifestation within communities. These are most exemplified in the Canadian context specifically through the increased social segregation of society along the lines of ethnicity, class and gender albeit manifested in precarious ways which mainstream scholars like Galabuzi have attempted to conceptualise in terms of the growing economic apartheid

74 Review also critically Morokvasic in Phizacklea (1983)

(Galabuzi, Chapter 1). The double digit income gap, chronically higher than average levels of unemployment, deepening levels of poverty, differentiated access to housing and neighbourhood segregation, lower life expectancy, higher health risks and child poverty observed amongst minority groups clearly articulate this trend (See for example, Statistics Canada 2003; Maxwell 2003; Chappell 2006; Galabuzi; 2001). The evolvement of the tow-tier school system and the identity crisis increasingly observed amongst the youth with a migration background as mirrored in the high crime rates and disproportionate contact with the criminal justice system⁷⁵ makes it possible to understand the complex implications of location and hierarchisation for the social construction of subjectivities.

4.9.1.4 Deconstruction – Qualitative Approaches as Transformatory Tools

Drawing on Baringhorst, Gutiérrez demonstrates the fact that failure to address the de-skilling mechanism within the approaches characterising the 1970s and 1980s warranted the emergence of new research perspectives during the 1990s. The new perspectives sought to integrate a structural analysis in the field of intercultural gender research (Gutiérrez 1999). Baringhorst argues that, while illuminating the structural barriers, these studies conceived the economically disadvantaged position and de-qualification of migrants within the cultural gender construction of host societies as well as activities of the state and private educational agencies which are constitutive of the employment regimes (Baringhorst 1995:23; Review also Gutiérrez Rodríguez 1999). Against this background, scholars postulate that it was the new paradigm shift towards a broader integration of qualitative approaches within the intercultural gender research in the 1980s and 1990s that feminist scholars put structural barriers, contradictions and contributions of migrant women on the agenda for research (*ibid.*).⁷⁶

75 See Correctional Service of Canada, 1999.

76 See also Gutiérrez Rodríguez (1999).

4.10 The Psycho-Culturalist Perspective

4.10.1 The Tradition-Modernity Paradigm

Looking at some of the studies that emerged in the 1970s and early 1980s, Morokvasic like many others critiques the predominance of the psycho-culturalist perspective in relation to its tendency to over emphasize individual characteristics and its lack of a broader theoretical perspective, comparative approaches and reference to the social cultural background of migrant women (Morokvasic 1983; See also Chapter 5). As Hillman has postulated, micro sociological oriented theories have interpreted female migration in terms of social-psychological processes and culture by looking at the individual motivation of migrants, the process of decision making, adaptation into the host land, individual conditions and consequences of migration. As well, they have tended to analyze migrants within the context of the host country. Hence they have focused on processes of integration, assimilation, adaptation, acculturation, uprooting, marginalisation and cultural alienation (Hillman 1996). With the exception of a few scholars, this approach fails to integrate a materialist analysis linking women's migration to the broader labour migratory movements and their structural determinants (see Morokvasic 1983; Hillman 1996; Lim 1995). As well, women's condition has been analyzed within a perspective of adaptation to the host society in narrow terms of evolution towards an emancipated state (Morokvasic 1983). At this point, it is worth mentioning as Anthias (2000 & 2001a) has also argued that the traditional-modernity dichotomy is still traceable in research through the discourse and practice of otherness (Section 4.8.3).

4.11 Settlement Dynamics and the Shift in Research Focus

4.11.1 Theorising Social Cohesion, Exclusion and Diversity

To review further stages of development in international migration research, it can be postulated that, since the migratory movements in the 20th century characterising the European context were classified as largely constituting refugee flows, this led to an understanding of migration as a threatening phenomenon (Nuscheler 1995a:26). Thus, the central themes in the public debate and scientific literature that emerged mainly addressed issues of condensing migration streams to Europe. Migrants were increasingly presented as a form of concentrating regional conflicts between the industrial societies and the less industrialised nations (Hillman 1996). Today these issues seem to be pushed in the background as demographic demands and broader social shifts

substantially mould trends in the new focus. However, Germany seems to still lie behind in most research issues as already indicated (Section 4.6.5.1.1). As elsewhere mentioned, Anthias' comprehensive review of the current themes on migration and mobility in Europe identifies a central shift away from a migration problematic altogether as a result of the changing face of migration that has brought about permanent settlement of populations. Whilst integrating solution focused approaches, the new focus investigates the dynamics of diversity, inclusion and exclusion (See, for example, Anthias 2000 & 2001a).

4.11.2 Theoretical Models and Analytical Approaches

To theorise and address social exclusion, Estivill (2003:51) presents a framework for expounding on the spatial dimensions while also broadening the concept of time to integrate longitudinal studies and facilitate analysis of economic cycles, demographic changes and the intergenerational transmission of the condition of exclusion. Indeed exclusion has subsumed great importance in migration research. Jane Jenson (1998) views a five-dimensional social cohesion model as essential to adequately addressing social exclusion. The five dimensions identified include: a) a sense of belonging to one's community; b) inclusion in and access to important life areas and activities; c) citizen participation and engagement; d) recognition of different needs in society and among social groups and; e) legitimacy of public and private organisations that exist to connect individuals and groups.

In considering the concept of citizenship as mutually exclusive, I argue for a broadened perspective within Jenson's model to facilitate the social political engagement of those categories of immigrants and migrant women without a formal citizenship status.

4.11.3 Empirical Application of the 'Exclusion and Social-Cohesion' Models

Against this background, my work will combine Estivill's concept of exclusion (Estivill's 2003) with feminist theories investigating difference within professionalisation processes through a structural analysis of the causes of marginalisation on the labour market combined with a pedagogical inquiry into the existing forms of consciousness and approaches for transforming this marginalisation through the affected themselves (See Wetterer 1992). This approach will integrate the fourfold vulnerability model (Section 4.4-4.6) and the social networks perspective (Section 4.7) to investigate the multi-dimensionality, variability and intersectionality of socially differentiating

mechanisms by demonstrating how the embeddedness of ethnicity, gender, class and subjectivity as structured categories configured within the interplay of complex relations of domination, power, daily norms and practices compound social exclusion and vulnerability for women. Using the framework of theoretical sensitivity (Glaser 1978), I will aspire to inductively generate theory from data within a transformative or workability context (Section 2.2 & 3.1). Since social cohesion constitutes a core category in research, Jenson's model of social cohesion (Jenson 1998) will provide a useful analytical framework for conceptualising data (Chapter 9). The empirical relevance of the model will be demonstrated through the theorisation of women's subjectivity and the generation of social capital within a changing social context of postmodern family systems characterised by multi-pronged macro, mezzo and micro shifts along the lines of gender, ethnicity and class (Section 9.10). This work whilst integrating eclectic and intersectional approaches has produced new perspectives and cornerstones for sociologically handling subjectification practices and evolving critical pedagogy, capacity building and the development of responsive social policy (Section 9.10).

Figure 1 and Figure 2 in section 4.12 below attempt to sociologically map the postcolonial nexus and show the key structural factors affecting female status and their complex interconnectivities within in a context of international migration.

4.12 Migration Postcolonial Nexus

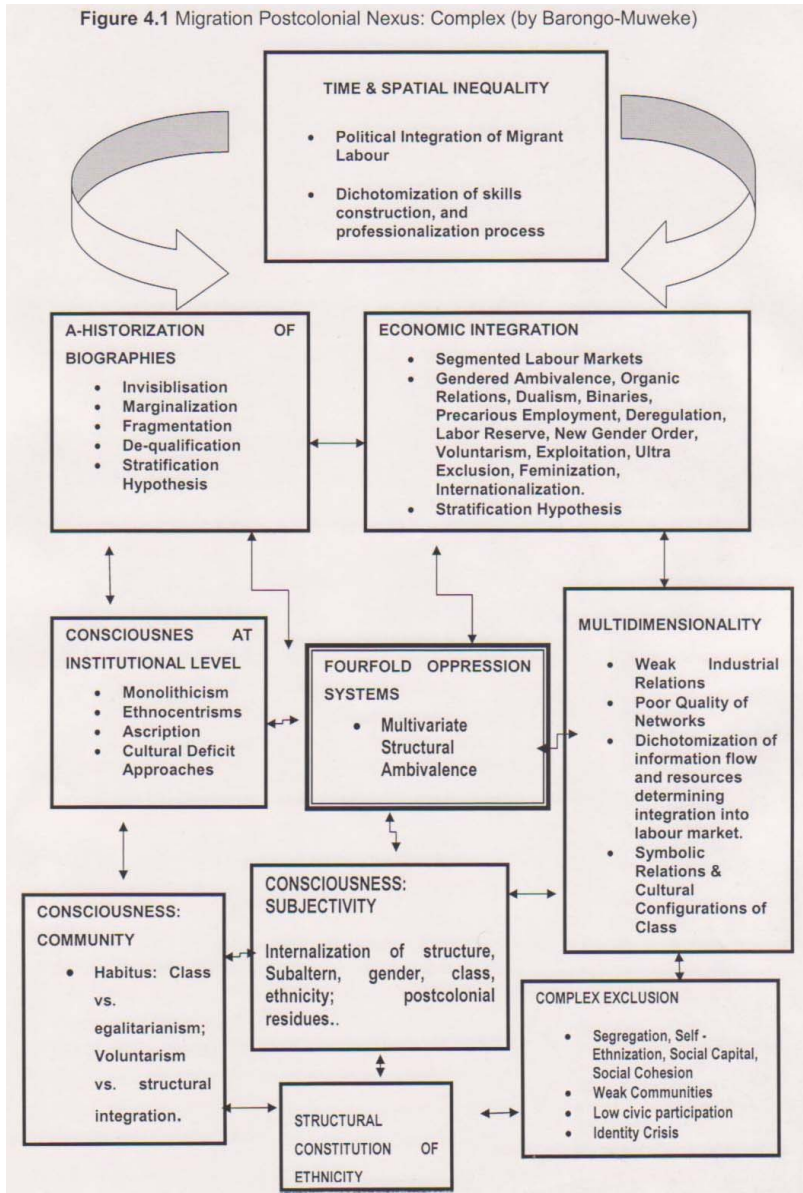
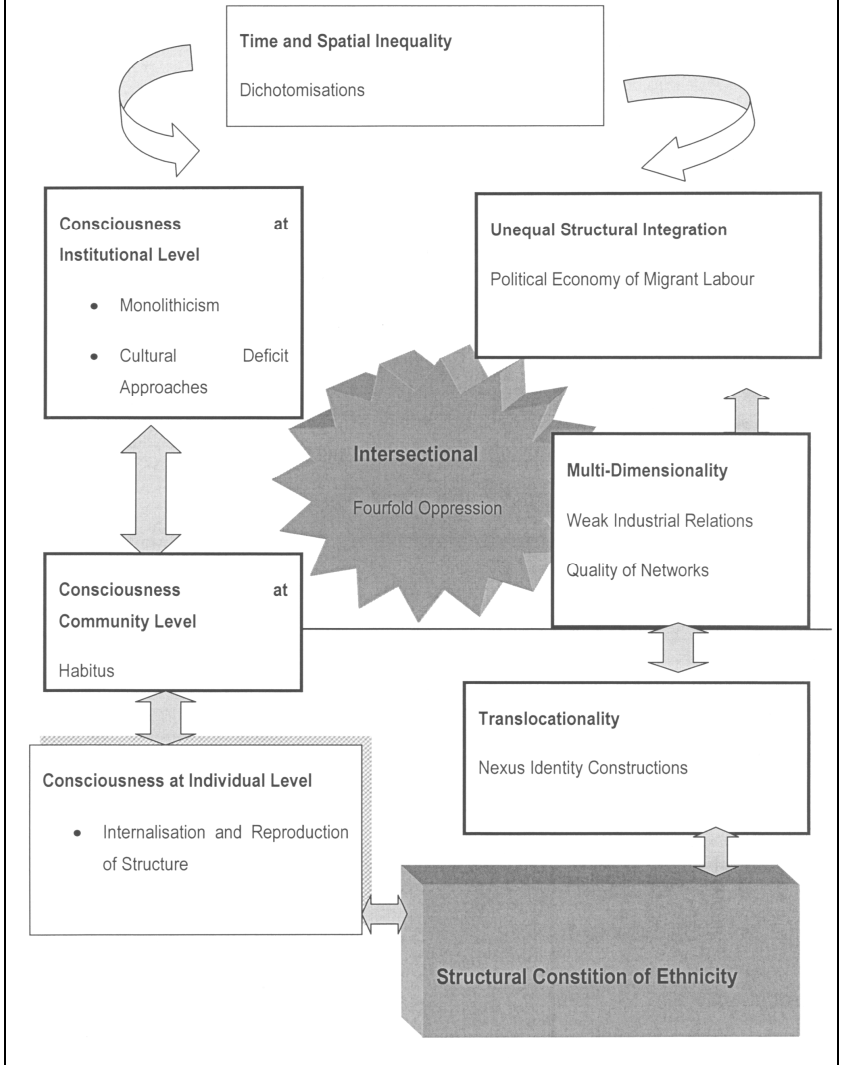


Figure 4.2, Section, 4.12 - Migration Postcolonial Nexus (Simplified) (By Barongo-Muweke)



5 Structural Social Work and social pedagogy

5.1 Discourse Analysis

Whereas feminist scholars have extensively critiqued essentialism and universalism by theorising notions of multilayered intersecting identities in relation to location of migrant women within complex, shifting locations and dislocations conditioning the dynamics of ethnicity, class, gender (See for example Anthias, Section 4.2), my empirical findings suggest that multivariate structural mechanisms have been conducive to generating the same dynamics of difference constructed along the lines of cultural deficit approaches, reductionism, cultural centrism and unequal incorporation into self organised social projects of immigrant communities. However, as others have also argued, these dynamics have been masked and ignored in research (Beckert & Marcy 2001; See also Section 5.3.1).

My main argument is that this position is no longer sustainable given that (im)migrants will continue to build weaker communities in a context of increased diversity and social fragmentation whilst women of the majority benefit from critical deconstruction of difference and constructive self critique. Consequently as Giroux influenced by Freire has also argued, the challenge at hand, regards the need for generating practices informed by a public philosophy that addresses how to construct ideological and institutional conditions in which the lived experiences of empowerment for the vast majority of the affected become the defining feature of social work, community development and pedagogical interventionist models (Giroux 2008).

5.2 Cultural Deficit Approaches and Colonial Discourses

5.2.1 Diversity, Discursive Practices and Empirical Relevance

This section rearticulates the position of disadvantage arising and reinforced by multiple exclusions from the positions of power. Comprehending these systemic contradictions is necessary in order to enable a systematising analysis and intervention into the myriad interconnecting mechanisms and social structural contingencies that (re)produce social differentiation – expanding

the margins and centres of difference through unveiling and problematising the cumulative factors that compound vulnerability:

In further illumination of cultural deficit approaches, Steinhilber (1994:17) looks at the incompatibility of biased problem focused perspectives to criticise deficiency orientation incorporated in approaches conceptualising migrants' cultural identities. In the next section, this will be analytically linked to the limitations of representationalist discourses. This this can further be critiqued in terms of the economisation and politicisation of integration – as a process unfolded in at least three distinct and intersecting dimensions: a) the macro-dimension which is framed by the arbitralisation of top-down hierarchical controls vs. the horizontal engagement of all stake holders including the affected. Such an exclusionary arrangement drives decontextualising output orientation vs. outcomes orientation: b) the mezzo dimension which is characterised increasingly by the oligopolisation of funds and the associated externally imposed system of asymmetrical relationships – competition between the various social agencies, public bodies and migrants regarding the distribution of resources and funding: c) the micro-dimension which is the configuration of these processes in the status of migrants as system intrinsic tensions and mechanisms of exclusion, invisibilisation and contradictory outcomes. Therefore it is important to problematize the competition vs. collaboration paradigm as an institutional constraint with system intrinsic contradictions. A core intervention strategy should aim at incorporating migrants as forms of democratic representation and democratic control (See critically, Nitsch 2004).

As elsewhere already mentioned, Hebenstreit (1986) discusses the problematic of feminist ethnocentrism, with Rätzzel and Kalpaka concretely linking this to the establishment and perpetuation of paternalistic relations with migrants¹ in the various projects that institutionally emerged in a framework of social-pedagogic praxis, social work and intercultural dialogue (Section 4.8). In this context, Pinn and Wehner (1995:76), amongst others, look at the unequal incorporation of migrants in terms of the ways in which themes and contents for communication are dominated by autochthon women whilst migrant women assume a reductionist role within the cultural arena of folklore, traditional attiring, etc.

1 See also Apostolidou 1980.

Consequently, Rätzkel and Kalpaka (1993) criticise the fact that within this framework, migrant women were integrated as objects rather than subjects of discursive practices which had implications for the institutional marginalisation of migrants' women's scientific voices and performative agency while at the same time contributing to promoting deficit approaches in research.

Whilst Griese (1984) critiques the conceptual thinness in these approaches in terms of the colonization of the empirical world of immigrants, Patricia Hill Collins introduces the notion 'stand points' to debate the scientific validity of untheorised, unsystematic empiricism in terms of how perspectives develop as world views of specific communities of practitioners and a group production linked to the differential positioning of groups within structures of inequality and difference (See critically, Patricia Hill Collins 1998). Paul Willis on the other hand, theorises the 'cultural view point' and bases on the example of the working class to highlight the capacity of the oppressed to generate complex, ambiguous, collective, ironic and cultural forms of knowledge that can provide a solid basis for social political change (Paul Willis 1977, Section 5.3.3.2). Thus, the above shortcomings have also provoked the general critique towards reductionism in theoretical and praxis frameworks approaching migrants as objects of management and administration (Betreuungsbedürftig).² Such a concern has handled in interrelated discursive analysis the functionality of migrants as a projection space for the fears, aggression, and desires of women of the majority.³ Some have critiqued the implications of alterity paradigms and have argued in this regard that the dichotomised presentation of European culture as more representative of 'civilization' whilst African culture represents the primitive and barbaric reproduces dependency frameworks where African civilization depends on the intervening hand of the European society (Opitz 1992).⁴

It has empirically been demonstrated that this, not only intersects with class dynamics as in England's case study to perpetuate colonial residues and subalternism as resources for self-making and socially constructing postcolonial

2 Guitierrez 1999:27 shows in her review that these perspectives have dominated scientific works during the 1980s.

3 See Camlikbeli 1984; Apostolidou 1984, Gültekin 1986 reviewed in Gutierrez 1999: 27

4 Indeed Brian a.o. point out to the disempowering implications by illustrating the absence of 'successful' black women in any other roles which has promoted reductionist notions viewing sport and entertainment as the only areas of excel for 'Black' women, while their lifestyle and culture tend to be regarded as social problems accounting for the encountered disadvantages. Thus linking the static production of identities to the social exclusion of 'Black' women as well as the lack of knowledge of their own potential (See 1985:1-2; 194

subjectivity (Chapter 8), but also leads to the social exclusion of ‘Black’ women and a lack of knowledge of their own potential (See Brian 1985:1–2; 1994).

Within a pedagogical framework, Freire (1970) has argued that the oppressed have historically been taught to devalue their own experience and knowledge as well as not to identify the processes that have made them the objects of oppressive systems. Understanding empowerment as a process of unveiling the oppressive mechanisms and by making dislocating implications objects of discursive analysis, critical reflection is viewed as prerequisite and central to transformatory action (Freire 1970, 1972 & 1974). Whereas critical pedagogy is concerned about social reflexivity empowering the affected to challenge and raise questions about the relationship between margins and centres of power and providing a way of reading history as the pragmatic approach to reclaiming power and identity (Giroux 2008), Afro Germans embarked in 1986 on the project (*Farbe Bekennen*) in critical analysis of the colonial and national-socialistic German history to claim for equal recognition. The commencing section fuses analysis of cultural deficit theories with representationalist discourses and their social policy implications.

5.2.2 *Representationalist Discourses and Social Policy Implications*

The foregoing analysis illuminates the dimensions and implications of system intrinsic contradictions in terms of migrants’ position of disadvantage arising and reinforced by multiple exclusions from the positions of power. It expands the margins and centres of difference through unveiling and problematising the cumulative factors that compound vulnerability. It identifies the problematic interaction of asymmetrical relationships within the economisation and politicisation of settlement and integration⁵ (See critically Nitsch, Section 5.2.1). These are interpreted as aggravating mechanisms and interactive dimensions of difference that compound migrants’ vulnerability. Thus, the analysis reassess the framework of intersectionality and multi-level strategic interventions. These issues will constitute further themes of focus and elaboration in this section.

Raising new questions for policy, Gümen criticises the role of cultural deficit theories in masking structural underpinnings of hierarchies and power relations constructing social inequality amongst migrants and women of the majority. These indeed become redefined in terms of cultural problems with

5 See critically, Nitsch, section 5.2.1

major social policy implications as they relate to the construction of new institutions purposed mainly for creating occupations for autochthon women (Gümen 1996:83; 1999). As already mentioned above, Ochse's contribution concretises usefully by illuminating how the legislation regarding (im)migrants since the mid-seventies was not only developed within the social political framework of the guest worker recruitment but has also embarked on a unidimensional integration debate which situates the adaptation of migrants as its point of departure while ignoring the cultural adjustment needs of the dominant society (Ochse 1999:73). The core of critique is that these unidimensional approaches, whilst ignoring the multidimensionality and intersectionality of identities, as well as the multiple, shifting (trans)locational social positioning (Section 4.2) have implicated both the cultural deficit and cultural difference approaches to explain integration barriers and have consequently been drawn on to legitimate the enactment of a restrictive alien's policy [Ausländerpolitik] (Ochse 1999:73). In this regard, Pesser notes the role of instrumentalist approaches and the major implications for conceiving ethnicity as a political strategy that is pursued for pragmatic purposes (Pesser 1996). To exemplify the relevance of a cultural similarity perspective as a deconstructionist tool, the above framework is useful in theorising at a much less institutional level the dynamics of self organisation within minority groups in connection with the articulation of self-proclaimed religious leaders as facilitated through the gendered structural ambivalence, unidimensional and cultural deficit approaches (Chapter 9).

It should be pointed out, however, that the relevance of intersectional analysis and the implications of cultural deficit approaches are most well exemplified in the Canadian context through the institutional legitimisation of discrimination against immigrants on the labour markets on grounds of lack of Canadian experience compounded by voluntarism and non-recognition of foreign credentials. Not to mention bilingualism as it relates to written and spoken competencies in English and French in Ottawa (Chapter 1 & Section 4.6.5).

5.2.3 *Positive Cultural Difference, Cultural Centrism and Exoticism*

Although difference does not shape only mainstream society but also appears to emerge strongly in the interlockings of gender, class, ethnicity and abstract epistemic practices (Section 4.4–4.7), positive cultural difference models whilst idealizing the cultures of minorities have worked to raise attention on race and difference through exclusively focussing deconstructionist strategies on the subjectification and collectivising practices of women of the majority

without taking into consideration the ethnocentric constructions of difference and the structural disembedments of postcolonial subjectivity. This has polarised locally, translocally and globally the resources for social cohesion, identity and social. Similarly, racism as a cultural difference paradigm for explaining differences in school achievement has promoted linear interventions and obscured the different spaces and levels for engaging actions and multiple strategic interventions. It follows that more often than not, factors like the social economic status (which includes the literacy levels) of the family and their impacts on school achievement have escaped attention. These factors need to be empirically investigated and established.

With the argument that the notion of race promotes linear interventions and obscures the different spaces and levels for engaging actions and multiple strategic interventions, I explicate the structural constitution of ethnicity as a valid analytical category. This approach facilitates the incorporation of cultural similarity approaches (Section 4.5.2).

From another perspective, positive cultural difference models have contradictory reinforced cultural deficit models. Cultural deficit approaches can be criticised for models of identity they provide. Whereas an image of the African as ugly, naive, lazy, exotic and wild has been perpetuated (see Opitz 1992:127–128), the Turkish example has been used in clear demonstration of the ways in which, the static cultural image of the Turks is constantly reconstructed and re-enforced through the selection of migrants with higher traits of the exotic folklore attributes to participate in social projects (Bernhard Nauck, qtd. in: Ochse 1995:50). Thus, scholars critique the theoretical approach incorporating the positive cultural difference in terms of the reproduction of the exotic image which, in turn, homogenises and others migrants as foreign (See critically, Çaglar 1990; Gümen 1996:85). This is in line with Bhabha Hommi and Said's criticism on colonial discourses as they relate to the concept of fixity, the ideological construction of 'otherness' and its role in producing paradoxical modes of representation (Bhabha Hommi 1996:37; Said 1978). Whilst manifesting rigidity and an unchanging order as well as disorder, degeneracy and daemonic repetition, this has been linked to the construction of cultural ambivalence (Bhabha Hommi 1996).

Freire talks of domesticating practices (Freire 1970), while other scholars have identified the critical role of language in the cultural production of meanings and social reality (Section 4.6.1 & 4.6.2). To deconstruct dominant narratives, domesticating cultural practices and social discourses, Foucault problematises the subjugating and dislocating implications linked to the dia-

lectics of power, structure and knowledge production (Section 4.6.1 & 4.6.2). As I have already partially demonstrated above drawing on Giroux and Freire (Section 5.1), my work integrates critical approaches aimed at creating a public philosophy and culture of democracy that shapes and emanates from discursive and institutional conditions in which lived experiences of empowerment for the vast majority of the affected become the defining feature of social pedagogical work and community development. Within an increasingly globalised and transnationalised world, deconstruction will be approached in a broad framework addressing the educational and transformatory needs of (im)migrant communities alongside those of the dominant destination societies and background communities (Section 5.3.1). The sections below handle in more depth the different perspectives and critical tools scholars have drawn on to thematize the above problematic.

5.2.4 *Cultural Centrism, Institutional and Semiotic Relations*

Cultural centrism draws on the self as the measuring yard for categorizing the other. Such categorization constitutes evaluations, supports hierarchies and marginalisation processes (Akkent 1992:156). Authors have also looked at the role played by racist myths and justifications expressed through semiotic activities within schooling processes, children's literature and the media. Göpfert (1985:21) for example analyzes the construction of 'racism' through school lessons and concretises the negative representation of othered communities and their cultures in relation to the social construction of prejudices. This deconstructionist approach is fundamental. However, scholars must guard against an over emphasis on race as a paradigm for interpreting difference, specifically due to the associated risks of hindering multi level strategic interventions and actions that are effective in deconstructing social and cultural inequities. Empirical observations suggest that the implications of the social economic and academic status of the family in conditioning poor school performance has not adequately been grasped or critically addressed within the targeted programs that have emerged to deconstruct racism in schooling processes (Section 4.5.2, 5.2.3 & 5.3.1).

Other authors have critically dealt with the ethnic biased presentation of migrants within everyday representationalist discourses and contexts of knowledge production (for example Television, Newspaper, Advertisements,

Comics, Songs etc.).⁶ Indeed observations have been made that mass media and the new information technologies as tools for dissemination, manipulation and increasingly interactive use of enormous amounts of information is dominated globally by a northern and western cultural bias. Within this context, authors have criticised the sensationalist presentation of migrants and refugee conditions and the implications for hindering a deeper reflection on the intersections of structural variables, historical processes, colonial encounters, the dominant capitalist modes and relations of production. Worse still, authors highlight the implications of instrumentalisation through media control whereby migrants and refugees are sometimes constructed and portrayed as the scapegoats for unemployment and violence, enabling many governments to divert attention from the real issues at hand (See Model-Anonuevo 1997:165).

My research underscores the importance of cultural similarity approaches. Cultural centrism and cultural deficit approaches exist not only within mainstream societies but also in (im)migrant communities and social interaction where they appear to emerge strongly within the intersections of gender, class and ethnicity articulated as a reflection of the multivariate structural ambivalences, status shifts experienced within migration, nexus situativity and the complex adaptive strategies in the absence of critical tools (Section 4.6.1, 4.6.2, 5.2.3 & Chapter 8 & 9). Drawing from narrative therapy, specifically the techniques of externalization (Nichols & Schwartz 2007), there is need to pedagogically discuss and deconstruct tunnel visions, fixation and self defeating views of the self and the world in order to build stronger (im)migrants communities.

5.2.5 *The Discrepancy between Theory and the Empirical World*

5.2.5.1 Skewed Folklore Critiques

Some clarification is required to distinguish between the operations of cultural deficit theories at the level of theoretical discourse and praxis on one hand and the everyday localized contexts or lived experiences on the other

6 Kalpaka and Rätzl have detailed this process in their analysis (1993: 311). These mention the works of the Team 'Eklärung von Bern' which continually redress and critique the above mentioned biases in literature. Mentioned also are scholars like Rentschler/Vermot (1980) who produced the works 'Unser täglicher Rassismus', Rensler & Preiswekr (1981) with their work 'das Gift der früheren Jahre'. Moreover other works from scholars like Bernhard (1986) on 'Tarzan and die Herrenrasse' have also been mentioned as well as Lorbeer/Wild (1991) in 'Menschenfresser-Negerküsse etc.'; etc.

hand. Whilst this discrepancy has been drawn out more fully in the subsections that follow, it is important here to draw attention to the social and policy implications:

This section incorporates a pedagogical perspective to address the problematic of cultural disempowerment through the limiting dangers of skewed folklore critiques (Section 5.2.5.1). Whilst recognizing the shortcomings of cultural deficit approaches within projects and the perpetuations also in the theoretical works, there is need to incorporate differentiated understanding – Based on the African context, it could be postulated that folklore critiques tend to undermine the central and unique relevance of oral discursive systems as critical tools and major resources for basic and public education, collective empowerment, voice creation, identity building and social transformation delivered through the various forms and functions of traditional performative drama, music and dance theatre. Folklore tools not only constitute broadly the indigenous pedagogical instruments (See critically, Büsse & Heiderman 1967), but also emphasize the role of women in (re)producing social meanings. Whereas folklore as constitutive of oral discursive systems set the context for conscientisation and build the context for community development (See critically, Büsse & Heiderman 1967), integrating this into social-pedagogy, social work and educational processes would establish linkages with other key factors including reconstruction of social space and continuity in social biographies by providing familiar frames of reference for community engagement and critical civic participation. Furthermore it can promote social cultural visibility at diverse levels: Cultural deficit approaches have hindered the generative potential of African folklore as a performative drama, effective tool for physical and social-psychological health promotion, intercultural pedagogic and social integration: By contrast to the public/private divide in the increasingly professionalized sport in Western societies, folklore as a performative drama represents an important social context for sport and physical wellbeing which is inseparable from the entire social fabric in many African societies.⁷

5.2.5.2 Positive Cultural Difference and the Downfall

Equally relevant here, I draw attention to the discrepancies between theoretical discourse characterising the debate on folklore critiques, positive cultural difference and the empirical world with its lived experiences, where accord-

⁷ See criticall Barongo-Muweke 2006.

ing to my research categories and field observations, African culture appears to enter extensively into egalitarian dialogue within the everyday localized social contexts charactering German as a case study.

Drawing on my empirical findings, it could be postulated that the interpretation of the positive cultural difference demands a more sophisticated analysis and pedagogical inquiry incorporating multidimensionality, intersectional analysis (Section 4.1 & 4.2). As well, multi level strategic interventions (Section 4.5.2 & 5.2.3): It appears that exoticisation has a double side to it with not only negative but also strong positive implications which need to be addressed in order to avoid contradictory outcomes. Where it does not intersect with sexism, exoticisation appears to inherently deconstruct colonial residues, subalternism and cultural ambivalence. As well, tradition-modernity dichotomies. By reconstructing the 'traditional as opposed to exclusively constructing modern identities', it appears to promote cultural authenticity.

Since cultural authenticity is characteristic of non colonised societies, this means that what has hitherto been termed as positive cultural difference might to an extent constitute the practical translation of the cultural similarity perspective. In this case this may have been useful in reclaiming the traditional African Habitus. Indeed, cultural authenticity paradigms seem to promote deconstruction of subaltern consciousness with emancipatory implications for postcolonial subjectivity constructions and self-making practices. The relevance of this is particularly underlined in view of the unique empirical findings drawn from England and Germany case studies. By contrast to England's class habitus, migrant children and youth in Germany appeared to demonstrate a relatively much higher level of self esteem (Section 8.11.1). But the trends of low esteem observed in England also reflect similar research findings amongst Canadian youth with an African background (SPC 2006). Since migrants embody the interactions between norms and attitudes between countries of destination and background societies (Radcliffe 1990) the empowering resources for identity building within Germany have empirically been linked to the egalitarian habitus emanating from the social market economy/social democratic paradigm (Section 8.7 & 8.6.2). Thus, this also suggests the way forward for evolving grounded pedagogy handling the reconstruction and social transformation of postcolonial societies.

The downfall of the positive cultural difference, however, appears to lie in the lack of critical knowledge of minority cultures, so that minority identities become reconstructed on the basis of uncritical cultural hypotheticals, with contradictory outcomes. One can rightfully argue on the basis of participant

observation that, within the tensions and contradictions of cultural deficit theories, the uncritical hypothetical exotic representations appear reinvented by the minority groups and incorporated in literature, texts and screen for marketing purposes to Western audiences. In the process, minorities have drawn on them for the postmodern subjectivity construction with a tendency for legitimating some social practices and elements that previous norms in African societies had directly undermined.⁸ Wagner (2002) has theorised the commercialised cultural symbols and homogenisation of culture through universalised images and uniform patterns of popular culture consumer goods recasted and globally transported by the transnational cultural industry (Wagner 2002). This raises questions regarding cultural relativism that validates equally all forms of cultural knowledge and practice while conferring epistemological legitimisation (See Anthias 2002). Whereas the impossibility of reinventing an African identity is articulated in his discourse, Stuart Hall identifies the complexities of identity construction in relation, to a continual process constituted always within representation and the continued search of diasporic narratives of displacement that has given rise to an imaginary plenitude, recreating the endless desire to return to 'lost origins' (Stuart Hall 1996b). In this connection, Bhabha Hommi locates the constitution of diasporic subjectivities within the third space described as the ambivalent space of cultural representation in between sameness and otherness. To make his arguments, he introduces the notion of temporarily and his debate on the third space which he integrates to theorise cultural hybridity as a category which enables the conceptualisation of identities as non coherent, less unified and less directed, while also bringing into analysis the implications of changing historical and discursive conjunctures with generative potential for destabilizing the essentiality, homogenization, territorialisation and fixation of ethnicity within transnationalism (Bhabha Hommi, Section 4.6.1 & 4.6.2). This theorisation will form the point of departure in the next section handling the problematic of self ethnisation, difference and critical interventionist paradigms.

In addition to the above limitations, it has already been established that positive cultural difference models whilst idealizing the cultures of minorities have worked to raise attention on race and difference through exclusively focussing deconstructionist strategies on the subjectification and collectivising

8 Stuart Hall (1996:120) also analyses the complexity of identity construction as a continual process always constituted within representation and the continued search of diasporic narratives of displacement for an identity. Thus giving rise to an imaginary plenitude, recreating the endless desire to return to 'lost origins'.

practices of women of the majority without taking into consideration the ethnocentric constructions of difference and the structural disembedments of postcolonial subjectivity. This has polarised locally, translocally and globally the resources for social cohesion, identity and social. Similarly, racism as a cultural difference paradigm for explaining differences in school achievement has promoted linear interventions and obscured the different spaces and levels for engaging actions and multiple strategic interventions (Section 4.5.2 & 5.2.3).

The above highlights the need for integrating multidimensionality, intersectionality and multi level strategic interventions (Section 4.1 & 4.2) within social work, intercultural and transformatory sociology and pedagogy for a critical confrontation of diversity, empowerment and social integration as outlined in (Chapter 4 & 5).

5.2.5.3 Hypothesis and Re-evaluation: Positive Cultural Difference is a Cultural Similarity Perspective

Hypothesis I

Drawing on my empirical findings, it could be postulated that interpretation of the positive cultural difference as a sociological concept demands a more sophisticated analysis and pedagogical inquiry incorporating multidimensional, intersectional focus and multi level strategic interventions. It appears that exoticisation has a double side to it with not only negative but also strong positive implications which need to be addressed in order to avoid contradictory outcomes. Where it does not intersect with sexism, exoticisation appears to inherently deconstruct colonial residues, subalternism, cultural ambivalence and by so doing reclaim the traditional African habitus. As well, it appears to destabilise the tradition-modernity dichotomies. By reconstructing the 'traditional as opposed to exclusively recasting modern identities', it appears to promote cultural authenticity. Since cultural authenticity is a characteristic of non colonised societies, this means that what has hitherto been termed as positive cultural difference might to an extent constitute the practical translation of the cultural similarity perspective. The downfall of the positive cultural difference lies in the lack of critical knowledge of minority cultures, so that the uncritical cultural hypotheticals become reinvented by minority groups and marketed to Western audiences with contradictory outcomes for minority subjectification practices and communities.

5.2.5.4 Theorising Self ethnisation, Cultural Centrism and Cultural Hybridity

Based on England's case study, the categories in my research highlight salient constructions of difference on the basis of class and ethnicity, thus pointing out to the need for a coherent focus on the intra-self ethnisation processes amongst immigrant communities, but also the background societies as current events illustrate. As Dittrich and Lenz (1994)⁹ have argued, structural mechanisms conditioning the social construction of ethnicity ('Ethnisierung') project ethnisation amongst autochthon women whilst simultaneously reinforcing self ethnisation processes amongst (im)migrants. Ethnisation and self ethnisation constitute complex adaptive attempts to interpret the world through subjectivity/other binarisation and distinctions. Both relate to hierarchisation, differentiation, marginalisation and polarising processes in which the other is constantly devalued.

Whereas deconstruction demands a focus on the symbolic and structural instantiating mechanisms (Dittrich & Lenz 1994), intra-self ethnisation as a subjectification practice amongst (im)migrant women appears to articulate the configuration, internalization and manifestation of multivariate structural ambivalence within the intersections of gender, class, ethnicity, nexus situativity and status shifts encountered in transnationalism (Chapter 8). Having said this, it is important to also highlight the role of colonialism in transforming and fixing fluid social relations through institutional codification of ethnicity as has been discussed broadly in literature (Section 4.6.1 & 4.6.2).

Subsequently one needs to theorise the shifting meanings of ethnicity and its embeddedness as a social historical structural category and a manifestation of complex social change within structuring mechanisms of hierarchisation and difference (Chapter 4). Bhabha Hommi above problematises the territorialisation of identity, essentialism and homogenization which must be deconstructed through the notion of cultural hybridity approaching identities as non-coherent, less unified and less directed (Section 5.2.5.3). Stuart Hall and Baily whilst contesting ethnic absolutism introduce the notion of decentred and fractured identities (Section 4.6.1 & 4.6.2). Similarly with regard to ethnicity, Brettell (2000) whilst drawing on Gupta and Ferguson in her sociological review illustrates the interactive dimensions of culture and the multiple bases for self-representation. Anthias, through a post-structural analysis of identity constructs a twofold deconstructionist approach that seeks to

9 Review also Bommers & Ascherr; Bukow & Llaryora in Ochse (1999).

reconceptualise the notion of difference within a framework problematising boundaries in terms of imaginaries and fluid constructions as opposed to fixation and rigidities (Anthias 2000 & 2001a).

In educational policy terms, this view is congruent with critical pedagogy because it offers building blocks for advancing social reflexivity and modes of self-construction that foster social cohesion of oppressed communities. Within the German scientific debate, scholars have thematised the notion of cultural centrism (Section 5.2.4). In this regard, Dietrich and Lenz (1994), remind us of the structural constitution and shifting meaning of ethnicity as a socially constructed category within relations of power and inequality (see also Section 5.2.5.4). Hence also the dynamic character behind intersections of gender, cultures, class, race and ethnicity (Pessar 1996:49).

It is worth mentioning however the rise of virtual communities organised by (im)migrants and how this can be linked to the new power hierarchies and extents to which class-, gender, subjectivity- and ethnicity dynamics may be (trans)located in cyber space as subjectification and collectivising practices. But drawing on Pessar & Mahler (2001), the dynamics of social networks as they relate to the implications for recasting gender relations and ideologies within the complex gender, class, social hierarchies conditioning differential access to power have already been extensively analyzed. Here social networks are conceptualised at two levels – a) the relatively weaker migrants networks due to the lack of industrial relations and structural marginalisation through operations of systems of social closure on international labour markets; b) the self organised networks as forms of social political organisation (Section 4.7; Chapter 8 & 9). Pessar notes with regard to the latter, the role of instrumentalist approaches and the major implications for conceiving ethnicity as a political strategy that is pursued for pragmatic purposes (Pessar 1996).

From another perspective, whilst the role of institutional, legislative and daily social practices as simultaneous processes of identity building and the social construction of subjectivity is exemplified here (Section 4.1 & 4.2), there is also need to point out, to the impact of globalisation on the territorial organisation of economic activity and power which as Sassen illustrates has reconfigured fundamental properties of the nation state which relate to territoriality and sovereignty. Thus, reconceptualising major features of today's global economy in a context that captures strategic instantiations of gendering as well as formal and operational openings that make women visible leading to greater female presence and participation (for example NGOs, First-Nation People, Supranational Organisation, International Law and Actors in Interna-

tional Relations) (Sassen 1998:81). I underscore the significance of this for migration although this pattern has not seemed to emerge in my empirical observations.

5.2.6 *Universalism, Bi-polar Logic and Cultural Dialogue*

5.2.6.1 Critical Religious Dialogue as a Discursive Tool for Community Building

Hansjoerg Dilger traces the dilemma of religious pluralism as a subjectification practice within processes of globalisation and modernisation which relate to the contradictory outcomes for not only configuring and reinforcing pluralistic cultural diversity, difference and social antagonism but also articulating an inner conflict and ambivalence in youth identities. Within this framework, he empirically fuses the dynamics of capitalism, gender hierarchies, patriarchy, the problematic of Aids and the scientific debate on structural health promotion within Sub-Saharan Africa (Hansjoerg Dilger 1993). Whilst collaborating these findings (Section 9.10–9.11), my empirical categories have demonstrated in line with Habermas theorisation, the fact that within the public/private divide, the public and private or voluntary sectors of African societies appear structured through a gendered ambivalence (Habermas 1990) that has furnished the rise of hegemonic religious discourses and hegemonic discursive practices as manifested in the widespread self-proclaimed untrained community leadership and the implications for socially constructing vulnerability, social fragmentation as well as materialising belonging and subjectification practices through the dislocating intersections of class, ethnicity and gender (Section 9.7–9.11). Similarly Anthias (2002) whilst critiquing Kymlicka conceptualises the private/public divide in terms of the problematic of power, class and gender and their impact on the dynamics of voice construction and authentic representation.¹⁰

Although current observations with regard to rising extremism and terrorism suggest that the binarisation of the cultural domain into public/private spheres is no longer sustainable, the notion of universalism and its implications for cultural exclusion is still very well articulated in the Canadian context, where religious education is not permitted within Ottawa's public elementary and lower secondary schools (SSP 2006). In her review, Anthias (2002) critiques

10 This is reflected in the sociological argument critiquing representationist discourses in terms of their inadequacy to represent the authentic experience, culture and voice of the community (Anthias, Section 5.2.6.1).

the dualism inherent in the distinction between the public and the private divide to problematise the notion of a private cultural sphere and its implications for the exclusion of minority group rights within multiculturalism. Drawing on Pateman (1988), she demonstrates how the notion of universalism has been deployed to marginalize the cultural values of minorities within the public sphere. She also draws attention to cultural selectivity and differentiating mechanisms by highlighting the privileged position occupied by the Christian Church in the shared public domain as exemplified through the practicing of laws and religious worship in schools that do not apply to other religions.

Subsequently, cultural deficit approaches while concretising a key dimension of what Phizacklea (1983) has already identified as the subordinate position of migrant women within political-legal and ideological relations, could also mirror as Anthias has argued, the symbolic denial of minority cultural rights (Anthias 2000). Intercultural pedagogists broadly recognise that tolerance as a confrontational process is shaped by dialogical engagements with different cultures and critical encounters of the self and the other in shared social spaces (Nestvogel 1991; 1992 & 1996). Elsewhere I have problematised the need for rethinking the margins and intersections of ethnicity, gender and class through deconstruction of political correctness as the new paradigm for masking matrices of oppression whilst also reconfiguring and reinforcing intersectional vulnerability. This is specifically articulated in the single axis approach and the lowering of standards in favour of diversity for example through erosion of the merry Christmas in the public space.

Assuming that religious education constitutes key theoretical, analytical and empirical resources for community and identity building within the background societies, the dichotomisation of household, community and public space (schools) in destination societies does not only suggest a dismantling of migrants consciousness, subjectification and collectivisation practices, fragmentation of social cultural biographies and frameworks for constructing resilience but also a general weakening of migrant communities (Chapter 1; Section 4.6.5). Hence also illustrating empirically, the stratified ways in which legislation conditions the relationship between the public and private spaces with implications for constraining social reflexivity and social capital.

5.2.6.2 Empirical Relevance

In view of the increased social heterogeneity and growing pluralistic life conditions, lifestyles and social milieus, which configure world views, social actions and a sense of belonging rooted in materialism, (Lester, qtd. in: Dietrich & Lenz 1994), the urgent need for critical attention to migrant communities becomes concretised, specifically if (im)migrant women's status and identity are contextualised within the convergence of the triple/ fourfold burden (Chapter 4).

Against this background, I have argued with Leiprecht for the integration of multidimensional anti-discriminatory praxis (Leiprecht 1991) to enhance deconstruction through a pedagogical insertion of critical religious paradigms within educational curricular. Drawing on grounded theory, specifically its emphasis on the integration of concepts for data conceptualisation and theory building (Glaser & Strauss, Section 3.6.2), I have advocated for linking private reflexive self-construction and subjectification with social reflexivity in the public through the integration and application of concepts of social justice, human worth, human dignity, tolerance, social solidarity and diversity in the educational curricular with an emphasis on how these are practiced in the various religious contexts. Thus, promoting critical religious dialogue and intercultural competences through proactive policy intervention as opposed to leaving the responsibility of modelling children's inner construction and internal referentiality in the hands of manipulative entities increasingly characterising the private sphere (Barongo-Muweke 2006).

To illustrate the practical relevance of this approach within praxis, such a context provides a concrete basis for evolving transformatory pedagogy and community empowerment that integrates multi level actions and strategies which are strongly referenced to the empirical realities of marginalised communities (Review Critically Freire 1972 & 1993). Since migration entails a move between gender stratified systems, the erosion of female status (Lim 1995; Radcliff 1990) subjective autonomous control and decision making over life conditions (Dittrich & Lenz 1994) within subordinate political-legal, ideological relations and prescriptive models, this suggests that critical religious dialogue highlights the new dimensions for multidimensional, intersectional analysis and multiple interventions. The relevance of multidimensional analysis can further be legitimated through the argument that religion provides important tools for resilience, identity construction and health promotion useful in stabilising both migrant families and youth in an increasingly globalised world in which we are faced with the massive disintegration of tra-

ditional values systems, their orientation roles and binding function (See, critically, Dittrich & Lenz 1994).

5.3 Fusing Theoretical and Empirical Deconstructive Perspectives

5.3.1 Cultural Similarity Perspectives & Interlocking Identities

In the German context, the first public debate and documentation critiquing the reductionist approaches in specific relation to negative cultural constructionism took place during the March 1984 Frankfurt conference. This conference drew German women of the majority and migrant women together and was organised within the historical evolution of feminist scientific research.

Integrating the concept of ethnocentrism to problematise theoretical and analytical limitations, the first theoretical discussion on 'racism' was incorporated into the women's movement and critical social-pedagogic work on migrants, in a framework of analysis deconstructing deficit theories and the perpetuation of the stereotype which fuel constructions of migrants as victims (Kalpaka/Räthzel 1993:306). Whereas the human agency perspective has been emphasized (Section 4.3), another powerful influence in this area constitutes the works of Renate Nestvogel (1991) which seek as Freire has also pointed out to make dominant discourses the objects of disposition (Freire 1970 & 1972; See also Section 4.6.1 & 4.6.2). She looks at ethnocentrism as inherent in the European monolithic cultural socialisation, thus demanding an integration of cultural self-reflection as a concept for dominant cultures to facilitate conceptualisation of internalized cultural traditions, problematise superiority complexity as well as the underpinning exclusionary mechanisms. Similarly theoretical approaches necessary for combating ethnocentrism are identified in relation to the need for self-reconstruction in dominant discourses in order to facilitate unproblematic reading of other cultural and discursive systems (See, Bhabha Hommi 2003:40). I have repeatedly and strongly noted that although cultural and ethnocentrism do not shape only mainstream society but also appear to emerge strongly in the interlockings of gender, class, ethnicity and abstract epistemic practices (Section 4.4–4.7), positive cultural difference models whilst idealizing the cultures of minorities have worked to raise attention on race and difference through exclusively focussing deconstructionist strategies on the subjectification and collectivising practices of women of the majority without taking into consideration the ethnocentric constructions of difference and the structural disembedments of postcolonial subjectivity. This has polarised locally, translocally and globally the resources

for social cohesion, identity and social capital. It articulates the importance of incorporating multi level actions and strategic interventions based on comparative international analysis (Sections 5.2.3 & 4.5.2)

Efforts in this direction within the German scientific debate have been made though not yet comprehensively realized – contemporary focus is towards an investigation of commonalities and unifiers between migrant women and women of the majority. Indeed Akkent and Franger's works (1987) on Turkish women while stressing the need for taking into account the social economic and local contexts identify more commonalities than differences amongst women and girls from both groups. My research collaborate these findings through intersectional analysis of gender, ethnicity and class by highlighting a high level of congruence between the dynamics shaping unequal incorporation of migrant women into social projects carried out by women of the majority for minority women and the social networks or projects carried out exclusively by (im)migrant communities: In this framework, I have linked Bourdieu's analytical framework on symbolic interaction and cultural configuration of class (Bourdieu 1977, 1984 & 1993) with postcolonial and nexus analysis to demonstrate the fact that migrant gendered identities themselves are significantly constructed based on the terms and notions of cultural difference, materialisation of belonging and dichotomies of illegitimate and legitimate cultural capital (Section 8.6.4 & 8.6.2). I have also empirically demonstrated through England's class habitus the implications of complex hierarchies, multi-faceted boundaries, diversity of locations and power relations for intra-self ethnisation, fixation and salient constructions of difference within (im)migrants communities and social interactions (Section 8.6.2).

I have argued, however, through postcolonial analysis that by contrast to the mainstream society, the dynamics in minority communities are not critically confronted or problematised. As mentioned above, sensitization work and attempts for redressing imbalances in research, as the case of intercultural pedagogic clearly indicates, have concentrated mainly on autochthon women ignoring the problematic of social differentiation and discrimination amongst minority communities (Section 5.2.5.4). Whilst Anthias warns against the danger of homogenizing and totalizing cultures through ignoring the differences and hierarchies within minority cultures (Anthias 2002), Beckett and Marcey point out to the hidden intersections of ethnicity, gender and sexuality and their implications for obliterating hegemonic notions and oppression in minority life constructions. In this context, scholars increasingly recognize

that ethnicity cannot be separated from other forms of gendered identities and subjectivities (Beckett & Marcey 2001).

Since social cohesion constitutes the core category in my empirical findings, this means that deconstruction as an interventionist tool, should allow for a focus not only on women of the majority but also minority women in order to promote cultural self-reflection and transformatory discourses that can destabilize salient constructions of difference, fixation, cultural centricism, ethnicity and class essentialism observed in migrant communities (Chapter 8).

In sum, the above once again brings into consideration the need for broadening the cultural discourse to integrate cultural similarity perspectives with multidimensional, intersectional analysis and multiple interventions with a view to unveil and problematise the different contexts and forms of appearance in which interlockings of gender, ethnicity and class impact subjectivity.

5.3.2 *Cultural and Material Analysis: Habitus, Symbolic Capital and Postmodernity*

Whereas the culturalist approaches as a paradigm for explaining migration has critically been critiqued for its implications in masking the role of structural mechanisms and power relations (See critically, Lutz 1988), contemporary research aims at an integration of the cultural and the material into analysis.¹¹ Drawing from Gayatri Spivak as the basis for argumentation in the German context, scholars indicate that deconstructing cultural difference is assuming an important role where culture as a social construct becomes increasingly understood not as a fixed category. Rather, its dynamic form demands conceptualisation in terms of structural-inequalities and power hierarchies. This model therefore aspires a deconstruction of the dichotomy and essentialist perspectives (See, for example, Apitzsch 1994:247; compare Ochse with further references).¹² In considering migrants in terms of a working class category, Anthias (2002) advocates for a focus on positionality in

11 The theoretical debate on cultural deficits and the critique on approaches incorporating the positive cultural differences in discourse and praxis, have advocated for a more adequate and broader definition of culture as a category of analysis integrating approaches explicating the role of structural mechanisms and power relations rather than the cultural variable to explain the life situation of migrants. The new research direction has the major aim of deconstructing the dominant culturalist perspectives as well as the stereotyped presentation of migrants.

12 See also Apitzsch and Gutierrez Rodriguez cited in Ochse (1999). On the international scientific debate, see also Morokavisc 1983 & Anthias 2002.

terms emphasizing location largely because this turns the locus of attention away from the general problem of differentiation to one relating to subject positions and their (trans)locationality¹³ I have expounded here by integrating in line with Skeggs analyzes of the operation of hierarchies in the markets of corporeal capital¹⁴ (Skeggs 2001a). I have drawn on Miles and extended understanding of the debate on ethnicity in Germany by demonstrating the fact that the complex forms of exclusion that migrant women face in everyday localized contexts are not necessary a manifestation of racism, rather, they appear extensively as a manifestation of structural inequalities (Section 4.5.2).

I argued on the basis of my categories and Bourdieu's conceptualisation of symbolic capital (Bourdieu 1977, 1984 & 1993) that in Germany, African women due to their inferior economic status are constrained by legislative and institutional processes conditioning migrant status from acquiring and legitimising symbolic capital and as a result, they are excluded from the sphere of aesthetic production and the gains of cultural capital. I have further broadened the theoretical debate on culture and structural integration by incorporating Bourdieu's concept of 'Habitus' (Section 4.6.1 & 4.6.2 & Chapter 9.5) as a unit of analysis to conceptualise under-surfaced mechanisms undermining the socially weak categories in Germany (Section 9.6) while producing class hierarchies in England on the basis of cultural capital and symbolic interaction (Section 9.4.1). I will return to the implications for identity and subjectivity construction in the commencing discussion by expanding this perspective through a focus on cultural hybridity, nexus situativity and a social networks perspective (Section 4.4–4.7).

5.3.3 *Contesting Binary Logic and Ethnocentrism*

5.3.3.1 Recasting and Transcending Anti-Colonial Discourses

Whereas the foregoing sections have problematised the extensive lack of focus on differentiation processes amongst minority communities, one can argue on the basis of salient constructions of difference empirically observed in minority communities (Section 8.6.2), that the effects of the binary logic in humanistic discourses and ideologies are still very strong at work and inherently produced in the very place that seeks to transcend them – anti-colonial discourses. With the result that research on Africa has been confined and has

13 On Translocationality, see Section 4.7.1

14 To conceptualise my empirical findings I have adapted Skeggs analytical framework (Section 4.6.1 & 4.6.2).

perpetuated objectification through the overshadowing effects of the debate on the binary logic that seem to idealise minority cultures and therefore also hinder the development of self-critique and reflexive praxis or foreign critique whilst Western discourses and praxis progressively advance from the gains of constructive critique. Hence the analytical relevance of understanding the intersections of ethnicity, class, gender and sexuality to avoid prioritising some identities over others in the common struggle for emancipation (See Beckett & Macey 2001; also critically amongst others Westphal 1997:51).

Subsequently, whilst expressing pedagogical concerns about the cultural difference approaches as they relate to the inherent risk in hindering the generation of critical discourses, building weaker immigrant communities and framing the resulting social polarisation of society, I have argued with Leiprecht above for the integration of multidimensional anti-discriminatory praxis (Leiprecht, Section 5.2.6.1) as a broadened transformative discourse to promote cultural self-reflection, deconstruction of cultural deficit approaches, cultural centrism, ethnicity and class essentialism within migrant identity and community building approaches. Within this context, poststructuralist theories of identity provide frameworks for theorising the multiplicity of identity and plurality of social locations as the necessary building blocks for advancing social reflexivity, modes of self-construction and social cohesion within a framework facilitating analysis of the ideological constitution and historical situativity of knowledge and nexus identity constructions (Chapter 4 & 5).

In further incorporation of the cultural similarity perspective (Section 5.3.1), the position I take has emerged from the empirical observations, which highlight Germany's social context by contrast to England as one appearing to favour inter-group social integration based on norms, values, professional categories and social interests, (Chapter 8 & 9) rather than ethnicity and class with constraining limits placed by the un-equal structural embedment of migrants (Section 9.5). By observing the macro, mezzo and micro sociological contexts conditioning identity framing in background and host contexts, my position draws parallels between the power relations within crude capitalism and advanced capitalism and their impact on gendered identities and subjectivities. Within this context, it facilitates a confrontation with the dynamics of social capital, its generation while also determining implications for agency and system reproduction (Section 9.10–9.11).

In sum, I will emphasize Freire's concept of liberative pedagogy that is required here to problematise human-agency as a category of analysis not in terms of cultural deficiencies and differences but rather in a context concep-

tualising the construction of subjectivities within the dynamics of power relations, historical situativity (Freire 1972 & 1985) and what Giddens has sociologically identified as the increasing disembedding from externally referential systems, symbolic relations and the emergence of complex abstract systems of internal referentiality¹⁵ (Giddens, Section 4.5.4 & 9.10).

5.3.3.2 Pedagogy as a Critical Interventionist Paradigm: Dialogue, Transversal Politics, Social Justice and Cultural View Point

In rejection of the cultural deficit approaches, Freire (1970) problematises the hegemonic and hierarchisation practices within colonial discourses to highlight the domesticating implications of vertical imposition and on this basis to advocate for constructing dialogical relationships constituting horizontal frames of communication with the oppressed in order to set free and integrate into praxis their creativity and transformatory potential. In her work on African-American women, Patricia Hill Collins (1990, 1997 & 1998) draws on standpoint theory to critique the communication frameworks in which the privileged appropriate the standpoints of the marginalised in ways that increase their own knowledge while abandoning the politics associated with the struggles of the marginalised. Mead defined dialogue in relation to the notion of inter-subjectivity as a critical tool for constructing the self and society (Mead 1964).

Drawing on the works of a group of Italian feminists, Yuval Davis (1997 & 1999) introduces the notion of 'transversal politics', and applies the concept of 'Rooting' and 'shifting' which allows participants to stay rooted in their own identities and social values while also ready to shift their views in dialogue with participants of different identities and social values.¹⁶ Giroux has argued that critical pedagogy provides the framework for moving beyond the particularistic politics of class, ethnicity, race and gender to develop a radical democratic politics that stresses difference within unity. Central to such a politics and pedagogy is a notion of a community developed around a shared conception of social justice, rights and entitlement. The relevance of such a notion is especially emphasized given our present history and manifestations of social change in which the value of such concerns has been subordinated

15 To avoid static images and homogenisation of cultural as a concept, Tsiakalos (1992) points out to the need for differentiating between the degeneration of humanity with culture.

16 She recognizes that this is only possible through a conscious and concerted effort to confront power relations and unequal positioning and facilitate egalitarian entry of marginalised participants into dialogue.

to the priorities of the market and used to legitimate the interests of the rich minority at the expense of the poor, the unemployed and the homeless (Giroux 1992:81).

As elsewhere mentioned, Paul Willis (1977) introduces the concept 'cultural view point' and bases on the example of the working class to highlight the capacity of the oppressed to generate complex, ambiguous, collective, ironic and cultural forms of knowledge that can provide a solid basis for social political change. Freire underscores the important meaning of approaching the oppressed within a strength based perspective as knowing subjects (Freire 1970).

To conceptualise and theorise my data away from deficit approaches, I will turn my attention to Freire's liberative pedagogy for the oppressed (Freire 1972). My framework is designed to place emphasis on giving voice to the affected through avoiding imposition of preconceived notions by inducting categories, prepositions and theory from data (Glaser & Strauss, Chapter 3) – a framework building dialogical relationships based on a recognition of the reflexive abilities of the affected combined with ongoing self-reflection on the impact of my own actions on the affected's self definitions, subjectification practices and emancipatory capacity including ability for transformatory action and community development (Review critically, Freire 1970 & Lister 2003).

5.4 Basic Concepts in Feminist Migration Research

5.4.1 Dimensions of Research on Female Participation in International Migration

This refers to the dominant themes addressed in research on the status of women in international migration in a framework analyzing the social construction of gender within interlocking and multidimensional systems of oppression (Section 4.4–4.6). These relate to: a) the relative vulnerability of women, that is, whether being female and foreign in an alien land leads to the double discrimination, and the threefold or fourfold oppression of migrant women; b) influence of gender relations on the motives and potential for the international migration of women; c) similarities and differences between the determinants of international migration for men and women and their causes. As well, the extent to which and manner in which laws and regulations controlling international migration are not gender neutral; d) relative importance of international migration as a mechanism generating or structuring gender asymmetries given the change in social environment that migration usually

entails; e) sex selective impact by sex of labour market dynamics in both countries of origin and destination; f) implications of sex selectivity as illustrated through the distribution of migrants by sex and other variables such as age and marital status in countries of origin (Lim 1995:29; See also Hillman 1996:44–45)

5.4.2 *Gender as Analytical Category*

In sections 4.8, I have analyzed in depth the causes for the invisibilisation of women in research and the associated theoretical limitations. Here I have mentioned that gender as analytical category was integrated into scientific research through the works of scholars like Leeds (1976:69, 71) who critiqued the fact that the tendency to focus on migrant women as isolate entities outside the context of the various roles and sets of constraints and factors articulating discriminatory criteria negatively integrates reductionist and individualistic approaches in research (Morokvasic 1983). It is currently broadly acknowledged at both the analytical level and contemporary use of the term gender, that this denotes a socially constructed category (Section 4.1.1). Scholars have rejected the static and ahistorical construction of bi-polarised categories that earlier concepts produced whilst deriving from the biological, universalistic and essentialist explanations and conceptualisations of gender (Section 4.2).¹⁷ The social constructionist approaches focus on the structural mechanisms, creating differences between the sexes, whilst also leading to differential treatment of men and women, structuring diverse roles, statuses, opportunities, life trajectories and experiences (See critically Lim 1995; Hillman 1996; Morokvasic 1983).¹⁸ Whereas this has conditioned the dimensions of gender inequality, West and Zimmerman incorporate the term ‘doing gender’ to illustrate a complexity of socially guided perceptual, interactional and micro political activities that cast particular pursuits as expressions of masculine and feminine natures (West & Zimmerman 1998).

Becker-Schmidt and Axeli Knapp whilst integrating the role-conflict model, discuss the double orientation of gender in relation to the social construction of conflicting roles of women as a product of complex relations of power and dominion within capitalistic modes of production (Becker-Schmidt and Axeli Knapp, Section 4.4–4.5). Within a deconstructionist and anti-pathologist perspective such as the one broadly adopted in feminist theories (Section 4.2),

17 See West & Zimmerman (1998); See also Apatzsch (1994).

18 Review West & Zimmerman, qtd. also in Dahlia Moore (2000).

the scholars concretise the meaning of gender not as a property of individuals but as an integral dynamic of social orders. Consequently, they integrate a structural approach through a focus on the entire network or sets of social relations (West & Zimmerman 1998: 168, 187; Anthias 2001b). Within the Weberian framework, feminist scholars link social stratification to forms of sociality and economic inequality relating to the sphere of distribution, allocation and exchange of skills and resources in the Market place (Anthias 2001b).

Thus, Becker-Schmidt and Knapp apply the term ambivalent gendered subjectivities to define the structural constitution of gender in terms of stratification criteria and relations of social inequality (Section 4.5). Habermas (1990) problematises the gender specific structural relationship that marks the private and public sphere (Section 5.4.3). Against this background, Hausen (1979) discusses the gendering and binarisation of modes of skills acquisition and the implications for polarising and dissociating profession and family life (Section 5.4.3). Basing on the analysis of organisational logic in institutions, Auwärter (1995) has argued that the structural incorporation of gender in the public sphere as a socially constructed category constituting cultural patterns of feminised attributes reproduces inequality and gender hierarchies in institutional processes. It is through the concept of female culture (*weibliche Kultur*) or the labour of doing gender that Ostner analyzes the above problematic (Ostner 1990). Returning to the argument on modes of self-construction and their implications for agency, Wetterer (1992) and Becker Schmidt (1995) identify the public-private divide as socially constructing the observed women's agency by constraining resources for driving change within structural processes.¹⁹

There is an increasing wealth of information that suggests that, since gender essentialism and asymmetries have extensively been destabilized through the contribution of feminist scholarship and activism, this has made gender issues no longer as contentious as they once were for women of the majority. Thus, this has brought into question the relevance of gender vs. the gender order as analytical categories (Oechsle & Wetterau 2006). However, the reproduction of gender asymmetries, class differences and hierarchisation as reflected in the feminisation of migration, labour and reproductive work,

19 Following this argument then, research noted disempowering processes in spatial relations – structural mechanisms of disablement or institutional barriers which hinder creative intervention or negotiation strategies.

specifically the internationalization and Commodification of care emphasize the role of gender as a central category in defining social inequality (Lutz Helma; Ozyegin & Hondagneu-Sotelo; Morokvasic; Brenner, Section 4.6.5). The above scholars have argued that within the framework of the new gender order, the social mobility of middle class women of the majority is facilitated through the role of women with a low social economic status as increasingly occupied by (im)migrant women (Brenner²⁰; Lutz Helma; Ozyegin & Hondagneu-Sotelo; Morokvasic; Rommelspacher, Section 4.6.5). Moreover within the international sexist division of labour (Section 5.6.5), the situation of domestic care workers is another subject that is strongly linked to ultra-exploitation and the subjectification of work under the above mechanisms (See Lutz Helma 2008). Whilst common themes relating to domestic-employer relations evolve around the problematic of social in-equalities along the lines of ethnicity, gender oppression and the alienation of work arrangements (Cohen 1987:200; UN Secretariat 1995a), they also emphasize the precarious legal status of domestic workers which increases their external dependency on the employer. Besides, they explicate the implications of complex intersections of gender, class and ethnicity as they relate to differential incorporation into labour markets and the subordination of women's roles (Anthias 2000 & Anthias 2001a:156)²¹. Thus, also illustrating the relevance of state policies in facilitating mechanisms of subordination within employer/employee relationships (Anthias 2000 & 2001a:156).

5.4.3 *Occupational Identity, Class and Market Secondary Patriarchy*

With regard to empirical relevance in relation to the consciousness and self-making practices of migrants, it is significant that the question of occupational identity has emerged and appears to assume central meaning for migrant women. Edholm, Harris & Young (1977) have usefully argued that women's perception of themselves, their positioning within production and distribution relations and their exclusion from public social participation, often have a high degree of congruence – At all levels, the way in which women are enabled to see themselves and their position reinforce each other.

20 See also Section 5.6.5

21 Glenn (1999: 15; 16; 17), similarly problematizes the dynamics of difference and hierarchies amongst women on the basis of reproductive labour as simultaneously raced and gendered whereby women of colour through their engagement in the domestic sector, enable women of the majority to shift the burden and experience social mobility into higher-level pursuits. Thus, underscoring the need for examining differences across racial, ethnic and class groups in women's relationship to labour.

It is therefore possible to bring into discussion the concept of market secondary patriarchy and the way in which gender inequality is incorporated in commodity production through under-remuneration of female roles and the household sphere of production in spite of its dominant function in sustaining the reproduction of labour (compare Beeren 1999 with further references).²² Indeed female labour participation cannot be understood outside the context of social reproduction (Section 4.4). In their application of the concept of the labour of doing female (*weibliche Kultur*), Mander & Rush theorise the objective gender specific division of labour as it relates to the gendered asymmetry conditioning the subjective skills and modes of articulation embodied as adequate requirements for work accomplishment (Ostner Ilona 1978):

Whereas women's roles are primarily modelled within the private reproduction sphere, this has significantly shaped their modes of skills acquisitions within the less abstract systems of natural environments. In the societal order of production, however, a polarisation of gender attributes was evoked (Hausen 1976). Meaning as discussed above that a gender specific structural relationship marks the private and public sphere (Habermas 1990:19) whereby the highly feminised family relevant norms are contradictory less equally traded in the social economic contractualisation of the public sphere underpinned by the largely masculine work attributes (Hausen 1976 & 1989 see also amongst others Wetterer 1992; Ostner 1990; Arendt 1998). Hence the structural constraints of the dual incorporation of female labour into market hierarchies that are horizontally segmented with genderised roles (Karin Gottschall 1995). Moser & Young (1982:57) discuss the segregation of women into particular occupations which are carefully delimited by an ideology linking their activity to their gender, with the vast majority engaged in occupations defined as having some structural resemblance to their family role. In terms of international migration, this can be linked to the processes underpinning the sex selectivity of international labour markets (Section 5.6.2).

To illustrate empirical relevance within the context of my research, it has been empirically demonstrated on the basis of the biographies of (im)migrant women that the gendered subjective orientation has not only emphasized women's agency within social spheres but also hindered a critical understand-

22 Glenn (1999:15) links the gendered construction of reproductive labour to the creation and perpetuation of inequality between the sexes and acknowledges the fact that unequal power has enabled men to avoid doing reproductive labour whilst hampering women's ability to shift the burden.

ing of structural conditionings and socially differentiating mechanism within international migration. Thus, it has prevented the development of transformative action, critical social political engagement, gender identity and social cohesion amongst women (Section 8.2). Similarly, as most vividly illustrated in England's case study, occupational identity appears to assume central meaning within the intersections of gender, class and ethnicity whereby for women at the lowest ranks of the labour market, it appears to manifest multivariate structural vulnerability²³. This relates to the ambivalence of identity and subjectification formations within the materialisation of belonging in postcolonial nexus situativity. As elsewhere mentioned, scholars increasingly recognize that ethnicity cannot be separated from other forms of gendered identities and subjectivities (See Beckett & Macey 2001: 309–319; also critically amongst others Westphal 1997:51).

Since class, gender and ethnicity constitute socially constructed categories, this has induced general consensus amongst scholars concerning the fact that they can also be deconstructed (Section 4.1.1). This is possible, however, only through an achievement of economic independence and through the political struggle.²⁴ Whilst the underprivileged position of women serves to split the working class and hinder their emancipation (Kosack, qtd. in: Hillman 1996:46), authors have paid attention to ethnicity as the political framework structuring difference through migrant status (Section 4.6).

5.5 Sex Selectivity

5.5.1 *Legislative and Institutional Processes*

Sex selectivity and the fourfold burden²⁵ can analytically be approached as affiliated concepts since both terms coin the implications of migration regulations, country-specific ideologies and systems of sex stratification (see UN Secretariat 1995a:14). Whereas migration policies are viewed as part of the large domain of state policies that assume and sustain female dependency, the admission of women on the basis of family ties concretises the argument that state actions emphasise the female familial roles and devalue the economic contributions of women (Section 1.1.1). Linking women's status to that of

23 On Multivariate Structural ambivalence see, Section 4.6.1 & 4.6.2

24 Gümen (1996:78) argues with reference to the cultural deficit theory, that the recognition of cultural pluralism as a social right can only be achieved in the German context, through the structural equality of migrants and women of the majority.

25 On the threefold/fourfold burden see Sections 4.5; 4.6.1 and 4.6.2.

their husbands does not only perpetuate gender inequality but also reinforces factors which contribute to the social vulnerability of women (Boyd; Lim Section 1.1.1). In this connection, the social vulnerability as a social construct is ultimately linked to the low status of women as reflected by their limited access to resources, their legally dependent position within the family and their occupational segregation into low paying jobs that command little prestige (see, for example, UN Secretariat 1995a) Furthermore, migrant women are denied basic rights which workers in industrialised countries have acquired (see UN Secretariat, qtd. in: Hillman 1996:45).²⁶

To analyze, however, the sex selectivity of migration policies, McKinnon underscores the explicit and implicit nature of laws and regulations which have different outcomes for migrant men and women (Boyd 1995:97). Boyd elaborates that, immigration laws, regulating the entry of migrants avoid employing terminology that appears to distinguish between men and women. Nevertheless they can deploy subtle selective criteria and become overtly or indirectly discriminatory on the basis of country of origin, citizenship, sex, race, religion and other criteria. This subtly (re)produces differential outcomes based on entry status – social and economic entitlements and migration related-rights for particular groups of people meeting the stipulated criteria. In other words, outcomes that differ according to sex, race, ethnicity, etc., are produced primarily through the implementation of general laws and practices which are not discriminatory in content, but that become so in combination with other rules, regulations and practices (Boyd 1995:83).

5.5.2 *Selective Impact by Sex of International Labour Markets*

You will recall from our preceding discussions that, sex selectivity of labour markets can also be conceived in terms of the gender specific structural relationship that marks the private and public sphere (Habermas, Section 5.4.3) whereby the highly feminised family relevant norms are contradictory less

26 To elaborate on this, Boyd points out to the fact that since entry status and residence are related, the separation of residence and work permit gives rise to situations where a migrant can be a legal resident but an illegal worker. This is often reflected in the situation of migrant women whose status as dependants on husbands, sponsors, etc., prevents them from having legal access to the labour market for a certain period of time which often lasts several years. Thus such policies not only reinforce the economic dependence within the family but also make women more vulnerable to exploitation by unscrupulous employers as a result of their increased dependency. They further serve to ensure that a cheap labour force is available for certain sectors of the economy, particularly domestic service and manufacturing (Boyd 1995:91).

equally traded in the social economic contractualisation of the public sphere underpinned by the largely masculine work attributes (Hausen 1979; See also Section 5.4.2 & 5.4.3). Radcliff theorises women's status in terms of oppression stemming from the intersections of patriarchy, nationalism and ethnicity that manifests itself within the social and spatial division of labour (Radcliff 1990).

Boyd draws attention to the fact that sex stereotypes and sex stratification not only influence the type of work for which female labour is recruited but also contribute to facilitating the admission of more men than women on labour-market grounds making more women than men enter as dependent family members. Basing on Canada and America as an example, she brings forth the issue that even where qualifications are available, migrant women tend to be accommodated in the lowest rungs of the labour market. For example women entering on the basis of labour-market skills in the above countries are widely engaged in service occupations (Boyd 1992a:90–91). To address sex selectivity, some scholars have attempted to theorise the tensions between voluntarism and structuralism – As elsewhere mentioned, Wetterer in her analysis of the marginalisation of women in highly qualified positions and professions translates the question of sex selectivity into an investigation of the consciousness of the affected as it relates to the ability for transforming structures of oppression (Wetterer 1992). To link sex selectivity to processes of sex stratification and labour market segmentation, Boyd further draws attention to the fact that in countries that recruit migrant workers on a temporary basis, women are admitted largely as domestic workers which include those specializing in childcare as is the case illustrated by 'Aupair arrangements' – these recruit young women in many countries (see Boyd 1995:90–91). Thus, whilst thematising the South/North transfer of domestic and reproductive labour, scholars have implicitly conceptualised sex selectivity in terms of both the feminisation of migration (Sassen 1998) and the new gender order which has provided a framework for facilitating the social mobility of middle class women of the majority through the segmented labour force participation of migrant women (Ozyegin & Hondagneu-Sotelo 2008; Morokvasic 2007; Rommelspacher 2005; Brenner 2002; See also critically, Lutz Helma 2008; Section 5.6.5). For Rommelspacher, this constructs new hierarchies amongst women whilst also configuring double illusion confusing ethnic privileging with emancipation and it therefore, can be critiqued in terms of the contradictory outcomes for dismantling solidarity along gender categories and splitting the emancipatory struggle amongst women (Rommelspacher 2005).

The above concretises the main arguments of scholars adopting a feminist structural perspective who conceive sex selective patterns within economic participation in terms of the labour demands in countries of destinations. Most specifically, the contemporary changes of the labour market characterised by a rise in demand for female labour in certain traditionally feminised occupations like nursing, teaching and domestic service coincide with a decline in the demand for male migrant labour (Sassen 1998; See also critically, Anthias 2001a; Brenner 2002). Combined with the sexual division of labour, this has contributed to accelerating female migration (Hillman 1996; Sassen 1998; Anthias 2000 & 2001a; Brenner 2002).

Indeed some scholars like Hillman (1996) identify the intra-familial division of labour as one of the factors leading to the feminisation of the migration process which may also contribute to establishing differences in the geographical direction of the migration of men and women. Thus, in her study, gendered patterns of migration are concretised in the different ways in which Somali women migrated to Italy in search of traditional female domestic roles while their male relatives migrated to countries where pursue of masculinised occupations and aspirations could be realised (Hillman 1996). You will recall from the foregoing discussions that Pesser and Mahler coined the term gendered geographies of power to demonstrate how gender relations and ideologies are reconfigured within complex gender, class, social hierarchies conditioning differential access to power and resources in transnational networks (Section 4.7). For similar reasons the UN Secretariat (1995) identifies patterns of continuity structuring the informal economic activities that are extensions of the ones performed by women in the country of origin. For, instance, Algerian women in France are reported to engage in niche economies of small-scale trade and commerce, selling traditional wares to other migrants or transporting to Algeria those French goods that are in demand for sell to friends and relatives (see UN Secretariat 1995:8–9).

5.5.3 *Gender, Age, Normative Aspects, Education, Status*

Beyond the implications of migration policies, the conditioning of background social status of women through gender relations, structural mechanisms and other variables affecting social norms, individual, normative aspects and age are identified as major determinants accounting for variations in patterns of migration for men and women (Lim 1995). Structural influences include factors such as sex selective education and training in the countries of origin which have determining implications for creating differences

and inequality of opportunity in migration (Radcliff, qtd. in: Lim 1995). Within this context, Karin Gottschall has drawn on Kreckel to discuss the implications of gender selective systems of education and training within countries of destination and how this contributes to the devaluation of industrial labour (Section 4.6.5).

Hence analysis of the cultural and structural shifts involved for women in crossing different systems is underscored in relation to the significance of unveiling the empowering or disempowering experiences women may encounter while fighting entrenched systems of gender subordination (Anthias 2000 & 2001a:147). The relevance of this concept is increasingly gaining significance due to the growing demands for highly skilled migration with the likely gendered impacts facilitating improvement of male status more than female status: Hence enhancing dependency. Drawing on different authors, I have similarly demonstrated the gendered implications of labour market regulation, systems of social closure and the operations of industrial relations in settlement communities (Section 4.6.5). Therefore, allowing for a deconstruction of biographies within a broad transformation context of international migration linking the social cultural background, historical situativity and complex geopolitical conditionings (Chapter 4, 5, 8 & 9). You will recall from the different sections that we have repeatedly addressed the role of colonialism and capitalism in transforming the gender relations, subordinating female status (Section 5.6.4) and configuring alienating process and submerged consciousness (4.6.1 & 4.6.2).

5.5.4 *Capitalism: Female Status, Gender and Labour Relations*

Brettell (2002) laments the lack of a structural approach in international migration literature that attempts to theorise and connect the relationship between background societies and destination communities through a structural focus on global causal factors of migration. Much like Miles structural approach to ethnicity through a focus on the political economy of migrant labour (Sections 4.5.2); she adapts a historical structuralist perspective that largely draws on Marxist theory to interpret migration in a context of the global economy, core-periphery relations and the development of underdevelopment (Brettell 2002). Development literature draws attention to the transformation of the gender order in the peripheral regions by pointing out to the earliest phase of the introduction of capitalism and its impacts in which the subsistence sector and the modern capitalist enterprise were articulated through a gendered dynamic. This is specifically mirrored in the introduction

of cash crops and wage labour by foreign firms in a subordination framework whereby women subsidized the waged labour of men through household production and subsistence farming (Sassen Koob 1998:84). Hence Meillassoux conceptualises migration in terms of the establishment of organic relations between the domestic sector and capitalist economies whereby the domestic sector was unequally integrated as a mechanism for reproducing cheap labour power and commodities, whilst simultaneously remaining outside the capitalist sphere of production, since capital was not invested in it and the relations of production were kept domestic but not capitalistic – a production process conceived as the root cause of the division in the international working class (Meillassoux 1981: 93–95).

In terms of internal migration as a manifestation of complex social changes, these relations are linked to the rural exodus which is described as provoked by the contact between two modes of production with unequal and dualist relations in which one mode dominates and begins to change the other. Within such relations, rural communities whilst undergoing transformation remained qualitatively different from the capitalistic sector and no longer depended on determinations inherent in the domestic mode of production but on the decisions taken in the capitalist sector. Thus, the contradictory process where the domestic sector is simultaneously maintained and destroyed as a means of social organisation which produces value from which imperialism benefits and destroyed because it is deprived in the end of its means of reproduction under the impact of exploitation (Meillassoux 1981: 93–95). Within the context of my international comparative analysis, this framework has been applied to analysis of complex social change, subjective manifestation and objective structuring mechanisms (Chapter 4, 5, 8, & 9).

With regard to African societies, one can contextualise this argument on social change and locate the organic relations and their operations within the international division of labour as mirrored through the deterioration of the terms of trade on agricultural products, the emergent debt burden and the associated impact of structural adjustment programmes on female status.²⁷ To unveil subjective manifestations of this complex social change, I have comparatively explicated the narratives of difference and gendered ambivalence amongst postcolonial subjectivities (Chapter 4, 5, 8, & 9).

27 Review Esther Boserup (1970).

A further major aspect that authors have looked at in this regard concerns the monetisation of local economies which wrought the dependency of rural communities on the industrial sector by pervading every transaction within the domestic community without increasing productivity through any other means outside labour participation within the capitalist sector.²⁸ Thus, vulnerability to exploitation as a source of cheap labour within migratory contexts, has already been explained in terms of the organic relations established between the domestic and capitalist sectors where the domestic sector is not only preserved for the sake of extracting resources but also to act as a *labour rent* for the migrant workers. Thus enabling them to reproduce themselves through the unpaid labour they apply to the agricultural means of production (Meillassoux 1981).

The above background forms a central point of departure in the commencing section handling the international sexist division of labour.

5.5.5 *The International Sexist Division of Labour*

Meillassoux's foregoing Marxist analysis on organic relations as they relate to the international division of labour forms the conceptual base in this section (Meillassoux, Section 5.6.4). Sex selectivity has been generally linked to the ways in which the new international division of labour is based on the exploitation of female labour (See critically Lim 1995; Hillman 1996; Potts 1992 & 1998; Sassen; 1998; Chapter 1). Potts has incorporated the notion 'world market for labour' to theorise migration in terms of global restructuring processes (1988 & 1992). Whereas historians have always associated the emergence of colonialism with the expansionist needs for capitalistic development, the incorporation of women in the international division of labour is analyzed in terms of structural dependencies characterising modern capitalist relations of production (Potts 1988 & 1992; Lenz, Section 4.4 & 4.5). Others have theorised this in terms of the expansion of the old colonial division of labour (Phizacklea, Chapter 1). Faist whilst drawing on Portes and Walton to conceptualise the interconnectedness of nations through a focus on trade relations, security alliances and colonial ties argues that these pose the context in which movement occurs by influencing the flow of goods, services, information and ideas (Faist 2000). Thus, for Kearney delineating types of migration constitutes the most adequate way of theorising the articulation of background societies within societies of destination (Kearney 1986):

28 Meillassoux 1981.

Looking at late capitalism, Sassen's analytical framework on corporate globalisation and its dislocations synthesizes the key issues constituting the theoretical debate in this field, whereby the international sexist and international ethnic division of labour is conceptualised in terms of the internationalisation of manufacturing production and the associated feminisation of labour and migration (Sassen 1998:84–85). In this case, the analysis of sex selectivity intersects also with issues of national economies to investigate feminisation of migration and labour as they relate to structural mechanisms which have nationally and globally polarised the social, health and material conditions of women in the different categories of difference. Beyond gender relations, the sexist and international ethnicist division of labour spell out the social construction of subjectivities in corporate globalisation strategies as exploitative mechanisms (Sassen 1998). As well, the new power constellations driving a complex fusion of privileges, hierarchical relations, social inequality and multidimensional vulnerability (Keller & von Rotz 2001).

To expound on sex selectivity within the international division of labour, Sassen devotes much attention to the role of global cities as strategic sites for the valorisation of leading components of capital, the coordination of global economic processes and in this connection, the incorporation of large numbers of poorly paid unskilled women and migrants in activities that service the North's profit maximisation strategic sectors (Sassen 1998). Within the division of the labour market into highly paid sectors of the modern information economy and the expanding informal sector of the working poor, migrant women are overrepresented in the latter category (Sassen 1998; 2003). As well, gendering migration and labour are explained in terms of the structural disembedments of off-shore manufacturing: Operating under the pressure to minimize costs for imports, this has mobilized a disproportionately female work force in poorer countries, which previously had largely remained outside the industrial economy (Sassen 1998; also Meillassoux 1983). Basing on the electronics industry and offshore production as examples, the international division of production between the industrialised and third world nations and its dependency upon an international sexist division of labour is concretised. As the US case illustrates, this sector predominantly engages a male professional and technical work force supported by a labour-intensive semi-skilled, assembly production workforce almost completely comprised of women workers both from the host society and to a greater extent female workers from offshore sites in South Asia (Hancock 1983:134–135). Since this industry constitutes one of the largest areas of growth in the world economy, this implies that the exploitation of women, particularly as assembly

workers in offshore sites, will continue and increase as further corporations, particularly from Europe move into transnational production in the search for low-wage labour (see Hancock 1983:141–143).

Drawing on duty free zones, Sassen also looks at industrial delocalisation and its implications for declining the demand for foreign labour (Sassen 1998). The key practical and analytical concerns emphasize the extensive fragmentation of the production process facilitated not only by the availability of a pool of cheap docile malleable workers as UNIDO puts it (Lim 1995) but also the development of transport and communication technologies, which have in turn, enabled exploitation through multi-national corporations (United Nations 1995; Hillman 1996; Sassen 1998).

Migrant women's flexibility as a factor of production is amongst other things similarly associated with the high engagement in the services sectors and to a varied extent in small light manufacturing industries (Sassen 1998 & 2003). Anthias (1983) argues, however, that women do not only constitute cheap and flexible labour but that their location within a secondary, service oriented sector also referred to as the hidden labour market, which is structured through a distinctive division between male and female occupations, reproduces an ethnically and gender primary labour market (Anthias 2000 & 2001a:155). In this connection, Anthias and Morokvasic have argued that within ethnic economies women may be exploited as an economic resource through the use of family labour (Anthias 1982; Morokvasic 1983). This subjects them to a triple burden as women, migrants and as workers of men (Anthias 1982). Others have underscored the relevance of integrating the human agents' perspective within this framework by cautioning scholars to avoid recasting a static image portraying (im)migrant women as passive reactors to processes (Section 4.3), whilst masking their roles as cultural entrepreneurs (Bachu 1993:113).

To summarize the foregoing analysis, whereas Miles discusses the political economy of migrant labour in order to deconstruct the structural constitution of ethnicity (Section 4.5.2), Sassen (1998a & 1998b;) usefully identifies the distinct mode of incorporation that renders workers invisible as a major factor not only underpinning the feminisation of labour and the erosion of female status but also splitting the international working class as well as hindering the international political struggle for change and in the process constructing women and migrants as the systematic equivalent of the off-shore proletariat (Sassen 1998 & 2003). Subsequently, the analysis of sex selectivity intersects also with issues of national economies to investigate feminisa-

tion of migration and labour as they relate to structural mechanisms which have nationally and globally polarised the social and material conditions of women in the different categories of difference. Therefore as mentioned above, beyond gender relations, the sexist and racist division of labour are intrinsically linked to the social construction of gender within a new complex fusion of privileges, hierarchical relations, social inequality and multidimensional vulnerability (Keller & von Rotz 2001).

5.5.6 *The Sex Industry and Migration*

Whereas the feminisation of migration is substantially linked to the general shift in the labour market towards the service sector, it is significant to note that at the same time, sex migration is associated with the expansion of the entertainment and sex industry. The vulnerability of women due to a lack of or presence of an inferior legal status and its implications in creating heavy dependency on employers and underground syndicates operating illegally constitute some of the central themes of focus here. In this regard scholars relate the sexual abuse and ultra-exploitation of women to the mechanisms of the private sphere of gender relations and therefore to a hidden form of patriarchal oppression, which hinders state intervention (See Agisra 1990). Hence as Anthias illustrates the undocumented nature of migration plays an important role in structuring its relation to the labour market – in terms of the hidden or private economies within the service sector, the household (as in domestic service) and the sex industry (Anthias Section 1.1.1).

6 Research Design

6.1 Conceptual Framework

6.1.1 *Postcolonial Pedagogical and Structural Social Work Context*

Drawing on the empirical rootedness and theoretical sensitivity of grounded theory (Glaser 1978), the broad concern that has empirically emerged regards a poststructuralist investigation of social cohesion, social capital and gender identity within a framework integrating sociological concepts and feminist theories whilst establishing interlinks with the social construction of postcolonial subjectivities in the intersections of shifting double ontology, manifold social locations and multivariate structural ambivalence (Sections 4.6.1 & 4.6.2). The objective is to draw on critical pedagogy, sociological perspectives and structural social work and develop evidence based approaches to community building and social transformation based on a coherent understanding of the social construction and structural constitution of postcolonial subjectivities and reflexive agency and draw from such analysis the basis for constructing systematic models of reflection and pragmatic critical interventionist paradigms for guiding reconstruction, empowerment and capacity building (Section 4.5 & 4.6).

Conceptually, the thesis argues for confronting social cohesion through theorising the extents and ways in which diversity, social exclusion and inclusion are gendered by studying the duality of social identities, modes of articulation, social reflexivity and their complex configuration in the nexus of postcolonial situativity and international multidimensional power inequalities underpinning complex interlockings of ethnicity, class, gender and subaltern consciousness as fourfold systems of oppression at the interplay of institutional, legislative, geopolitical conditionings, gender hierarchies and complex discursive conjunctures. Fundamental to this deconstructionist perspective is not only the empowerment of postcolonial subjectivities through critical tools, emancipatory action and therefore also efficacy for bringing about change through their own doing¹ but also the generation of grounded, clear and sustainable steps that can guide the creation of a social infrastructure of

1 See Freire 1970; 1972; 1993; Giroux 2008 & 1991; Giroux & McLaren 1994.

pedagogy in postcolonial societies whilst providing productive insights into the scientific relevance of grounded theory, independent social research and critical pedagogy as cornerstones for postcolonial institutional building.

Methodologically, I will draw on grounded theory and integrate the use of concepts as basic units of analysis and scientific techniques for data interpretation, conceptualisation and theory building as opposed to descriptive approaches (Section 3.5.2). Similarly, the diversity of categories generated demands the integration of an eclectic discursive framework (Glaser 1978) constituting multidimensionality and intersectional analysis². This framework, incorporates a social constructionist model locating women's collective identities, subjectivities and agency in the broader structural context of macro, mezzo and micro differentiating mechanisms and their (trans)locational interplay (Section 4). Combining pedagogical theory with Bourdieu's theory of praxis (Section 4.6) and Giddens' poststructuralist theory (Giddens 1990: 36–38), I will seek to merge local and global dimensions in my analysis in a framework bridging the scientific gaps as they relate to the lack of attention to the social cultural background, the ahistorisation of women's biographies and subjectification practices in research (Section 1 & 4.8). As well, resolving the subjective – objective analytical divide.

Therefore, I will thematize the various contexts in which identity and social meanings have historically been (re)produced whilst making their dislocating implications objects of reflection (Freire 1970; 1972 & 1974). Most specifically, I will incorporate nexus analysis and draw on Mohanty (1996) to facilitate a theorisation of the various ways in which gendered identities are constructed at the conjuncture of transnational, postcolonial locations and dislocations and their congruent and contradictory outcomes (Section 4.6).

Against this background, Bourdieu's theory of praxis (Bourdieu 1984 & 1992) will be incorporated to usefully facilitate a confrontation of the interface of the multivariate structural ambivalence of postcolonial gendered identity formations, shifting, intersecting habitus and social fields as they relate to locationality within a conglomeration of national repertoires, dominant social norms, social practices and power structures of settlement, glocalised and (trans)locational communities. Within this framework, the categories in my research emergently fit with a social networks perspective facilitating a fusion of Anthias' theoretical model of (trans)locational positionality (Anthias 2000 &

2 On intersectional analysis see Crenshaw and feminist scholars, Section, 4.1.1.

2001a & 2002) with Pessar & Mahler's concept of gendered geographies of power (Pessar & Mahler 2001). The social networks perspective is broadened through a theorisation of space and time in ways that incorporate insights into the social construction of difference within the hidden intersecting and dualising mechanisms of social closure, industrial relations and the interlinkages with power, gender hierarchies and class structuring transnational social networks (Section 4.6 & 4.7). Whereas this analytical scope will be expanded through Bourdieu to integrate the dimensions of social capital (Bourdieu 1983), my framework underscores the important relevance of locating and theorising diasporic identities within their social construction in a framework of binaries and spatial dynamics (Stuart Hall 1996a & 1996b).

Drawing on a collaboration of my categories with Miles and Phizacklea Marxist theorisation of the political economy of migrant labour (Miles & Phizacklea, Section 4.5) as well as Lenz structural approach (Section 4.4), I have rejected the notion of race as analytical category – with the argument that it constrains the development of multiple perspectives and multi level strategic interventions. Instead, ethnicity is approached as a structural construct underpinned by intersecting power relations, manifold hierarchisation, marginalisation and differentiating mechanisms in the tensions, contradictions and dichotomies of time, space and status (Section 4). To explicate the structural constitution of ethnicity within this broad framework, I will concretise the empirical relevance of the fourfold vulnerability model whilst also expanding it through Bourdieu's analysis of the operations of symbolic interaction and cultural configurations of class (Bourdieu 1997, 1984 & 1993).

Against this background, the research categories generated in Germany point out to the empirical relevance of theorising difference through the notions of ability and disability as categories of analysis, specifically within a performative oriented and shifting egalitarian social market/ social democratic habitus (Section 4.5). The structuration of ethnicity within the framework of England's class habitus and Germany's egalitarian habitus (Chapter 8 & 9), will comparatively be conceptualised within an understanding of the notion of corporeal identities as it relates to the hierarchical configuration and reconfiguration of gender within underpinnings of class distinctions and their implications for the complex, variable and contradictory distributions of identities in social space on the basis of the compositions, evolution and trajectories of cultural capital (Bourdieu 1984; Skeggs 2001a).

Thus, at a higher level of conceptualisation, the fusion of postcolonial discourses with Bourdieu's poststructural analysis (Bourdieu 1984, 1992, 1993 &

1997) will be integrated not only as instrumental in empirically demonstrating the various ways in which difference is constructed but also how subjects draw upon it and reconstruct subaltern identities within processes of hierarchisation and matrices of social fragmentation.

At this point, my thesis incorporates a focus on subjectification through analysis of gender hierarchies, power inequalities and multifarious systems of oppression in both background and destination contexts. To explicate this relationship further as it relates to nexus identity formations, my research categories underline the empirical relevance of a structural analysis combining Jenson's model of social cohesion with Becker-Schmidt and Knapp's above conceptualisation of 'ambivalent gendered subjectivities' (Becker-Schmidt & Knapp 1982). As well, Beeren's (1999) theorisation of 'doing gender' and market secondary patriarchy (Sections 4.4 & 4.5 respectively). The objective is to allow for a more forceful confrontation of postmodern socialisation within the African polygamous family habitus and individuation processes structured by the intersections of transient and simultaneous interlockings of complex social locations, pluralistic axes of subordination, alterity mechanisms and complex differentiation underpinned by confluent dislocating mechanisms that Giddens has sociologically identified as the increasing disembedding from externally referential systems, symbolic relations and the emergence of complex abstract systems of internal referentiality (Giddens 1984).

To offer a more sophisticated poststructuralist theorisation of identity construction within dynamic locations and dislocations, Bhabha Hommi's notion of cultural hybridity is integrated to problematise bipolarisation, cultural centrism and intra-self ethnisation in connection with the need for destabilising subaltern identities as they relate to the fixation of fluid social relations, codification and institutionalisation of ethnicity, class and gender (Section 4.6).

My theorisation will be framed within a postcolonial and poststructuralist analysis to facilitate differentiated understanding of the historicity of abstract systems in developing societies, specifically their evolution within colonial encounters (Review critically Bhabha Hommi; Fanon; Freire, Section 4.6.1). Drawing on the Foucauldian postmodern theorisation, I will approach subjectivity in terms of a structural configuration and manifestation of socially constructed categories within hegemonic and counter hegemonic discourses that are historically situated and legitimated through discursive practices, power

and political practice (Foucault, Section 4.6.1)³. Drawing on Giddens and Bernstein I will apply dialectic analysis to investigate the duality of structure, subjectivity and agency in a context thematising the production and reproduction of the social order (Giddens; Bernstein, Section 4.6.1 & 4.6.2). Thus, not only bringing into focus the linguistic, ideological and cognitive constitution of women's biographies and individual agency (Althusser 1971 & 1977; Derrida 1992) but also resolving the analytical subjective-objective divide criticised in sociological approaches (Section 4.6.1): In order to link context, interaction and the social construction of meaning to the structural constitution of narratives (See critically Glaser 1978; Michael White 1995), I have analytically fused the concept of cultural hybridity (Stuart Hall 1996a & 1996b; Bhabha 2000) with Anthea's theoretical model of (trans)locational positionality (Section 4.6.1 & 4.6.2), critical pedagogy and sociological perspectives to allow for a confrontation of ethnicity within capacity building frameworks that aims at promoting social cohesion, community building and conflict resolution (Chapters 8, 9 & 11).

6.1.2 *Research Focus*

Against the above background and – as already introduced at the beginning – the new concern emerging empirically regards the need for a structural investigation of social cohesion and social capital in relation to gender identity, structural generating contingencies, their (mis)recognition, introjections, subjective manifestations, reflexivity as well as their implications for subjectification and the reproduction of social meaning. Most specifically the framework allows for theoretical and empirical reflection on the objective macro structures and mezzo processes, their configuration, diverse articulations and transformation at the micro subjectivity levels. Therefore it theorises the simultaneity, multidimensionality and intersectionality of pluralistic categories of difference, their contestation and (re)negotiation in the nexus of pluralistic social fields, complex discursive conjunctures which shape and are reshaped by postcolonial legacies and residues, multifarious habitus, double/triple ontology, globalisation, (trans)locationality and transnationalism.

The centre of theoretical and empirical reflection integrates a cognition focused transdisciplinary model to facilitate a structural analysis of consciousness, agency and power as the prerequisite for implementing context sensitive interventions which are fundamental to effectively driving social transforma-

3 See also critically the works of Spivak (1989, 1990); Derrida (1994).

tion (Freire 1970; 1972 & Giroux 2008). This is made possible through the scientific explication of the structural constitution and configuration of subjectivities, modes of articulation and reflexivity within socially differentiating- marginalising- and hierarchizing mechanisms. Whilst fusing postcolonial, poststructuralism, sociological and feminist theories, my study approaches subjectivity and the problematic triple inscription of ethnicity, class and gender through a sophisticated confrontation of the fourfold vulnerability model, specifically its convergence and triangulation within the social habitus of selected Postcolonial anglophone African countries, England and Germany. A fusion of Miles analytical model for conceptualising the political economy of migrant labour (Miles 1982) with Bourdieu's theory of praxis will usefully expand the centres and margins of intersectionality through structural theorisation of the notions of cultural and corporeal capital – the materialisation, institutionalisation and (de)legitimation of cultural space, difference and belonging (Bourdieu 1972 & 1984). Although the empirical relevance of this will be iteratively implied and applied throughout all the chapters, it will be concisely demonstrated through a social networks perspective (Section 4.7). This social networks perspective will be typically expanded to illuminate the manifestation of social ambivalence within trans-local spaces of belonging: a) the Afro-Church as an instrument of self organisation; b) social interaction in the mainstream Churches and; c) primary socialisation in the shifting polygamous family habitus (Chapter 8 & 9).

The aim is to generate empirical relevance and workability as core interventions whilst drawing on this basis to construct external validity. The case made here aims at offering a solid foundation for incorporating multiple interventions as theoretical and programmatic instruments of change – Therefore, to identify verticality and horizontality as well as the different levels of action (Section 3.1.2), the analysis deconstructs biographies through an eclectic framework that is empirically generated and informed by transdisciplinary insights unveiling how manifold intersections of international capitalism, patriarchy and postmodernism as macro configurations and abstract epistemic systems interact with mezzo and micro social-psychological processes to articulate multivariate structural ambivalence; how this is perpetuated, destabilised or complicated within postcolonial nexus identity formations. Impulses generated for the practice theoretical orientation further aspire to deconstruct subaltern identities, postcolonial residues as well as advocate the evolution of indigenous emancipatory pedagogy, change perspectives, self determination and the conscious moulding of social cohesion rooted in a coherent under-

standing of the social political identities and the structural embedment of gendered subjectivities (Critically review Freire 1970 & 1972).

Within the methodological framework of grounded theory, the empirical survey provides me with the opportunity to interact with respondents, in a context facilitating investigation of the variability, complexity and interconnectivity of social phenomena through a comprehensive analysis of individualities in a context highlighting the link between impacting structural conditions, social implications and social action (Glaser 1978; Strauss & Corbin 1990:9). I aspire to incorporate the methodology of grounded theory to analyze the main problems and processes in the substantive area of study via identification of the independent and dependent variables, building multivariate categories, empirically generating hypothesis, concepts and middle ranged theories that inductively integrate relevant variables from other theories as well. Thus, facilitating not only a high level of conceptualisation but also context sensitivity and workability for the effected as core interventionist strategies (Strauss & Glaser 1967; Glaser 1978).

Such a base is fertile for a grounded development and integration of the concept of conscientisation in migration research. A powerful influence in this area, regards the pedagogical frameworks developed by Paulo Freire. Hence several key notions in this theory form the basic analytical concepts. Whilst observing the respondents strictly not as recipients but as knowing subjects (Freire 1970), my educational goal is integration of reflection and action to facilitate an increasingly critical insertion of the affected in the social cultural reality in which they live, to empower them with knowledge and capacity for transformatory action (Freire 1970 & 1972).

Freire's model allows for a fusion of critical pedagogy with structural social work through a strength based perspective to underline the significant importance of approaching the oppressed within a dialogical context building on their strengths to deconstruct domestication and promote alternative conceptualisations of the self based on a comprehension of the political basis of social problems while fostering new constructions of reality (Freire 1970; 1972; 1974; 1985 & 1993). In this light, I understand my work in terms of social development and a supportive role investigating the transformatory capacity and educational needs of women with a view to evolve pedagogical interventionist models that can empower women with analytical resources and tools for bringing about change through their own doing.

Grounded theory through its critical framework (Section 2 & 3) makes possible the development of a pedagogy for the people with the people (See Freire 1970): Not only are the aspired changes anchored in context sensitive evidence based knowledge, workability and best outcomes for bottom-up processes but also, theoretical sampling (Glaser & Strauss, Section 3.5 & 3.6) and biographic interviews (Section 7) provide a forum for critical inquiry in which the affected are integrated as subjects and not recipients or objects of discursive practices in the pursuit of meaning with practitioners, researchers, sociologists, social workers and pedagogists (See Freire 1970).

My dissertation integrates four levels of analysis:

1. A fusion of intersectional analysis and educational approaches with the sociology of the labour market, family structure and international (im)migration in a framework allowing for subjective self-reflection and objective focus on historicity, complex social (dis)locations and subjective manifestations through analysis of the educational, career profiles, professional and social biographies of (im)migrant women in England and Germany.
2. The lay out and presentation of the study facilitate the confrontation with a systematising analysis and theoretical reflection on the outsider perspective on the economic, social cultural and social psychological contexts of the biographies of (im)migrants and the in-depth and explorative case study analysis offering the internal perspective; the interlink between sociological perspectives, postcolonial, poststructural and feminist theoretical discourses, structural social work and critical pedagogy – structural triangulation of the social habitus of England, Germany and selected Anglophone postcolonial African countries.: a) genderisation, ethnisation and subjectification of the international labour market; b) biographies and life constructions of women within the explicit and implicit institutional, legislative processes, and daily social practices of difference and (mis)recognition shaping destination and background communities; c) corporealisation – cross-cultural surveys on the relationship between self, body, space, belonging and materiality; d) explication of the internal constitution of postcolonial democracies through the application of structural, epistemic and political intersectionality models.
3. Construction of middle range theories from raw data drawing on grounded theory as a context sensitive and transformatory approach.
4. A transformatory practice theoretical framework – multi-strategy and multi level interventions – the interlink between grounded theory, inter-

sectionality and multiple interventions as interconnected social-scientific theoretical bases, entry and departure points for applied community building approaches with relevance for capacity development and social policy changes in (im)migration contexts.

With the articulation of the theme and the subsequent feminist and postcolonial theory, I handle an intersection of international migration, gender, ethnicity, class and subjectification research, since in the micro sociological oriented research on African women, not only are structural approaches, post-colonial subjectivity and consciousness as analytical categories extensively omitted but also biographies are fragmented and ahistorized through the lack of attention on the social cultural background and therefore also the interface of objective primary and secondary generating processes.

The design of the comparative study is limited to 32 narrative-biographical interviews as well as some group discussions with migrant women from Anglophone African countries that have completed an apprenticeship or are engaged in employment in Germany and England.

As an affected female scientist with an Anglophone African background, I seek a contribution to deconstructing the dominant ethnocentric and ando-centric lopsided views about the situation and consciousness of the women in view.

I am interested in exploring the role of grounded theory, critical pedagogy and independent social research in promoting intersectional analysis, multidimensionality and multiple interventions within international development and community building through the evolution of critical tools, subject oriented and contextualised approaches that are capable of linking structural policy initiatives to the deconstruction of subalternism and colonial disalienation while also providing cornerstones for the social construction of collective identities.

Current postcolonial education needs re-orientation. It should critically shift from a unidimensional dependence on decontextualised contents inherent in postcolonial education and abstract systems towards evolving a dual educational system constituting indigenous pedagogy and evidence based knowledge that is referenced to the basic and practical demands of social development. Within broadly conceived educational systems, sustainable development and health promotion activities, the priority of conscientising social cohesion, social justice and identity building should prevail. I will argue here on the basis of the hypothesis emerging from research categories in Germany that an

attention to the egalitarian social democratic and Marxian paradigms within educational processes is fundamental to advancing sensitization and social transformation for postcolonial societies.

My study seeks to accomplish theory building in order to displace the prevailing untheorised empiricism and resultantly develop transformatory approaches on critical sociological reflection which can be systematically integrated in educational processes, community development, capacity building, democratisation practices, conflict theory, prevention and crisis management. As well, health promotion and responsive social policy.

Given the guidelines of the thesis, the potential value of this study generates:

- A multi-disciplinary analysis and international comparative perspective of subjectification and collectivising processes through analysis of gender, ethnicity, class in a context of nexus identity formations and shifting positionality shaping local, national, (trans)locational and globalisation processes.
- Explication of the structural constitution of ethnicity and displacement of the notion of race as analytical category with the empirical argument that the notion of race promotes linear interventions and obscures the different spaces and levels for engaging actions and multiple strategic interventions.
- Basic analytic concepts that extend the framework of knowledge to explicate the role of gender in social cohesion and identity building while concretising the empirical relevance of grounded theory, independent research and conscientisation pedagogy (*Bewußtseinsbildung*) as direct tools of human development and social mobilization.
- Intersectional analysis explicating the variability and multidimensionality of social phenomena⁴ with deconstruction of ethnicity through multiple interventions capable to confront the subtle multiplicities of difference, essentialism, territorialisation, fixation and social transformation.
- Confrontation of untheorised empiricism, ahistoricity and the unsystematic sociological integration of (im)migrant women in research, praxis and community building.
- New and valuable insights into the dynamics of social change and community building.

4 Glaser and Strauss 1967.

- Practice theoretical orientation for (re)constructionist critical engagements.

Specific Objectives:

- To enhance social cohesion and identity building by destabilizing difference, essentialism and fixation through a focus on subjectification processes in a context of the historicity, institutional, legislative and structural underpinnings of ethnicity, class, gender and their intersections with subaltern consciousness.
- To consciously mould processes and practices generating social capital as well as strengthen basic health systems by problematising gender identity.
- To confront ethnicity, diversity and exclusion through a cultural similarity perspective, thus constructing external validity within a globalised framework.
- To integrate intersectional analysis, multidimensionality and multiple interventions as a deconstructionist framework and the context for confronting the methodological limitations of cultural difference perspectives in the analysis of gender, ethnicity and class.
- To build stronger inclusive communities for (im)migrant women using a transnational framework focusing on destination communities, background societies and the intersecting multi-local communities within.
- Facilitate capacity building, collective empowerment, self-determination, voice construction and responsive social policies grounded in a critical understanding of postcolonial situativity, its multidimensionality, variability, intersectionality and shifting conjunctures.
- To build a social infrastructure of indigenous grounded pedagogy, independent social policy research and structural social work as critical interventionist models and transformatory tools.
- To promote critical social political engagement, social reflexivity and civic participation as major areas of grounded pedagogy for postcolonial societies and immigrant women's transnational communities.
- To promote empirically driven cultural similarity perspectives within international dialogue, international development and international cooperation.

With regard to the implementation of my research findings, the overarching goal is to raise awareness within early global warning systems and facilitate expansion of the North-South/South-North dialogue but also feminist discourses to integrate the prioritisation of social cohesion and identity construction of postcolonial subjectivities within the international debate and at all levels of vertical and horizontal actions promoting social integration, scientific and development work.

I am also specifically interested in the sociological, intercultural-social pedagogic, feminist and structural social work oriented application and reflection of the results of my study, specifically for social policy development, capacity building and the general implementation of measures, plans of action, critical-multiple interventionist and health promotion models applied by community agencies, governments and international organisations like UNICEF, UNITED NATIONS, UNHCR, OAU, GTZ and Scholarship Funding Bodies. As well, women rights organisations like Terre de Femmes. In addition, I aspire the designing of programs and conceptual tool boxes for interested (im)migrant women in destination and background communities. This work will advance the fusion of theory, praxis and evidence based knowledge within scientific and collaborative work carried out by universities and advanced technological colleges, Church, and self organisation of the affected (for example organisations like Verband afrikanischer Akademiker and Akademikerinn).

6.1.3 *Clarifying the Relevance of Historical Variations and Colonialism*

Historical Evolution and Global Inter-Linkages

An empirical and theoretical grasp of the differential nexus situativity of biographies and conjunctures of postcolonial locations within postcolonial Anglophone communities of destination and Germany is fundamental to understanding not only the differentiated constitution of women's biographies, subjectification practices and social trajectories but also shedding light to the patterns of disruption, perpetuation and deconstruction of colonial legacies and residues. While clarifying the context of my analysis, it is of central importance to grasp that the comparative situation of African women in both England and Germany as destination case studies cannot be understood out of the context of differential historical evolution especially as regards a materialistic analysis of differences shaping the institutional, social and symbolic processes configuring gender, class and ethnicity. It is not surprising therefore that England's strong colonial links have shaped the pat-

terns, volume and social economic profiles of African migration and labour participation in unique ways that may not be observed in Germany because of its marginal colonial role:

Whereas Heisler (2000) concretises the notion of cross-cultural validity, such a view provides not only great potential for shedding light on the diversity of social contexts but also undermines universalism in interpretation as well as usefully allowing for a conceptualisation of global hierarchies and power relations. Whereas scholars underscore the role of colonialism as a dominant discourse that impacted on the various social, economic, political and educational institutions which frame the migration context of women (Lim 1995), Lenz, Miles and Phizacklea integrate a structural analysis to locate the reconstruction of gender differentiation and ethnicity in the interplay of class relations structuring both modern states and the international world order (Section 4.4 & 4.5). Within this framework, Lenz postulates that, whilst the social construction of the relative vulnerability of migrants is conditioned through relationships between nations and is first determined at the national levels and then also at the international level, the structural constitution of gender is linked to the positions and extent of economic independence or subordination occupied by various nations within the capitalistic world order (Section 4.4 & 4.5). Thus, as we have already established, migration system approaches explaining the dynamics of international migration, integrate dependence theories to emphasize the role of linkages between countries such as colonial ties, trade, security alliances which were established prior to the actual movement of people (Portes and Walton 1981, qtd. in: Faist 2000; Portes 1997).

In her study on gender and the dynamics of the international labour market, Potts (1988) analyzes the meaning of material inequalities fuelled by the complex heritage of slavery and colonialism and their interlink with globalisation and international migration through a focus on the structural incorporation of peripheral societies within capitalistic modes of production. In linking these variables to the structural underpinnings of the periphery modern function as a source of cheap flexible manpower for the world labour market, Potts identifies a major process that structured the origins of labour migration especially the networks of mobility between formal colonies and the societies of their former colonial masters (Potts 1988). Phizacklea whilst drawing on Kevin Robins highlights the articulation of the colonial division of labour in the feminisation of migration from the West African slave trade to the neo-liberal retreat from state provision of reproductory services. Thus, she analyzes the incorporation of women within the old structure and agency theo-

retical divide and binary frameworks of historical evolution as a key factor in understanding the social action of gendered actors (Phizacklea 2000). Conceptualising migration as a subsystem, of the world labour market, this has been intensified under late capitalism (Potts 1988; Sassen 1988).

Cockburn has argued, however, for a theoretical expansion of the materialistic analysis to transcend the inequalities of economic relations and include the variables political organisation, mobilisation and activism as constitutive of the material basis of power (Cockburn 1983:199, 203–204). Within this framework, my empirical findings have identified the need for combining a social networks perspective with a focus on the concepts of social closure, industrial relations as well as the feminist and poststructuralist analysis of the double ontological and ambivalent construction of gender and postcolonial subjectivities within the congruent and contradictory relations of time and space (Section 4.6 & 4.7). Amongst other things, such a framework allows for an international comparative analysis of the differential social construction of biographies within the qualitatively and structurally differentiated networks of recent and long established settlement patterns.

In synthesizing the dominant views in international migration, Lim postulates that international migration more than any other demographic phenomenon has major implications for changing women's status since women move from one social context to another. Hence the interaction of forces generated by markets, nation states and social networks all of which shape international migration flows is central to comprehending female migration (Lim 1995) and subjectification practices.

6.1.4 *Institutional Processes, Legislative Frameworks and Nexus Situativity*

To enhance analysis of the implications of historical specificity, one valuable approach for unveiling the relationship between agency and structure in a comparative study like ours, regards the need for a combined perspective which conceptualises postcolonial situativity in relation to its postmodernity integration within the structural frameworks and tensions of transnationalism. Such an approach must accommodate analysis of the institutional and legislative differences variously conditioning the social economic integration of migrants as well as the construction of diverse nexus identities and subjectification practices. In further development of this argument, I will summaries some aspects of Pfau-Effinger's work, which devotes attention to contemporary feminist theories on the labour incorporation of women to re-emphasize

the relevance of historical variations in national models through a gender systems approach (Pfau-Effinger 1999). This framework allows for critiquing the differentiated impact of institutionalisation – the role of educational systems, employment regimes, religious factors, family law and national cultures in modelling gender relations and conditioning the framework of constraints and their outcomes for women.

Within this framework, one has to integrate into analysis the historical interlinkages between the developing countries and highly industrialised societies through a focus on the Brain drain phenomena. It is significant that within the shifting egalitarian habitus and largely social market/social democratic paradigm, Germany has a quite highly developed and extensively trained labour force. By contrast to England's strong colonial links, Germany has shared strong historical links with Eastern Europe and Turkey, which have also fuelled the main source of migrant industrial labour. Whilst hindering labour migration of African women, Germany largely facilitates migration through marriage, family reunification or a relatively high social status stipulated for categories migrating for scientific research, university educational purposes or highly skilled work within information technology (Section 1.1, 10.3.2 & 10.3.7).

Despite the new shifts in highly skilled labour migration, Germany has previously discouraged brain drain from the South and has in the past constructed legislation requiring international students to return and apply their acquired academic knowledge and skills in the development of the South. Whereas this policy may have contributed historically to social development in the South, current global restructurings and macro structural changes affecting migration and social instability in the South have meant that this policy is no longer sustainable. However, Germany has not responded swift enough to accommodate these changes. Whilst it is important to contextualise the status of migrant women on the labour market within this framework, it is not surprising that for African migrants in Germany, carrier paths in form of training and upgrading are relatively less visible (Section 10). England on the other hand is extensively shaped by the Brain drain phenomena as reflected in the South-North migration of experts and specialists in the health sector of nurses, doctors, care providers and care management (See critically Bundeszentrale für Politische Bildung [BpB] & Hamburgisches Weltwirtschaftsinstitutes [HWWI] 2008).

As mentioned above, within the shifting social market economy and relatively egalitarian habitus, Germany has an extensively trained huge labour

force, which must be taken into consideration within international comparative analysis, although current demographic shifts are changing these dynamics.

Equally important, the challenges of labour market integration within Germany's highly skilled and huge labour force appear compounded by the linguistic discontinuities for postcolonial categories in view. Whilst looking at the role of colonialism in moulding historical variations in national models through reconstructions of the empirical data, I observe that the different patterns and structures of migration that have evolved in both England and Germany have also significantly impacted on key areas of difference such as the development of statistics and sociological visibility; structural and social integration; patterns of labour force participation; language proficiency; sex selectivity and legislation, institutional processes and social policies; identity construction; social networks.

Feminist poststructuralist and postmodern theorists whilst identifying the need for interdisciplinary approaches integrating the specificity of context and its relevance in the gendering of identities, also broadly underscore the importance of a structural approach to gender, ethnicity and subjectivity that takes into consideration the interplay of semiotic and institutional relations (Section 4.6.1 & 4.6.2). Postcolonial pedagogists have broadly documented the relevance of colonial epistemic practices in shaping the social trajectories of subjectivities and collectivities through their role in producing ambivalent social meanings whilst also binarising, privileging and hierarchizing access to education (Section 4.6.1 & 4.6.2). As Ochse's analysis of Bakhtin's concept of chronotope indicates, gender configuration can be approached in terms of situated knowledge in the overlapping dimensions of space and time specifically the materialisation of their intersection (Ochse 1999:40). Within the context of international migration, the importance of language in conditioning the structural integration of (im)migrants has been broadly documented (Section 8). In the following section, the implications of language and semiotic relations will be drawn out more fully in relation to the importance of integrating into international comparative analysis the concept of cultural hybridity in order to stress not only the meaning of context, location and situated nature of identity but also their production in complex, decentred and shifting locales (Sections 6.1.5).

Before proceeding to the next section, it has become necessary to sum up with the empirically emerging issues regarding the need to guard against concept fragmentation. Whereas the three terms chronotope, (trans)locational-

positionality and hybridity could be described to basically analyze identity construction within the dialectics of power and structure from somewhat different, however, inter-related perspectives, it is significant to refer to Giddens structuration theory that lends core support to the framework of analysis for conceptualising the roots of all these views: His theory posits a sociological explication of the duality of agency and structure where social structures are perceived as simultaneously produced by while acting back on knowledgeable agents who are the subjects of that structure which they instantiate through their constitution of it (Giddens 1984). Critical pedagogy substantiates this by resolving the subjective-objective analytical divide. This divide relates to the feminist overemphasis on the ability of agents to change structures vs. the sociological over emphasis on determinism – the roles of structures in constraining agency (Section 4.6.1). Critical pedagogy bridges both perspectives through a structural analysis of consciousness and a transformatory perspective that identifies the (mis)recognition of structuration, their impacts on subjectification processes and subjective awareness. Basing on the theoretical evidence that theorises the consciousness of postcolonial subjectivities as structurally conditioned in nature rather than emancipatory, I reassess the educational needs of postcolonial subjectivities with a view to expand social reflexivity and empower subjects bring about change through their own doing (Freire 1970; 1972). Hence the broader framework which forms the explicit and implicit points of entry and departure for developing and operating our analytical concepts.

In sum, having clarified the relevance of historical conditioning specifically colonialism as an impacting phenomenon on the various social, economic, political and educational institutions which condition the constitution and construction of gender as well as building the migration context (See UN; Lim, Section 4.7.2), I will continue to argue below, that biographical reconstructions point in line with other authors to the central importance of grasping the complexity of cultural hybridity and fluidity of habitus particularly their intersections with status, class, ethnicity and subjectification practices in a context of postmodernity. Whereas these issues will be analyzed in more depth in the commencing section, it suffices here to note that we are comparing historically situated identities, subjectivities and agency within a framework of:

- Colonised-coloniser encounters as they relate to social, cultural, economic, institutional continuities in the new host locations on one hand vs. non-coloniser encounters shaped by discontinuities on the other hand;

- diasporic experiences with English, as an adaptive tool and those with German as a completely foreign language;
- women with professional skills as forms of human capital within compatible systems and ‘human capital’ in a totally foreign environment of hardly compatible ones;
- individuals embedded in a long established large Black communities with much higher levels of ethnic-organisation (political lobbying for example), all of which have impacted on the evolution of institutions framing migrants existence and economic participation Vs the situation of isolated women;
- (Im)migrants within a class habitus with vertical relations of production and remuneration of labour and those in an egalitarian/social democratic habitus with more equitable relations of production and remuneration of labour.
- England’s context facilitating migration of women with an African background through a low social economic status and Germany’s context facilitating the migration of women with a high social economic status whilst hindering the migration of women with a low social economic social status.

6.1.5 *Cultural Hybridity as a Unit of Analysis*

The notion of cultural hybridity offers theoretical and analytical resources for deconstructing fixations and binarisation of social identities and subjectification practices within the evolving multi-local spaces of diversity and multiculturalism (Section 4.6). One classification of counter hegemonic discourses, collectivisation and subjectification practices is through Bhabha Hommi’s notion of temporarily and his debate on the third space which he integrates to theorise cultural hybridity as a category of analysis enabling the conceptualisation of identities as non coherent, less unified and less directed (Bhabha Hommi 1990). Similarly, Bailey and Stuart Hall (1992:2) whilst contesting conventional assumptions about ethnic absolutism, articulate the notion of fractured and decentred identities. Against this background, Ang postulates that the concept of cultural hybridity is effective in destabilising the essentiality of the self/other dichotomies as well as redressing the notions of fractured and decentred identities in modern societies (Ang 2001). This framework is thus, useful for deconstructing the salient constructions, fixation and territorialisation of difference on the basis of ethnicity and the interplay with gender and class as manifested increasingly amongst Diasporic

communities in my study (Section 8.6.2).⁵ To integrate globalisation and (trans)locationality analysis (Section 4.7), scholars lay emphasis on identity production within hegemonic encounters in deterritorialised processes articulating the simultaneity and ambivalences of ethnicity, class gender and their intersections within the ambivalences of space and time (See critically Bhabha Hommi 2000).

Hence to generate empirical relevance, a comprehension of the postcolonial dis-alienation process and the notion of cultural hybridity is fundamental to a comparative analysis of postcolonial subjectification practices and their evolution within changing historical and discursive conjunctures. The position I take is that colonialism institutionally transformed and codified fluid social relations and identities by fixing them (Nabudere, Section 4.6). However, to comprehend the disruptions and perpetuations of colonial legacies and residues within transnationalism, a focus on the differential historical evolution of England and Germany is necessary. It makes sense therefore to draw on Bourdieu's concept of Habitus and allow for a theorisation of postcolonial subjectification, identity building and collectivising practices within the discursive conjunctures of Germany's egalitarian habitus on one hand and England's class habitus on the other.

From a critical pedagogical perspective, Freire (1972) identifies structural ambivalence and hybridity in terms of the duality of the oppressed as contradictory, divided, unauthentic beings existing in a concrete situation of oppression which they have also internalized. Foucault (1965, 1980 & 1982) emphasizes the situativity of oppressive meaning within historically specific contexts of power, subjugation and knowledge production (Section 4.6). The conditioning and dislocating impacts of oppressive narratives (White 1989; 1995; Hall 1980; Freire 1972; Foucault 1982 & 1980) can be traced in the interplay between language and the textually mediated discourses in the dialectic between the active creating subject and the organisation of her activity into texts (Smith 1988, qtd. in: Skeggs 2003; See also critically, Hall 1980a). Thus, bringing into focus the linguistic, ideological and cognitive constitution of identities, subjectification and individual agency (Foucault; Derrida; Althusser; Hall, Section 4.6.1 & Section 6.1.1).

For Freire (1972) the central theme of liberative pedagogy revolves around analysis of power and structures which have dehumanized subjectivities

5 Territorialization refers to the recasting of rigid connections between place, culture and identity, Bhabha Hommi 2000.

through a series of social political practices and historical contexts. Therefore against this background, Michael White (1995) in his social work oriented conceptual base argues for a deconstruction of narratives through externalization with the view to reconstruct subjectivities and engage in new ways redefining social problems not in terms of properties of constructed selves but as externally located within political, social and cultural contexts (Review also critically Nicholas & Schwartz 2007; Freire 1970; 1972 and 1974). Thus, the comparative analysis of cultural hybridity in relation to the social trajectories, perpetuations and disruptions of colonial residues (Section 4.6.1; 4.6.2 & 8) is useful in linking context, interaction, the social construction of meaning to the structural constitution of narratives (See Critically Glaser 1978; Michael White 1995).

Whilst drawing conclusions from the comparative postcolonial subjectivity constructions within the class and egalitarian habitus, it makes sense to integrate grounded pedagogical, structural social work, sociological and post-colonial approaches aimed at emancipating subjectivities from the domesticating effects of internalized structural narratives and consciousness submerging or self defeating subaltern cognitions (See critically, Fanon 1967; Freire 1970; 1972 and 1974; Said 1978, 1995; Spivak 1988,1990; Foucault 180; 1982; White 1995; Freedman & Combs 1996).

In sum, I have argued for the analytical fusion of the concept of cultural hybridity (Stuart Hall 1996; Bhabha 2000) with Anthias theoretical model of (trans)locationality (Anthias 2001a & 2002; Section 4.6.1; 4.6.2 & 4.7.1), Bourdieu's theory of praxis, liberative critical pedagogy and Giddens' structuration theory to allow for a deconstruction of ethnicity and coherent analysis of subjectification practices within capacity building frameworks that aim at promoting social cohesion, community building and conflict resolution amongst postcolonial subjectivities (Section 11).

6.1.6 *Egalitarian Social Market Habitus⁶ vs. Class Habitus*

Whilst integrating multidimensionality and intersectional analysis to explicate the relevance of mitigating factors shaping resilience within a context of intersectional vulnerability, a clarification of variations in historical evolution also demands a focus on the different, shifting and intersecting habitus struc-

6 On Habitus see Bourdieu's theory of praxis (Section 4.6.1 & 4.6.2).

turing destination and background communities and acting as major determinants of nexus incorporation and subjectification (Section 4.6.1 & 4.6.2).

Viewing migrants as embodying the interactions between the norms and attitudes of female status in sending and receiving countries (Lim 1995: 32), comparative analysis of the geopolitical situativity of biographies will take into consideration England's habitus of class hierarchies on the one hand and Germany's changing habitus of a market social economy/social democratic paradigms characterised by egalitarian relations or articulations of greater conditions of equality, social justice, solidarity, individuality and subsidiarism as structurally rooted in the economy, relations of production, comprehensive social security and their harmonisation through state regulation (See critically Mueller-Armack 1947, 1950 & 1956; Eucken 1952; Watrin 1979; Peacock and Willgerodt 1989). Whereas scholars typically characterise such principles in terms of the social beliefs and core values of the social democratic paradigms (see Mullally 2007 with further references); drawing on Mueller-Armack, it becomes clear that the ontological base of this social market economy is underpinned by Christian-humanistic epistemic influences (Mueller-Armack 1950). It must be pointed out, however, that this social market economy habitus is radically shifting towards a neo-liberalistic paradigm as the introduction of the 2004 Hartz IV social policy reforms also indicates. Therefore it is important that the reader bears in mind that the results of my study are based on research findings and samples drawn in the year 2000. To concretise the empirical perspectives on class vs. egalitarian habitus, the samples in my studies were drawn from the liberalistic states, Freiburg, Stuttgart, Bremen and Oldenburg (Section 7.1).

Based on the empirical emerging, what is relevant to study in Germany is the social construction of postcolonial subjectivity and agency in the structural and cultural intersections of the political economy of migrant labour and the convergence of the fourfold vulnerability model within a relatively egalitarian but performative oriented habitus. From the empirical findings, it appears that the forms of social differentiation generated within the class habitus and the egalitarian habitus are different and bear different social meanings and implications for the affected and their practices of subjectification. It is significant that the more equitable remuneration of labour within segmented labour markets in Germany, suggests that experiences of exclusion on the labour market appear to articulate different structural implications for women in the lowest ranks of the labour market in an egalitarian habitus vs. those

within a class habitus, whereby class relations extensively define the remuneration of labour.

This underlines the relevance of integrating into multidimensional, intersectional analysis and multiple interventions not only the habitus but also the differential determinants of health, quality of life and subjective wellbeing as sociological variables, in order to comprehend fully the position of migrant women within international comparative analysis.

As elsewhere already established, England's class habitus appears to perpetuate the construction of subjectification practices within postcolonial residues by reinforcing relatively more salient constructions of difference based on ethnicity, class and gender amongst (im)migrant communities and their self definitions (Section 8). In Germany's liberal states, despite experiences with structural marginalisation, (im)migrant women appear to extensively internalize the values of social justice, social equality and innate worth. Therefore, relatively less differentiation on the basis of ethnicity, specifically as it relates to intra-self ethnisation is observed. At this point, it is significant that these empirical emergings and evidence based configurations of subjectivities appear to synonymously merge elements of social beliefs existing in some of the pre-colonial traditional collective African societies⁷ with the ontological base and epistemic underpinnings of the market social economy. Mueller-Armack has pointed out above to the role of egalitarian social beliefs of the social market economy underpinned by Christian-humanistic oriented epistemic influences (Mueller-Armack 1950). Since the social market economy and social democratic paradigms represent mutually reinforcing and synonymous categories as already established above, it is possible to construct external validity within the framework of grounded theory and postulate that such a framework provides workability for the affected (Glaser, Section 3.1.1). As well, understanding the subjective and objective practices of collectivisation in a country like Germany offers an explicit evidence based historical context and conceptual base for postcolonial institutional development. The historical transformation that Germany has experienced makes inter-cultural learning imperative to identify the transformatory multiple and multi level strategic interventions that have effectively been applied within sociological, pedagogical, feminist models and structural economic practices.

7 On precolonial African societies see critically Dilger, Froemming and Volker-Saad 2004 with further references.

You will recall from the foregoing analysis that the habitus as a sociological concept for analyzing corporeality, materiality of belonging and cultural configurations of space is further useful in expanding the fourfold model for deconstructing difference, understanding diversity and identity by making transparent the hidden intersections of gender, class and ethnicity which are not apparent in the analytical application of the category race. Therefore habitus as analytical category can also promote cultural similarity perspectives and destabilize the validity of race as analytical category.

6.1.7 Quality of Life and Subjective Wellbeing as Analytical Categories

The dimensions quality of life, subjective well being, lived experiences (Chapter 4 & 6) and the intergenerational transmission of the condition of social inequality (Estivill 2003; See also critically, Section 4.11.2) are significantly gaining attention in scientific research. With specific regard to the variables quality of life and subjective wellbeing, social indicators of health are significantly used to quantify the dimensions of social differentiation. Within this framework, Brettell & Simon have emphasized the importance of distinguishing between the status and roles of women which are at the level of ideology and those in practice structuring the lived experiences (Lim 1995). As well, Foner lays emphasis on the subjective meanings and value attached to the social contexts and lived experiences of the affected women (Lim 1995). Thus, my empirical results show that although (im)migrant women in Germany appeared less structurally integrated, the dimensions of subjective wellbeing, quality of life and social interaction within a social-market economy/ social democratic habitus of a highly industrialised country backed by egalitarian relations of production appeared to positively outweigh those of their counterparts in England. More theoretical and empirical work needs to be done in this area.

7 DATA Collection

7.1 Research Instruments: Data Specification

Data collection was undertaken in the year 2000. As already pointed out, this represents the period before radical shifts in the social market economy habitus towards a neo-liberalistic paradigm as articulated in the 2004 Hartz IV social policy reforms (Section 6.1.6). In terms of biographical data, it is important that the reader bears in mind that the results of my study are based on a retrospective reflection of women's biographies in a time frame ranging from ten to twenty years before Hartv IV. This includes life constructions in the 1980s and 1990s.

To concretise comparative perspectives on class vs. egalitarian habitus, the samples in my studies were drawn from the liberalistic states, Freiburg, Stuttgart, Bremen and Oldenburg in Germany (Section 6.1.6). Whereas in England, this included the suburbs of greater London. Therefore it is further important for the reader to bear in mind that although the findings may not be representative for the rest of Germany and England, they have pedagogical and empirical relevance for social transformation, workability for the affected and constructing external validity for postcolonial subjectivities within the framework of grounded theory (Section 6.1.6; Chapter 8 & 9).

Narrative-biographic interviews constituted the main research instrument. Since the requirements of grounded theory spell out the use of data slices, this means that multiple sources of data were added as has been discussed in more detail in section (Section 3.6.4). My initial survey was constructed on the basis of the requirements of grounded theory as it relates to the significant importance of generating empirically driven context sensitive research through an open approach that undermines imposition of preconceived notions (Strauss & Glaser; Strauss & Corbin Section 4.2). For the purpose of preliminary orientation, categories and hypothesis were broadly and fluidly formulated prior to embarking on the field research. My focus of attention centred on capturing the affected's opinions and conceptualisation of everyday experiences and the central issues affecting their lives rather than focusing on my hypothetical assessment of their situation as had been construed in the original design (See Glaser 1978).

To implement the notion of the *open approach* (Glaser & Strauss 1967) in the initial design, the interview thematic were guided by natural, connect and link interview transitions as defined by Shebib (2007). Whereas within the iterative approach, theoretical sampling generated inductions and deductions for conceptual comparison groups (Glaser & Strauss; Glaser, Section 3.5), this induced a need for controlling interview transitions¹ by fluidly integrating the focus orientated strategy (Section 7.4.4).

7.2 Interviewing Tools and Techniques

7.2.1 *Strength Based, Problem Focused Approaches*

7.2.1.1 Fusing Social Work, Feminism and Liberative Pedagogy

In accessing the field and establishing contacts, the strength based and problem focused approaches were adopted: Based on my field observations, it became increasingly important to clarify the purpose of the interview to the interviewees in terms of the need for documenting their *progress* and constructing external validity of the findings to promote the situation of (im)migrant women in the various Diasporic contexts. Within this framework, building trust, consolidating participation and maintaining commitment to the process required also addressing the need for sociological visibilisation, voice creation within research and social policy seeking effective solutions and strategies for change (Section 5.4.2 & Chapter 1). Since manifold structural vulnerabilities shaped the lived experiences of the affected while at the same time constructing blind points (Section 8.11), the strength-based and problem focused approaches remained critical tools throughout the entire course of the interviews (Sections 8.1–8.5). It is clear that within such a framework, identification with the affected (Freire 1970 & 1972) as articulated through empathy², congruence and unconditional positive regard not only constituted core conditions for creating trust (Shebib 2007) and breaking the ice but also the framework for the practical implementation of liberative pedagogy. In addition, whilst the structural conditionalities appeared to have strong implications for shaping the self esteem of respondents, this made reconstruction pedagogy, feminist approaches and structural social work vital components of grounded theory. The fusion of theory and praxis as it relates to the complexities of combining and addressing issues of agency, power and politics within

1 For an in-depth analysis on interview transitions see Shebib (2006).

2 Empathy refers to the ability to see the world through the eyes of the affected (Shebib 2007).

a transformatory framework (Freire 1970; 1972 & 1974; Giroux 2008), was confronted with the empirical challenge for providing a framework in which notions of individualization, human worth, dignity, non-judgmental support, empowerment and social justice can critically be applied in praxis (Biestek 1957;³ See also critically Freire 1970; 1972 & 1994). During my interview process, this was reflected through a fusion of the strength based approach with self-awareness, self-reflection and through the creation of a communication atmosphere that aimed at placing power back into the hands of the affected (See Biestek 1957; Freire 1970 & 1972; Hancock 1997; Mulley 2007; Shebib 2007). For a deeper illustration, see section (Section 8.5).

7.2.1.2 Self-Awareness and Empathy

Empathy whilst referring to the ability to see the world through the eyes of the affected (Shebib 2007), constitutes what Biestek defines as the ability to keep perspective through approaching the affected in a systematic relationship to their social environments (Hancock 1997). Within this framework, empathy significantly relates to the affective aspects of the interview and defines the interviewers' capacities in terms of the ability for capturing the mood, transgressing biases and using clarification techniques as a medium in a context of close observation of the participants within their environments (See critically Yin 2003). This requires understanding and addressing issues of power and positionality (McDowell 1992). Thus, according to Shebib (1997) empathy can be approached in terms of the process of accurately understanding the emotional perspective of the affected and communication of this understanding (Shebib 2007). Within the framework of the political struggle with the oppressed to promote social justice (Freire 1970 & 1972), empathy driven by congruence as defined by Rogers in terms of the capacity for being real and consistent without hidden agendas (Shebib 2007) crystalized central meaning.

Against this background, empathy, self-awareness and unconditional positive regard (Biestek 1957; see also critically, Freire 1970 & 1972), were empirically applied within a structural approach rooted in an depth understanding of the differential social construction of migrants within the fourfold vulnerability model as it relates to the multidimensional structural conditionings stemming from multifarious intersecting legislative, historical and institutional processes shaping and gendering migrant status, social positioning as well as

3 Also critically review, Hancock (1997).

postcolonial situativity (Chapter 4 & Chapter 5). As a social researcher with anecdotal comparisons (Glaser 1978) and the Ubuntu (*Ubuntu-Bulamu*) social cultural background, I was sensitized, culturally and social-scientifically aware of the implications of migration status, gender, social positioning and class for shaping the quality of the interviewee-interviewer relationship and therefore also the implications for the generative potential of the interview as a research instrument.

Scholars point out in this regard, that in addressing issues of difference in research, the researcher is embedded in the complex relations of power that mark and subordinate others (Strong-Boag, Grace, Eisenberg and Anderson 1998). At the same time, the interview is not a neutral place to study. Rather it demands participant centred reflexivity whereby the interviewer engages critically with the interviewee in active dialogue over their situation and over his/her own action in order to build empathetic relations (Bourdieu, 1996; 1999). As described in full-depth in sections (Section 8.5), demonstrating empathy within (trans)locational positionality involved critically applying the techniques of self-exposure and deference. These as interviewing techniques were also applied within the framework of cultural sensitivity, since this parallels the communicative frameworks within the Ubuntu habitus. It is important to note as Shebib has also argued, that self-disclosure was not only applied to facilitate appropriate sharing of feelings but also to enhance ‘*normalization*’ (Shebib 2007) and minimize social stigma (Sheafor & Horejsi 2006) thereby empowering and encouraging interviewees to take a lighter view of their situation whilst also reducing tensions and encouraging them to open up (Shebib 2007). To provide an empirical context for normalizing, this was mainly applied with interviewees who appeared to struggle with social stigma attached to their occupational status such as the personal support and care workers (Elderly Care) embedded within the social context of England’s class Habitus (Section 8.11.1).

7.2.1.3 Effective Listening, Memoing and Coding

Given that critical pedagogy is concerned with deconstructing and unveiling the relationships between power, knowledge and authority within institutional contexts, community building and the variety of social locations in which individuals are structurally located (Freire 1970 & 1972; Giroux 1994a & 1994b; Giroux & McLaren 1994), effective listening was linked to the goals of empowerment through integrating the affected as subjects of empirically driven research, theory generation and therefore also responsive social

development (See critically Glaser & Strauss, Section 3.2.1). To do this, the techniques of individuation and normalization (Shebib 2007; Sheafor & Horejsi 2006) were implemented within dialogical relationships (Freire, Section 5.3.3.2). It has already been demonstrated above that, the interview process constituted the initial framework for effective listening since it facilitates reception of large amounts of information through multiple modalities including clarification techniques, transgression of biases, capturing of mood and affective components. As well, close observation of participants within their immediate environment (Yin 2003). In addition, it facilitated identification of emergent patterns within the narratives and the associated most salient social problems of respondents (See Glaser 1978). Subsequently the interview constituted part of the coding procedure in my empirical analysis (Section 4.4.3). Similarly, the writing of memoirs immediately after and the data transcription formed part of my coding process, as Glaser (1978) has also argued.

It is of further importance to mention that effective listening, constructing dialogical relations and integrating participants as subjects (Freire 1970 & 1972) enhanced clarification of the interview purpose and procedure to the interviewees. Within this framework, for example, I explained to the respondents that the interview was focused on documenting their biographies from their own point of view. My role as a researcher was to listen carefully without interruption and to ask questions only where clarification was needed. Indeed reflective statements were restricted and the techniques of paraphrasing and summarizing were applied only rarely to enhance clarification⁴. To this end, it is understandable that exploring and probing skills constituted the main tools for information gathering within the context of empowerment and active listening. Probes were applied to seek concretisation of narratives through examples, in order to obtain necessary details and to avoid false assumptions (Shebib 2007).

In sum, a cluster of basic attending skills⁵ constituting empathy, non judgmental support, exploring and probing, self exposure and humour (Shebib

4 Based on Shebib's definition, paraphrasing can be understood in terms of restating in shortened form the interviewees' thoughts to clarify the essence of what he or she has said (Shebib 1997). Similarly summarizing involves condensing the essential content and identifying essential themes and ideas whilst questioning refers to probing for information to confirm understanding and seek clarification (Shebib: 2007).

5 Attending refers to the manner in which the interviewer communicates to the interviewee that they are physically and psychologically interested in what they are saying. Silence gives interviewees time to reflect and respond (Shebib 2007). Attending therefore comprises both non-verbal and verbal cues (Biestek 1957: 29).

2007; Sheafor & Horejsi 2006) were variably applied to facilitate theoretical sensitivity (Glaser 1978) within an empowerment, liberative and transformative framework (Freire 1970 & 1972; Giroux, 1994).

7.2.1.4 Confidentiality, Anonymity, Informed consent and Ethical Dilemmas

To address the above issues, I explained to the participants that data would be anonymised through coding and destroyed afterwards in order to diminish any risks that could potentially emerge a result of the interview. In addition, interviewees were asked to use pseudo names such that data could not be traced to their identity. In this connection, I asked the interviewees for permission to take notes and audiotape the interview. Since a strength based perspective had been adopted, some participants, (specifically women with successful careers) were rather discouraged by an approach that anonymised their identity with the argument that this would lead to further invisibilisation whilst also masking their contributions and potential. Maintaining their participation, posed an ethical dilemma⁶ – tensions between balancing congruency (Section 7.2.1.4) with the methodological and the analytical requirements of breaking down data and anonymising it through coding and theoretical sampling on one hand and on the other, the importance of facilitating and enhancing self-determination of the affected.

7.3 The Sample: Conceptual Comparison Groups

Since the basic criteria for selecting group comparisons is based on theoretical relevance and purpose (Glaser & Strauss 1967; Glaser 1978; Corbin & Strauss 1998), this means that group comparisons are conceptual (Glaser & Strauss 1967). Groups are emergently chosen based on their potential for the development of categories and their properties, hence groups that will help generate to the fullest extent, as many properties of the category as possible and that will help relate the categories to each other are selected. Whilst the methodology instantiates a self selective process guided by the gaps and answers in the emerging theory (Glaser & Strauss: 1967), diverse or similar

6 Dubois & Milley, definition of ethical dilemmas within counseling praxis, provides a close reference for the interviewing process. They postulate that ethical dilemmas arise when a choice has to be made between competing values and potential courses of action, whereby the counselor (interviewer in our case) may have simultaneous obligations to different people and groups, agencies that employ them, their clients, the community at larger and the legal system (Shebib 2006)

evidence indicating the same conceptual categories and properties is collected not for the purpose of comparing the evidence for its own sake or verification. Rather, comparative analysis facilitates extensively the interchangeability of indicators and develops as it proceeds a broad range of acceptable indicators for categories (Glaser & Strauss 1967: Glaser 1978). To demonstrate empirical relevance, it is significant that integrating students as a category (Section 9.5) within the framework of theoretical sampling, not only increased diversity in comparison groups and in the conditions in data bearing on a category as grounded theory postulates (Glaser; Strauss & Corbin, Section 3.2.1 & 9.1) but also maximised conceptualisation (Glaser; Strauss & Corbin, Section 3.2.1 & 9.1) through facilitating analysis of the multilayeredness of identities since student status appears to bring them into contact with the different segmentations in the labour market as well as life constructions at the various societal levels and social divisions (Section 9.5).

Subsequently, authors emphasize that applying theoretical control to choice of groups is central to the methodology whereby the number and types of groups cannot be cited until the research is completed as opposed to the arbitrary logic of pre-planned inclusion and exclusion (Glaser & Strauss 1967). Considering the comparative and contrast analysis within the context of generating conceptual groups for theory building, this is further linked to the construction of internal and external validity since it facilitates and reinforces consolidation of accurate evidence, empirical generalisations, specifications of concepts and verifications of a hypothesis (Glaser 1978: 149).

Empirically group comparisons emerged after the initial surveys and the categories generated according to the coded themes observed in data. To allow for a focus on the variability of social phenomena, however, comparison groups were also theoretically sampled according to the categories class, gender, and occupational, social status as they relate to transitions experienced in background societies and destination communities. This for example, whilst allowing for a focus on hierarchisation processes also facilitated analysis of the relevance of occupational identity for subjectivity but also the various ways in which social positioning may play a significant role in constructing difference within the hidden intersections of class, ethnicity and gender.

The initial sample had been selected according to migration status as it relates to the dimensions of economic participation and educational profiles. Within this framework, the respondents had been selected according to convenience in terms of accessibility and geographical proximity, but also according to age which ranged from 21–45 years. By contrast, the theoretical sampling of

new groups whilst being rooted in data and empirically driven through their relationship to the emergent theory (Glaser 1978), allowed for integrating into analysis the complexity, heterogeneity and multidimensionality of migrant status, gender, identity as well as their intersectionality in the nexus of shifting social positioning, postcolonial situativity and the social cultural background as analytical categories (Chapter 4; 5; 8; 9). As partially demonstrated above using the example of student status as a theoretically sampled category, focus on the heterogeneity of status within this framework (Chapter 9), in turn, served the analytical purpose of maximising differences and similarities within the data in order to reach saturation and theory densification (Strauss & Glaser 1967; Glaser 1978, Strauss & Corbin, Section 3.2.1 & 9.1).

Whilst facilitating a multidimensional and intersectional analysis (Chapter 4 & 5), the findings destabilised the legitimacy of race as analytical category (Chapter 4; 8 & 9). Above all, a focus on the heterogeneity of status was fundamental to integrating a cultural similarity perspective and theorising difference as a social construct linked to the political economy of migrant labour (Miles, Section 4.5.2) and the threefold/fourfold oppression of women (Section 4.4–4.6).

As illustrated in table 7.I, the conceptual comparison groups constituted 32 respondents with sixteen interviewees in England and sixteen in Germany. The number of key informants ranged from 5–7 in both England and Germany.

With further reference to the initial sample, this whilst constituting ten respondents and five key informants was constructed on the basis of selective sampling integrating loose categories generated from analysis of scientific gaps in the level of research on international migration. Theoretical sampling through conceptual deductions and inductions generated divergence in research focus and the associated emergence of conceptual comparison groups (Strauss & Glaser; Glaser; Strauss & Corbin, Section 3.5). The initial research question had evolved around a comparative analysis of the genderisation and ethnisation of international labour markets, educational and professional biographies as well as life constructions of women from Anglophone countries through a focus on the configuration of subjectivity within the simultaneity of institutional, legislative, daily social practices and their dynamic convergence in specific geopolitical conditionalities and underpinnings of manifold differentiating, hierarchizing and marginalisation mechanisms. The new empirically emerging research focus evolved around the confrontation of social cohesion in relation to gender identity, the structural underpin-

nings of class, ethnicity and their intersection within a nexus of postcolonial subjectivity, multi-variant structural ambivalence, complex discursive conjunctures and pluralistic modernity disembedments (Chapter 8 & 9).

As is central to all studies of this nature, this work assumes that the reader has a clear view about the differentiated character of the African continent in terms of social economic and cultural systems, historical evolution and experience of colonial rule, endowment with natural resources as well as the structure and function of existing social and political systems⁷. Whereas this may raise questions regarding the representativeness of the findings and present obstacles to their external validity; the underlying issues whilst rooted in data have fundamental theoretical, policy and practical implications. In this light, it is important to highlight the high similarity of experiences undergone by the women in my study in spite of the diversity of social-geographical origins. In fact apart from only a few cases such as migrant to migrant interactions, difference appeared structured by social- and migrant status than on grounds of geographical origins.

Table 7.1 Showing Conceptual Comparison Groups

Germany Theoretical Samples	Size	England Theoretical Samples	Size
University Lecturers	2	Lawyer	2
IT -Industrial Marketing	1	Administrative Support Post office Secretary	3
Child & Youth Worker	2	Social Services Work/Social Administration	2
Health Care Nurses	2	Health Care Nurses	2
Personal Support Worker Gerontology	2	Personal Support Worker Gerontology	2
Students	4	Students	2
Domestic Workers	1	Domestic Workers	1
Entrepreneurs	2	Entrepreneurs	2
Total:	16	Total:	16

Theoretically Sampled Respondents

7 Review Furger a.o. (1993).

7.3.1 *Profiles and Differences in Interviewees*

Specifically with reference to Germany, difference in the mentalities and views of the interviewees according to their duration of stay, level of integration, spatial location and geographical background were also recorded. Here one could identify four groups:

- New arrivals that are not yet integrated and thus have hardly interacted with the host society.
- Integrated – have a lot of interaction with the host society but not yet completely uprooted.
- Thoroughly integrated/almost uprooted women.
- Migrants from rural areas vs. those from urban areas.

The first group (hardly integrated) present their views in a very original manner. Their language and opinions have hardly any influences from the destination society. Rather they reflect the ‘original nexus African way’ but also very thrilling narration.

The second group (integrated & a lot of interaction with the destination society). This has to a large extent adapted a standardised mode of representation, which in my view could be attributed to the tensions and challenges of coping and integrating into the mainstreaming currents in Germany. It tends to reproduce generally known or prevailing perspectives in the destination society (mainstreaming). In interviews, however, this tends to block the social reality of affected respondents. They appear conformed to the dominant views although their conditionality is basically different. To interpret their views requires a lot of acquaintance with their social cultural background, structural locationality in the migration context and the social environments of the destination communities. Nevertheless it is important to recognise the difference between the tendency to incorporate dominant discourses as an adoptive strategy within an egalitarian habitus and the assimilation of accents, social tastes and norms as classifiable attributes that seem to socially differentiate and define migrants’ identities in England’s class habitus.

The third group of interviewees are thoroughly integrated in the destination society and has been almost entirely uprooted from their origins.

To crystallise the difference in communication within these three groups two examples have been cited: While describing social interaction amongst Africans, an interviewee married to a German who can be categorised to the third

group of the almost entirely uprooted, depicted (im)migrants with an African background through the following expressions:

„Sie sind zugänglicher ...“

Meaning they are more accessible. Whereas this may reflect comparison with her immediate German community, it is in my opinion a typical German description. While discussing social cultural themes like polygamy, the less integrated interviewees tended to react more emotionally and they focused on the negative aspects or social evils. On the other hand, interviewees who are more integrated tended to focus more on the positive aspects. Interviewees who are almost completely uprooted or integrated in the formal institutions tended to intellectualise the theme (a typical German tendency in my opinion).

This brings us to the fourth categories of migrants from rural areas Vs those from urban areas. In my experience migrants from rural areas reveal less symptoms of cultural-hybridity. This could be attributed to less integration into the abstract systems of formal education, postcolonial institutions and influences of western media. This group appears to largely bear the roots of African culture and values. They appear pragmatic probably because there is less abstraction of life, less specialization and there is more subsistence economy. This has also made them very indulging. Being anchored in their traditional culture and norms, they appear straighter forward.

On the other hand migrants from urban areas tend to fit the colonial syndrome discussed in this study (Fanon 1967 & 1969; Freire1970:14; Nuscheler 1995b; Said 1978). In my observation, they appear more alienated from their social economic environments which is directly attributed to more access to western formal education and the increasingly abundant consumption of western media. They live in two worlds, however, their formal education has not equipped them with the necessary tools to influence their environment but at the same time unlike their rural counterparts they have not learnt to master any of their two worlds apart from scholarly skills (Section 4.6.1 & 4.6.2). Another category of migrants from urban areas are those without or with very minimal access to formal education, but consume western media. The most affected in this category are the uprooted from informal education acquired within cultural institutions. These seem to bear the characteristics of uncontrolled urbanisation.

All this seemed to bear an impact on the interviewees' views, values, opinions, beliefs, expression, language and personality. Due to these differences it

is important to integrate all groups in order to achieve well balanced results – perhaps practical guide for sampling in future research.

However, factors like time pressure on the women's side and the general 'interview dislike' discussed in the commencing sections greatly hindered the possibility of selecting interview partners on a systematic basis leaving only room for theoretical sampling as the example in England demonstrated.

7.3.2 *Field Accessibility*

As elsewhere discussed, to concretise comparative perspectives on class vs. egalitarian habitus, the samples in my studies were drawn from the liberalistic states, Freiburg, Stuttgart, Bremen and Oldenburg in Germany (Section 6.1.6 & 7.1). Whereas in England, this included the suburbs of greater London (Section 7.1).

England as compared to Germany offered easier accessibility to potential interviewees which I attribute to its metropolitan nature with a high concentration of migrants. Moreover the percentage of migrant women within professional employment is very high and opportunities for social mobility for those in manual occupation are also gigantic. In Germany, long distances stretching from the north to the south of the country were undertaken in order to facilitate variability in sampling as explained above (Glaser, Section 3.5). During the phase of field preparation, the initial contacts with possible interviewees and key informants were established. Mainly these were facilitated through the networks evolving out of my social political engagement and included universities bodies like the World University Service, HGAS, ASTA, KHG, Ibis and Verein Für Interkulturelle Begegnungen (Section 2.1). The most productive source, however comprised the self organised groups of (im)migrants, specifically community and gospel churches. The central relevance of this was particularly underlined in England given the complexity of establishing contacts in a context of a busy, individualized metropolitan environment.

The field locations of the interviews were mostly home environments. A few were conducted within church premises and one was conducted in a university setting. The interview sessions ranged between 2–3 hours. In England, it was critical to condense the interviews, this was facilitated by the prior extensive interviewing experience gathered in Germany, given that the interview process was first initiated and developed from there.

In spite of the relatively easy accessibility of women in England, it is significant that interviews may be differently conceived in both societies, whereby England's migrants displayed a general dislike, thus, placing a difficult hurdle for mobilising them to participate. From the 23 women approached seven refrained completely from participating which was quite the opposite case in Germany where no refrains were encountered. This reluctance against interviews can be explained:

During informal conversations carried out in many homes as part of the field observation before fully embarking with the formal interviews in England, I gathered a lot of information which was later not brought up in the interviews. Response in the formal interview set up appeared evasive with the respondents sometimes automatically blocking certain issues or impulsively creating a generic framework for answering questions.

The distinction between the private and public (interview) communication, in my observation appears partially linked to class and hierarchisation dynamics as in-depth analyzed (Section 8.6). As well, it appeared anchored in the unending police questioning and interrogations that many (im)migrants underwent while still on refugee status before managing to settle down. This phenomenon could not be observed in the German case because of the differences in migratory patterns (Section 6.1.3 & 6.1.4). Owing to the legal difficulties involved, unofficially recognized refugees and undocumented migrants as a category were excluded from my sampling in Germany and England. Since Germany has hindered the migration of refugees whilst facilitating migration of African women through a high social status or marriage (Section 6.1.3), most of the interviewed (im)migrants had mainly acquired their labour status through marriage. Others were still on student status.

Particularly basing on the example of Ugandan women there is the tendency for the local news papers in Uganda to dismantle the image of migrants in England on the basis of their occupational status which is more often than not widely depicted as 'Nkuba Byeyos (Street Cleaners). Many jokes and names have been made in regard to the occupations and jobs that migrants perform but also about their general housing conditions. This has seemed to generate wide spread suspicion for hidden agendas in social research and reporting motivations. Subsequently, making identification through congruence and empathy as interviewing techniques fundamental to building trust and the interviewees' commitment to the research process as well as determining the quality of the interview and therefore also theory generation as described in section (Section 7.2).

The time factor could be cited as a further determining aspect in England where lack of minimum time legislation for workers (currently being introduced at the time), apparently subjects various categories of migrants to very long working hours often covering 17 to 24 hour shifts.

The relatively high level of social economic independence and occupational status that women in England have acquired appears to professionally mainstream them and to create a framework for self-fulfilment and self esteem. The ways in which this aspect was manifested in egalitarian positioning in the interview communication has already been established (Section 8.6.1). With regard to Germany, however, I felt that my presence and social location as a migrant interviewer was often perceived as a form of social recognition from the main stream, whereas the women in England did not necessarily perceive it in terms of social recognition but largely a favour in their hands to grant or refrain the interviewer.

7.4 Methodological Limitations

7.4.1 Complexity of Data Slices, Eclectic Analysis, Double Back Steps

Empirically, the diversity of categories, properties and their dimensions generated context sensitivity and multiple perspectives through demanding as grounded theory also postulates, the incorporation of multiple data sources and data slices (Glaser & Strauss; Glaser, Section 3.5.4). This not only led to the integration of a complex eclectic approach for data conceptualisation but also the generation of multidimensionality, intersectional analysis and a practice theoretical context for applying multiple interventions (Chapter 4). The challenges of undertaking this complex scientific exercise are linked to the demands of incorporating systematising research, extensive triangulation and synthesis of the substantive theories generated from extant literature, data observations, anecdotal comparisons, observations of key informers, etc., with a view to facilitate fusion of a formal theory that works for the affected (Critically review Glaser 1978: 143 & 146–147).

Glaser (1978) describes the challenges of generating formal theory in terms of the complexity of theoretical sensitivity required and the great deal of literature a theorist has to draw on. To facilitate a fusion of the substantive and formal theories, I deployed covariance as the main sociological tool applied in connecting variables without forcing the idea of cause (Glaser 1978: 74). At the same time, it is worth mentioning as Glaser has stated, the key function of the substantive theories in providing the initial direction towards the

development of relevant conceptual categories, conceptual properties of categories, hypothesis relating these concepts and influencing possible modes of integration for the construction of formal theory (Glaser 1978: 146). Thus, for our empirical purposes, the formal theories generated constituted sociological and feminist approaches, postcolonial, poststructural analysis, structural social work perspectives and critical pedagogy, etc (Chapter 4). It is clear from the dimensions of our categories, that this variability combined with theoretical sampling and the associated contrast and comparative analysis led to the creation of multiple substantive and formal theories with diverse interlinkages⁸. Whilst contributing to a more sophisticated understanding of difference, the methodology sharpened middle ranged theorisation of postcolonial subjectification processes within the confinements of multiple differentiations relating to the dimensions of ethnicity, class, and gender. To do this, the methodology facilitated the integration of a structural, social interactionist and transformatory approach to social cohesion, social capital and democratisation.

Data conceptualisation and presentation in the final manuscript is complicated through the double-back steps involving constant shifting and rooting between previous steps and emergent theories. This entails simultaneous and ongoing interaction between data, theoretical sampling and categories in a complex interactive process demanding simultaneous engagement in diverse operations whilst accomplishing the latter along multiple lines and directions (Strauss & Glaser; Corbin & Strauss, Section 3.5.1). Thus, it has implied a complex structuring of the thesis. Connecting the diverse variables, triangulating their complex constellations, relationships to extant theories and interweaving them into a workable theory has meant that sometimes, chapters articulate this dynamic in a slightly more repetitive style than conventional manuscripts.

7.4.2 *Language Adjustments*

Regarding the language adapted in the preliminary interview, experience gathered in Germany as opposed to England quickly revealed that the interview questionnaire needed to adapt a descriptive/explanatory nature in order to allow for clarification and provoke a deeper narration of facts. Some of the questions embedded in my previous interview, appeared difficult to understand on the part of the recipients who often had to seek further clarification on my part. In order to adequately provoke narration but also to maintain

8 See Glaser (1978: 148)

congruency, defining the purpose of each question appeared to be of vital importance.

Some of the clarification problems arose from the rather professionalised language adapted in my initial design. The field experience with the pilot interviews demonstrated the need for adjusting the language and making it compatible with the daily language usage and expressions of the women. Subsequently, underscoring the importance of integrating and applying a lay man's language. By contrast, this language problematic was hardly encountered in England evidently due to the English socialisation in the social cultural background which women have continued to practice in within international migration. This seemed to equip them with strong articulation and expressive skills in English since they don't have to think and communicate in two different languages as compared to the code switching experienced by (im)migrants in Germany.

7.4.3 *The Interview Dislike*

The problematic and causes of the interview dislike have been fully drawn out (Section 7.3.2). By contrast, the general '*interview dislike*' in England as highlighted above, complicated the challenges for building trust, erasing misunderstandings, fears and suspicions regarding hidden agendas (Shebib 2007). This made it necessary to adopt a structural approach that explains gaps and loopholes in previous scientific research, the misconceptions about female roles, the invisibilisation of (im)migrants' contributions, their combined impacts and their implications for policy, legislation and social-advancement of women (Chapter 1 & 4.8). This for example included highlighting factors like the absence of certified recognition for a lot of voluntary work as opposed to the formal recognition awarded counterparts in settlement societies. In this way, the necessity for documentation was underlined. The winning card though, in my observation, was highlighting the relevance of a comparative analysis between Germany and England for constructing external validity of research findings to improve the situation of women in various Diasporic contexts.

In both cases explaining concretely to the interview partners the purpose and potential value of the interview not only consolidated participation but it also enabled potential interviewees to prepare sufficiently and to recall important facts.

Guaranteeing anonymity right from the beginning played a vital role for the non professionals. But, their professional counterparts in both Germany and

England, preferred their identities published, with the argument that anonymity enhances misrecognition and invisibilisation. This presented the ethical dilemma as described in section (Section 7.2.1.4).

7.4.4 *Interview Transitions*

Unlike the natural and connect or link transitions characterising the pilot interviews (Shebib, Section 7.1) based on an open approach to the empirical world, theoretical sampling for conceptual comparison groups (Glaser & Strauss; Glaser, Section 3.5) brought out to the fore the need for controlling interview transitions⁹ by integrating the focus orientated strategy right at the beginning of the interview stages. This strategy called for a shifting of questions and integrating the questions focusing on the work and training experiences at the initial stage while situating those focusing on the motivation for migration and the initial settlement phase at the end. This strategy was of much relevance for the situation in England due to the time pressure discussed above which made focused interviews imperative – most of the interviewees were not willing to give more than 1 hour interviews. Similarly offers of half an hour interviews became welcoming and attractive as last resorts which were eventually expanded in the interview process. According to the experience in Germany, restructuring of questions mainly rose from three factors:

- The degree of concentration which varies during the course of the interview: The atmosphere at the beginning of the interview is very energetic; interest yielding and the interviewees are very deeply involved. The depth of coverage of the topic and narration form adapted in the interview, however, taxes a lot on effort and concentration to the extent that themes situated at the different stages of the interview are given different attention. On the other hand too, switching between themes proved difficult for the interviewees who may already be deeply anchored in another theme altogether. Thus, the need for isolating major problem areas and situating them strategically at different points of the interview.
- Questions dealing with ‘Motivation for migration’ proved rather sensitive and may be interpreted as embedding authoritative components, thus leading to unfavourable reception and response thereby endangering the total yields of the interview. Situating such questions towards the end appeared to strengthen identification, congruency and relevance by increasing the

9 For a discussion on interview transitions see Shebib (2006).

chances of the interviewee to identify for themselves the academic purpose and potential value of research during the course of the interview. On the other hand, questions dealing with the earliest phase in Europe were often exciting and relaxing in spite of the many difficult experiences of women at that time – They may suitably be placed at the end of the interview.

- Finally, questions dealing with the social demographic factors such as family background may favourably be structured into a questionnaire designed for collecting social-statistical data.

During the first phase of my research in Germany, constraints on time crystallised as major hindrances to research: Some of the scheduled interviews had to be cancelled due to unavoidable circumstances on the part of the interviewees. An immediate rescheduling on my part was sometimes not possible due to other commitments at the university. This demanded planning multiple journeys involving a radius of 700–800 KLM between the different locations of women. Though a lot of rescheduling took place in England, it is significant that I was able to accomplish all appointed interviews on one visit of six weeks duration. The distances within London were comparatively much shorter, though one could mention the long traffic jams which hinder swift travelling to limit the number of interviews while also placing financial constraints.

7.4.5 *Data Transcription*

With regard to data transcriptions, only partial segments of the verbatim as appearing in the empirical analysis were transcribed line by line. This was done mainly for the purposes of elaboration, refining and establishing theoretical connections between concepts, categories and their properties during coding and theoretical sampling (Section 3.3). Listening to the audio taped narratives, field and interview observations, writing and reading theoretical and analytical memoirs as well as field notes constituted much of the analytical devices for conceptualising raw data. The empirical relevance of partial data transcription was scientifically legitimated through the critical need for embarking on analysis early in the process of data collection (Glaser 1978) and therefore also promoting an inductively generated research focus, which in turn, reduces data collection through theoretical sampling (Strauss & Glaser 1967; Glaser 1978). Through coding, data are broken down into manageable pieces (Glaser & Strauss 1967; Glaser 1978), whilst data transcription is linked to the constraints of generating excessive unnecessary data (Glaser 1998).

8 Empirical Analysis

8.1 Status vs. Class Consciousness

This section highlights the key differences apparently shaping (im)migrant identities and subjectification practices as was predominantly manifested in the themes emerging in the interview and the daily social and communicative contexts of the two societies in view. It will be demonstrated below that the interview was a test and triangulation of the social habitus: It is significant that whilst, Germany by contrast to England appears to relatively hinder the migration of African women apart from through marriage and a high social economic status of scientific researchers and university students (Table 10.9, Section 10.3.2), migration appears to take place in the context of relationship orientation. This seems to have major implications for the relationship oriented and selective way the interviewed African women in Germany appear to view German society. Hence women focused more on the social dimensions of labour participation but exhibited blind spots to structural barriers. By contrast, women in England appeared acquainted with the hard and concurrence selective mechanisms on the labour market, despite their blindness to the social dimensions.

Basically 'status consciousnesses appeared strongly enacted in the social interaction of (im)migrants in Germany and this specifically shaped communication and the power relations within the interview context. By contrast, class, appeared to emerge as a prime instrument of subjectification and identity construction in England. It is significant that in both Germany and England, communicative frameworks appeared constructed through a sharp public/private divide which was articulated reversely in the two different social contexts (Section 8.5.2). In Germany, egalitarian relations appeared to extensively shape private social interactions whereas in the interview and self organisation contexts¹ status consciousness appeared to jeopardise this, by articulating power and authority components.

1 On status consciousness and self-organisation see, Section 9.7.

Whereas communicative processes in England appeared constructed on the basis of class, re-traditionalisation and reconfiguration of gender relations and gender hierarchies in the private spheres, the interview context was extensively framed by egalitarian relations with the exception of women employed as personal support workers or elderly care. Class as a socially differentiating variable was also clearly articulated as the organising principle of community building and belonging (Section 8.6 & 8.7).

Considering the German context, it has been empirically grounded that underpinning the function of status in the forefront of interpersonal relations is mainly the dilemma of agency produced within the contradictions of ethnicity as structurally configured on the basis of heterogeneous migrant status (Section 9.8 & 9.9). In this connection, there are other issues which are minor but seemed to gain significant importance in the interview communication. These include impacting dimensions of the psycho-linguistic personality constructions particularly the relationship between status and accounts which determines the symbolic locations and relational positionalities in communicative networks (see for example, Harrè and Butney respectively, Section 8.3). Furthermore, women's socialisation within systems of cultural authority appeared to assume also an impacting role (Section 8.4).

Subsequently, as others have also postulated, the interview is not a neutral social and geographical space to study (Bourdieu, Section 7.2.1.2). Rather, it is constituted, defined and marked in a way that is itself constitutive of the ongoing construction of understandings of difference, diversity and ethnicity in conditions of rapid social change (Strong Boag, Grace, Eisenberg and Anderson 1998). In order to not jeopardise empathetic relations with interviewees, a non directive approach is emphasized (Bourdieu, Section 7.2.1.2): My position to the interviewees was not neutral. As an affected migrant women with a postcolonial background, my intuitions and emotions were discursively near to the social status of the affected women and I approached the interview with critical understanding of their situation.

The following sections handle this in more detail.

8.2 Ethnicity, Structural Embedment and Subjectivity

Though class stratification does not appear remarkably predominant in Germany by contrast to England, institutional boundings and legislative processes commonly structure and categorize ethnicity on the basis of heterogeneous migrant status, which also forms the major basis for constructing variations in

social mobility and social economic participation. Specifically within self organisation activities as forms of political organisation and cultural space, migration status appeared to underlie subjectification and collectivising practices through grounding the materialisation of belonging. In practical terms, the legal location of (im)migrants appears to construct status heterogeneity with vertical stratification structuring mechanisms of social inequality amongst (im)migrant categories, thus seeming to configure status-consciousness into their social identities. Whereas refugee status appears to constitute the lowest category, followed by students and married migrants, ironically anybody who looks (Black) is almost regarded as a refugee and therefore of a lower status for the host society as well as amongst the (im)migrants themselves. Whereas this appears to reflect differential historical evolution as it relates to contingent patterns, structures and impacts of migration, it is significant that in England's case which is largely characterised by labour migration and extensive Black communities with strong economic visibility, physical appearance seems to translate almost nothing about migrant status.

Moreover, by contrast to refugee status in Germany, which appears linked to a low social background status of (im)migrants, in England this appeared not to be the case. Indeed for most (im)migrants including those with a high social status background, refugee status seems to have channelled the main stepping stone for economic-participation and citizenship legislation. This seems to have neutralized the relevance of migrant status. But as illustrated above, class seems to play a central role. Hence the different functions and resources for subjectification and identity building of postcolonial categories within the nexus of different geopolitical conditionings, historical situativity and (trans)locationality (Sections 4.6.1; 4.6.2 & 6.1.3).

It must be pointed out, however, that since status is socially constructed as a fluid category, this implies that social relations in Germany appeared fluidly constructed. By contrast, essentialism and fixation appeared articulated in England.

8.3 The Implications of Accounts for Agency and Communication²

While interviewing migrants in Germany, I felt that status consciousness whilst seeming to (re)emphasize differential power relationships between researcher and interviewee³, also appeared to play a decisive role within the interview communication framework – As an interviewer with a migration background, it is significant that for the first time in (im)migrant to (im)migrant interactions, I felt that my position manifested more a mode of referentiality that seemed invariably attributed higher social status and in this way tended to simultaneously obscure the agency of the interviewee. To adequately illuminate on this issue, I have highlighted the concept of social accountability⁴ and its implications. This speaks to the defining rights and categories relating social agents to the eligibility for performing accounting acts (Harrè 1979 & Buttney 1990). To situate analysis of social accountability as it relates to subjectification within the intersections of gender, class and ethnicity, the dynamics of recognition and misrecognition as conceptualised by Skeggs were theorised (Skeggs 2001a). Where accountability broadly denotes blame, crediting and discrediting notions implicated in articulations holding individuals responsible for their own actions and failures (Harrè 1979; Buttney 1990), this appears to have a pathologising dimension with implications for the social construction of the identity of (im)migrant women (Section 9.9.3 & 7.2). My empirical observation illustrates that respondents with fragmented work biographies often negotiated the interview communication style as integral of mechanisms prompting for accounts (Harrè 1979; Buttney 1990). Therefore also as an extension of the societal evaluation, judgmental, pathologising and stigmatizing mechanisms on the basis of status as it relates to articulations and (mis)recognitions of ability and disability (Section 9.5). And this can be concretised through the following remarks of a respondent, which although addressing different issues relating to the lack of professional experience can be used to enhance understanding of (im)migrant women's communication:

2 Review Harrè 1979 and Buttney 1990.

3 Drawing from a social work context, the power and authority components are defined as inevitable constructs of varying degree in all areas of praxis including the interview process. Therefore they must be applied as tools (rather than weapons) in a framework of ethical and professional accountability (Hancock 1997).

4 For a deeper review on the concept of social accountability see Harrè and Secord (1973); Mühlhäusler and Harrè (1990); Buttney (1993); Goffman (1971)

“And then you always feel like someone is judging you (..) what you can do and what you cannot do. And if I am put in an office will I be able to run it? There are all these questions because the society here doesn't allow you to work in your own field” *Domestic worker in Oldenburg, aged 27*].

It is significant, however, that status consciousness not only seemed to jeopardise trust, emphasize the authority components and power imbalance between researcher and interviewees as opposed to egalitarian communicative processes, but also tended to trigger insecurity and fear for personal evaluation which was often reciprocated by ego-defensive mechanisms to protect self-image or assert one's self-worth.⁵ From a similar perspective, Sheafor & Horejsi in their social work counselling praxis conceptualise the term ego-defence mechanisms as a coping strategy adopted by clients to reduce emotional discomfort caused by stressors (Sheafor & Horejsi 2007).

Both Hancock and Freire identify the damaged self esteem of the affected as a central theme in reconstruction work in connection with the need for recognizing and establishing innate human worth, intrinsic value and dignity in a framework that translates power into an empowerment tool as opposed to instrumentalisation (Hancock 1997; Critically review Freire 1970, 1972, 1974). Notwithstanding, the communication barriers appeared linked to the social stigma attached to a low migrant status (Section 8.1) and the intersectional vulnerability which appears internalized by the affected (Section 4.1.1; 9.9. & 9.8, respectively). This constellation posed the problem of losing touch with the interviewees which would lead to inadequate and inaccurate responses to questions. Subsequently underlining the meaning of the field as a place for not only collecting data but an integral site in an ongoing reconstruction of meanings about social identities and the identity of place (Strong-Boag, Grace, Eisenberg & Anderson 1998). From a critical pedagogical and social work perspective, such a context underscored the empirical relevance of applying a strength based perspective that approaches the affected as knowing subjects (Freire 1970 & 1972) in combination with non-judgmental support (Hancock 1997) promoting a focus on the positive, prosocial actions and functions of the affected (Sheafor & Horejsi 2007) with the ultimate objective of deconstructing pathology experienced and internalized by the affected.

5 At this point, it would be interesting to analyse the aspects in which the constellation of status changes communication set ups for example in intercultural communication if the interviewer were to be German whose higher social status is taken for granted.

Whereas in addressing issues of difference in research, the researcher is embedded in the complex relations of power that mark and subordinate others (Strong-Boag, Grace, Eisenberg and Anderson Section 8.1), in my interview communication I extensively applied empathy, individuation⁶ and congruence as responsive techniques manifested through the verbal and non verbal expressions (Hancock 1997 & Sheafor & Horejsi 2007). As well, this included appropriating Ubuntu, mutuality and deference as will be demonstrated below in more detail (Section 8.5.1). This was made possible through a fusion of structural pedagogy, social work and feminist approaches that identify gender as a socially constructed category and seek to locate the personal to the political basis of problems or the self to the structural conditioning mechanisms (Section 4.1 & Chapter 5) through unmasking the structural dislocating mechanisms and making them objects of reflection within capacity building (Freire 1970; 1972 & 1974).

To fully draw out the implications of structural, geopolitical conditioning and (trans)locational positionality (4.4–4.6.2) as they relate to the configuration of status and accounts in (im)migrant identity and communication (Section 7.2.1.2), it is necessary to highlight the shift between different systems and the new meaning in the Diaspora characterised by transitions from procedures of collective accountability to individual accountability. And if we look at the sharp distinction shaping (im)migrant's structural location and the publicly perceived status, the implications of double indexicalities⁷ in relation to social accountability and place become much more pronounced for migrants. It has already been established on the basis of Germany as a case study that migrants as social agents are sometimes constrained in their social interaction with host communities to avoid being perceived as lacking the adequate ability to perform accounting acts – this articulates some of the ways in which belonging is materialised. The relevance of this is particularly underlined if seen from the perspective of (im)migrants' social structural embedment in a performative oriented society or 'Leistungsgesellschaft' (Section 8.6.2 & 8.7).

In the background societies, where their perceived migrant status appears to represent privileged access to resources and where social identity is strongly linked to the social economic contributory roles of individuals for their com-

6 Adopted from Biestek's conceptualization of a social workers approach to clients in terms of individuals as opposed to a case or a number (Hancock 1997).

7 On double indexicalities see Mühlhäusler and Harrè 1990.

munity (*Ubuntu* or as the studies on remittances also indicate, Section 4.7.4) migrants seem to face particularly high social economic expectations. It appears that individual agents are held accountable for the perceived failures to perform economically as (im)migrants whilst those (im)migrants perceived to perform accountably are accorded social prestige and social recognition. In terms of subjectification and collectivising practices, this appears to underpin alterity configurations and fragmented self-concepts of migrants with an insecure labour market status whilst also socially stigmatizing the affected migrants as gendered subjects of shame for themselves, the family and their communities of origin. Thus, Kyoko conceptualises the structural polarisation of highly skilled immigrants within information technology and the domestic sector to theorise the migration nexus in terms of the split between national heroes and transnational shames (Kyoko 2008).

Within the migrant social networks in the destination countries, social accountability appears measured along the capacity to improve a precarious migrant status by acquiring a permanent status with regard to labour participation and sometimes also citizenship rights. Subsequently, whilst scholars have theorised social recognition in terms of a socially selective process accorded to individuals by virtue of superior positions, superior attributes, actions and achievements (Hancock 1997), elsewhere, I have demonstrated other dimensions of social accountability and their implications for female status, subjectification and collectivisation practices by highlighting the social cultural-institutional⁸ and abstract social pedagogical contexts within which women's socialisation is embedded in ways subjecting female status to matrices of subordination, stigmatization and violence as well as splitting their gender identities (Section 9.10–9.11).

Whilst Biestek conceptualises the intrinsic value and innate worth of the individual human being as an existential condition that is not to be affected by personal success or failure in things physical, economic, social or anything else (Biestek 1957), social accountability or the dynamics of recognition and miss-recognition as Skeggs puts it, have emerged as a powerful idea that seems to not only underpin the social construction of identity within the dynamics of ethnicity, class, gender (Skeggs 2001a) but also the materialisation of belonging and social exclusion in the nexus of (trans)locational positionalities, historical situativity and diversity (Chapter 8 & 9). Thus, this also

8 Illustrated through the missing social protection of siblings from the gendered insecurity of co-works,

appears to constitute the sociological covariance postulated in Glaser’s analytical model (Glaser 1978). His model stresses the relevance of connecting variables without necessarily forcing the idea of cause. Its major implications for status, identity and place as above mentioned are diagrammed in figure 1, Section 8.3 below. This has integrated the notion of double indexicality of status discussed here.

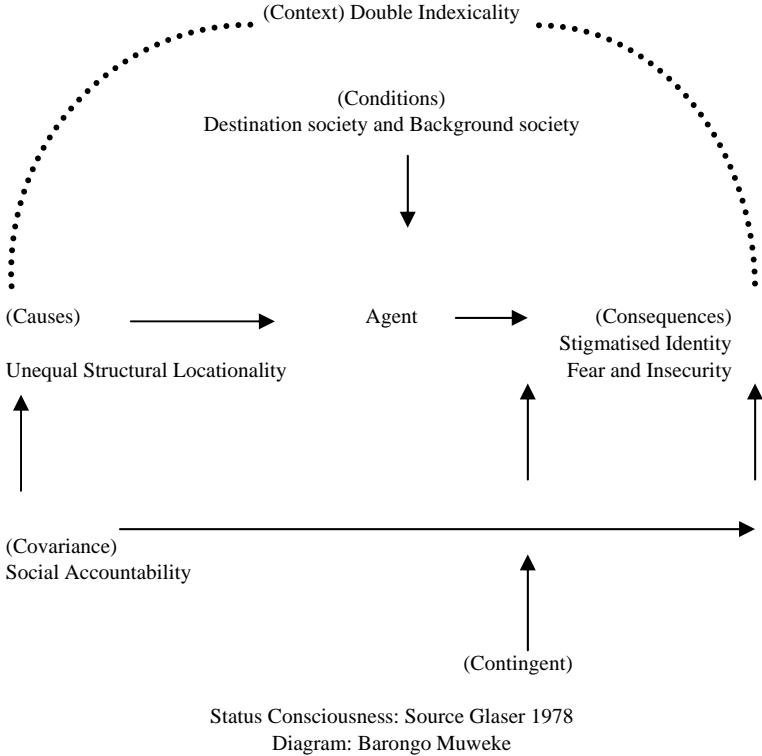


Fig. 8.1 Section 8.3 – Showing the Double Indexicality of Status in Relation to Social Accountability and Place

8.4 Socialisation within Systems of Cultural Authority

Given the complex embedment in the nexus of transnational social space, geopolitical conditioning and historical situativity (Chapter 4 & 5) there is considerable evidence to suggest that the dynamics of status awareness as a sub-

jectification practice are potentially accentuated through women's background positionality since it is the gender most traditionally to inhere and show deference within gender hierarchies and systems of cultural authority where sex, age and social-roles are socially constructed along status categories and internalized as norms symbolising due respect. Looking at the social cultural discursive practices of Bantu ethnicities in Uganda, kneeling is for example gesticulated by women in convention of respect to male gender, kinship-deity, and age or filial piety (Review critically, Obbo 1982). Whereas this may be interpreted in some extents as a socialisation of status subordinations, it articulates in my discussion the central locality of status in a variety of social contexts gendering and framing social identities. To concretise the implications of filial piety a respondent observes:

“Or also this thing that we learn in Uganda that you don't talk to an elder person like that“ [Child and youth worker in Bremen, aged 27].

“I normally never gave my point of view because I was scared of hurting people [...]. But there are many times when I would have said something but I didn't say which would have been also a nice thing“ [Student in Stuttgart, aged 24].

It is possible to illustrate the social-psychological dimensions of social change, subjectification practices and the complex intersections with objective structuring mechanisms – patriarchy, capitalism and international migration – a background of social structural socialisation within gender hierarchies and matrices of power inequalities combined with the social embeddedness of gender within egalitarian social relations in the destination society which are contradictory unsupported by non egalitarian access to the means of production seem to play a major role in determining migrants' eligibility to perform socially accounting acts necessary to deconstruct (mis)recognition (Sections 9.9). This appears to certainly manifest ambivalence in the constellations of symbolic locations and the relational positionalities in communicative processes and social networks (Section 7.2.1.2 & 9.9). Hence gendering the salience of status identity and social differentiation amongst African women, whilst also empirically concretising the relevance of the threefold/fourfold vulnerability model (Section 4.4–4.6).

In this connection, scholars establish that (im)migrants embody the norms and values of both background and destination communities (Radcliff 1990). Therefore the interview is not a neutral social and geographical space to study (Bourdieu Section 8.1). Rather, it is constituted, defined and marked in a way that is itself constitutive of the ongoing construction of understandings

of difference, diversity and ethnicity in conditions of rapid social change. In other words the interview is not a place for mere data collection but an integral site for an ongoing reconstruction of meanings about social identities and the identity of the place (Strong-Boag, Grace, Eisenberg and Anderson, Section 8.1 & 8.3). Ong (1999) in his study on Chinese migrants similarly interprets the ambivalence and cultural logics that flavour migrant subjectivities in terms of the influences of pressures to cope with the contradictions between cultural homelands and host society, governmentality of the state and the disciplining of labour markets, the politics of imposed identity and the politics of self-positioning. Edholm, Harris and Young (1977) on the other hand point out to the implications of the constraints developing from the articulation of different power relationships conditioning minority women's position in relation to the nation state as immigrant/ethnic minority or foreigner (Morokvasic 1993). Pesser & Mahler bring into discussion the concept of gendered geographies of power (Section 4.7), which is useful in illustrating the challenges and tensions of negotiating the (trans)locational positionality of (im)migrant women identified by Anthias (Section 4.7).

Whereas those dual properties and fragmentation of identity produced here could be viewed as manifestations largely deriving from the ontological relationship between agency and structure (Giddens 1984), in terms of comparative analysis, the historical context specifically in relation to cultural hybridity and the simultaneity of subjectivity, institutional and legislative processes as well as daily social practices must be comprehended. The key notions in this approach are most concretised in the adjacent discussion on Britain's social space of class consciousness (Section 8.6).

8.5 Negotiating Frameworks: Power and Locationality

8.5.1 Appropriating Mutuality, Deference and 'Ubuntu'

Integral to the analysis of the postcolonial subjectification processes as they relate to the linguistic construction of personalities, where the power of grammar to express or offend social status is mediated through pronouns constituting indexical expressions that mark relations between speech acts and person, (See also Harrè & Mühlhäusler 1990; Bollinger 1979; Braun 1988; Broeder P. & Van Hout 1986; Gumperz & Coo-Gumperz 1982), is a coherent analysis of the negotiation frameworks. It has already been highlighted above that in addressing the issue of difference in research, the researcher is embedded in complex relations and locations of power that mark and subordinate others

(Strong-Boag, Grace, Eisenberg and Anderson 1998; McDowell 1992). A central issue of importance in the interview communication seemed to constitute the negotiation of the power imbalance⁹. This required constructing reciprocal status relations through appropriating deference as it relates to establishing consensus as a communicative tool. Whereas this will be demonstrated in more detail below, it is possible to link these issues with the 'Ubuntu'¹⁰ concept that is largely defined in the capacity to express innate human worth, dignity, harmony and reciprocity, compassion and mutual affirmation. As an internalized norm of some traditional African cultures, this appeared to crystallize new meaning in the German interview encounters. Hence the complex challenge for negotiating relevant terms and means of expression which are respondent oriented (Lamnek 1995). Negotiation of the power imbalance was further constituted in the act of breaking walls of 'status deception and the associated social stigma'. This demanded creation of mutuality as the mediating instrument and the key binding factor underpinning the negotiating frameworks in contrast to status evaluations. While information may flow like a fountain here, strengthening mutuality articulated empathy and transcended the discomfort arising from the power and authority components whilst enveloping the whole social-psychological environment and also drawing cultural and ethical dimensions to the fore-front (see for example, Sheafor & Horejsi 2006; Hancock 1997).

As elsewhere already mentioned, since the interview as a methodological tool is not a neutral social and geographical space to study but constitutes the ongoing construction of understandings of difference, diversity and ethnicity as they relate to social identities and the identity of the place (Strong-Boag, Grace, Eisenberg and Anderson, Section 8.4), this is conducive to generating a variety of outcomes for the affected. This seems to exemplify the ethical accountability of the interviewer coined in both representational and presentational functions: On one hand qualitative research demands close observation of women's biographies within their own environments (Lamnek 1995: 15). On the other hand, confrontations with the interviewee in my experience, posed a major risk of destabilizing their social-environments through distortion of existing self-concepts – in terms of subjectifications practices, this appeared to widen the social dilemma between self-evaluation and self-enhancement in a context of social stigmatization and misrecognition

9 For an in-depth understanding of power and authority components see Hancock (1997)

10 Ubuntu if directly translated in the East African Bantu languages (Luganda, Runyoro/Runyakitara Toro, Kisoga etc) refers to innate human worth.

(Section 7.2.1.2; 8.2; 8.5; 9.9.3 & .9.9.4). As a structural Pedagogist with the concern of conscientisation, it was significant that my social status, language, gestures and personal appearance all seemed to contribute to shaping the interview environment¹¹ but also to stimulating false nostalgia and disalienation that has historically moulded postcolonial subjectivity (Section 4.6.1 & 4.6.2). Therefore it was vitally important for me to adopt a strength based perspective that approaches the affected not as recipients but as knowing subjects (1970:51) in order to focus on the positive, prosocial roles and functions (Sheafor & Horejsi 2006): Combined with the wide lack of formal recognition, their competencies and achievements appear often obscured not only to the society at large but also to the women themselves. By recognizing and articulating the value of women's agency and most important, by communicating this especially as regards empowerment of those performing manual jobs, critical pedagogy, feminism and structural social work were fused in praxis.

Against this background and empirical knowledge of the impact of status on communication, the analytical limitations and integration of focus groups as research instruments can be theorised. Specifically due to the nature of the topic in view, most interviewees preferred a confidential individual interview set up.

‘We will be verkrampft’, as some body put *it*.
[Student in Freiburg, aged 26].

Below, I will briefly highlight the interplay of social cultural factors, colonial situativity, migrant status and their influence in pushing status at the core of consciousness in the postcolonial societies in view. In conjunction with the above observations, I have partially demonstrated and I will continue to demonstrate below the various ways in which these are modified within migration contexts.

8.5.2 *Shifting Dimensions and Negotiation Frameworks: Public/Private Divide; Gender Hierarchies; Re-traditionalisation*

In England, it is significant that the formal interview and private communicative frameworks were characterised by a sharp public/ private underpinned by class consciousness as it relates to outcomes for social dichotomisations, re-traditionalisation and reconfiguration of gender relations and gender hierar-

11 Scholars address the importance of adjusting to the language, cultural expression and social context of the affected (Sheafor & Horejse: 2006)

chies. Since structural embedment and social mobility has followed mainly from refugee status, this appeared to neutralise status consciousness amongst the various categories of immigrants. Status did not appear to bring out the power and authority imbalance between interviewees and interviewer as observed in the German case studies. Rather egalitarian relations seemed to shape the interview communication. With the exception of a few isolated cases, the dilemma of social accountability was also hardly apparent within the interview framework. It is, however, important to highlight the re-traditionalisation tendencies in the private communication where gender appeared more centrally enacted in social relations. Hence, although women appeared to negotiate egalitarian relationships in the interview communication, in the private sphere status antagonism was observed as specifically linked to the social-location of their spouses. This certainly required collaborating identity and negotiating communication in a gendered way reciprocating and conforming to the social cultural norms and internalised social expectations in order not to offend female status and ultimately jeopardise trust and congruence. By contrast to the German interview contexts, in England (Section 7.2.1.1), negotiation strategies constituted a collective approach entailing to certain levels appropriating deference to the spouses as a device signifying complex modes of according social respect to the respondents through associational recognition. By contrast, the informal communicative frameworks amongst spouses in Germany appeared to constitute gender egalitarian relationships. Whilst Pesser and Mahler introduce the notion of gendered geographies of power as a concept for theorising the different configurations and reaffirmations of gender relations and ideologies within the complex gender, class and social hierarchies as well as differential access to power and resources in transnational networks (See Pesser & Mahler Section 4.7), Germany's egalitarian habitus appears to provide a practice theoretical orientation model for deconstruction and construction of more emancipatory relations within pedagogical praxis.

8.5.3 *Essentialism, Fixation and Salient Constructions of Difference*

Essentialism, fixation and salient constructions of difference on the basis of class and ethnicity, appeared to dominantly define social relations in England. To concretise, what distinguished England's context in this regard, is the centrality of class consciousness in the private communication spheres and social networks, which appeared to not only characteristically mould social relationships but also underpin social beliefs, opinions values and world expressions. People are almost always referred to and socially recognized according to

their social class – not only their attained social status but also past social ‘class’ locations in countries of origin.

By contrast to the fluidity of social boundaries surrounding German’s status problematic, class consciousness in England seemed to imply that whatever social economic or migrant status individuals may attain, in the social-psychological constructs, social interactions and community building processes, class fixation appeared to take place. This distinction whilst intersecting with ethnicity and gender seemed to play the major role in constructing and reinforcing social differentiation amongst (im)migrants. And class structural and psychic hierarchies appeared to not only materialise belonging but also constitute (im)migrant’s subjectivities, communication, agency and social representation.

It is significant that a correlation between the level of class consciousness and the willingness of respondents to participate in interviews could also be established. By contrast to the fear for evaluation on grounds of one’s social accountability which is directly linked to migrant status as a fluid construct in Germany (Section 8.3), in England some migrants appeared to decline from participating in biographical interviews to evade class categorization, fixation and the associated social stigma and pathology. It is understandable therefore that fear for self-evaluation was not apparent within the interview process due to the self-screening mechanism of interviewees on the basis of a complex mix of factors linked to processes of structural embedment, social mobility and class. As well, the language advantage appeared to play a role in reducing insecurity amongst (im)migrants in England vs. (im)migrants in Germany. Since interviews were conducted in English, this implied that women in Germany were confronted with the problematic of code switching.

On the other hand, class consciousness appeared to increase concurrence orientation during the interview selection procedure.

Within this framework, it is worth mentioning the empirically observed relevance of subjectification processes within *virtual communities* organised by (im)migrants and how this could be linked to the new gender hierarchies and extents to which class, and ethnicity dynamics may be (trans)located in cyber space.

Hypothesis I – Class Habitus Reinforces Essentialism, Difference and Fixation

In terms of subjectification and collectivising practices, essentialism and salient constructions of difference appear to emerge strongly within the simultaneity of gender, class and ethnicity articulated as a reflection of the multivariate ambivalent locations, compound, intersectional vulnerability and status shifts experienced within immigration, nexus situativity and the complex adaptive strategies in the absence of critical tools due to the postcolonial abstract epistemic practices (Section 4.6). Drawing from critical pedagogy and narrative therapy, specifically the techniques of externalization (Freire 1972; Nichols & Schwartz 2007), one can pedagogically discuss and deconstruct tunnel visions, structural narratives, fixation and self defeating conceptualisations of the self and the world through a destabilization of colonial residues (See critically Fanon, Freire, Said, Spivak, Foucault, White, Freedman & Combs, Section 6.1.5). The major objective is to build stronger (im)migrant communities.

Both case studies whilst demonstrating linkages to social cohesion as the core variable, also empirically generate hypothesis underlining the relevance of implementing grounded pedagogy, feminist theories, sociological approaches and structural social work with the major goal of facilitating development of responsive social policy rooted in extensive theorisation and problematisation of identity through a focus on subjectification in the historicity of gender, class, ethnicity and the dynamic interplay with institutional, legislative and daily social practices: This foregrounds a reconceptualisation of education to integrate and mainstream concepts of innate human worth and human dignity, social justice, social equality and social solidarity in educational curricular at all levels of the educational system, health promotion activities and social development work. In terms of postcolonial reconstruction work (Section 4.5–4.6 & Chapter 6), these values parallel the egalitarian relations and collective values of the ‘traditional African Habitus’ (See critical, Dilger Section 6.1.6). The overarching objective is to build stronger and more inclusive immigrant communities but also the background societies within the current context of increased social fragmentation and societal disintegration.

8.6 Social Meanings and Implications of Class vs. Status Consciousness

8.6.1 *Symbolic Interaction, Cultural Configurations of Class, Fixation and Self ethnisation*

There are by no means easy explanations or simplified approaches to the multifaceted class phenomenon and this examination is not intended to draw on all these issues but instead, our empirical observations on difference and ethnicity are largely interpretable in terms of Bourdieu's theory of practice as it relates to the simultaneity of identity, structural processes, materialisation of belonging and daily social practices underpinning the intersections of symbolic capital, cultural configurations of class and habitus (Bourdieu 1986, 1977, 1984). This draws our attention to the internalized form of class, the psychic hierarchies and the conditionings it bears for subjectification practices. These themes will later on link us to the subject of historical situativity (Section 4.6.1 & 4.6.2).

To begin with, one major distinguishing aspect between status consciousness and class consciousness seemed to crystallize meaning in the England context through the accentuated relevance of symbolic cultural capital and the cultural configurations of class which as Bourdieu demonstrates typically stress and transcend even boundaries of economically and socially homogenous groups (*i.e. labour & occupational professional categories, family status, educational attainment etc.*) to re-enforce in addition to the visible, the invisible modes of acquisition (Bourdieu 1986). Whilst the class habitus appeared to pervasively characterise the case in England, fixation was also observed whereby (im)migrants appeared to reconstruct new class hierarchies whilst re-configuring and fixing social distinctions, locations and boundaries based on perceived background status (Section 8.6.2). However the conjuncture between background status and class identity in diasporic encounters may be explained in terms of spatial manifestations of class (re)construction (see critically, Bhabha Hommi 1992; 1996; 2000). Hence amongst (im)migrant encounters in England social inequality as Acker has already pointed out, did not appear to necessarily end with the structural economic integration¹² (Acker 1988), whereas it appeared to diminish in Germany as the level of structural integration increased. Similarly, in Germany social differentiation did not reflect pervasive phenomena. Where accentuated within migrant

¹² See also Anthias (2001b)

interactions, it appeared indicative of distinctive labour status (Section 9.9.3 & 9.9.4).

Returning to the case in England, class dynamics appeared to simultaneously intersect with salient constructions of difference on the basis of ethnicity as reflected through intra self ethnisation, fixation, cultural centrism, territorialisation and bipolarisation of social identities all of which appear to uniquely exemplify the multiple representations, re-mapping and reinventing of postcolonial subjectivities in ways subscribing to Bhabha Hommi & Gilroy's notions of cultural essentialism – as a singularising phenomenon that seeks to recast a fixed sense of identity and natural relationship between culture, place and identity – territorialisation of identities (Bhabha Hommi; Gilroy; Section 4.6.2.2). It is significant that within '*ethnic enclaves*' subsystems of social enclaves appear to emerge and separate (im)migrants on the lines of class consciousness. Here, the ethnic city may therefore be approached in Low's definition as a mosaic of enclaves (Low 1997 & 1996).¹³ By contrast, the data from Germany illustrates a process of separation from fixed notions and the possibility of emerging new egalitarian positions through shifts in migrant status.

Hypothesis II –

Deconstructing Ethnicity through a focus on Historical Situativity

Empirically, the above dynamics emphasize once again, the pedagogical relevance of problematising social cohesion in a context that allows for a confrontation of the simultaneity of identity, historicity, institutional, legislative and daily social practices through a focus on the colonial fixation, codification and transformation of fluid social relations, specifically ethnicity (Section 4.6.1 & 4.6.2). As signifiers of salient constructions of difference on the basis of ethnicity and class these empirical observations have conceptually been linked to the historicity of gender, the materialisation of belonging and the complexities of negotiating nexus situativity of postcolonial subjectivities. They explicate the ways in which subjects draw upon and reconstruct colonial residues within processes of hierarchisation and matrices of social fragmentation in the pluralistic geopolitical conditionalities (Section 4.6.1 & 4.6.2).

13 She also studies ethnic groups as shaped by the subjective locations in the occupational structure, position in the local immigrant structure, and the degree of marginality or ethnic background as a discriminatory category (ibid.).

Hypothesis III – Egalitarian Habitus as a Model for Social Cohesion

The hypothesis generated stress the importance of a coherent focus on the issue of identity within educational programs focusing on (im)migrants (Section 5.3). As well, the dynamics of diversity, subjectification, social exclusion and social capital should constitute central themes of focus with the major objective of promoting social cohesion. In this connection, the German case study is useful in providing an evidence-based framework for deconstructing colonial residues and providing cornerstones for developing a grounded theory that works for postcolonial societies. In my research, this has been partially attributed to the egalitarian habitus of social democratic paradigms or Social Catholicism (Section 6.1.6; Dittrich & Lenz 1994) as opposed to the class-habitus. The former appears to parallel the egalitarian traditional African collective systems.¹⁴

I have argued within a framework of intersectional analysis, that occupational segregation into the lowest labour market ranks and experiences with exclusion, marginalisation and social differentiation seem to bear totally different meanings for women embedded within class and hierarchizing mechanisms where labour and remuneration are exclusively valued and devalued according to occupational status. Women in England, Canada, and U.S.A occupying the lowest ranks of the labour market appear relatively much more poorly remunerated by contrast to women in Germany where exploitation of labour appears relatively lower on the formal labour market and where labour remuneration tends to reflect the social democratic values promoting equality of condition¹⁵ (See critically Mueller-Armack; Eucken; Watrin; Peacock and Willgerodt, Section 6.1.6) – there appears to be relatively higher remuneration of labour at all levels of the labour market within the framework of the Market Social Economy.

As illustrated above, in Germany, by contrast, intra-self ethnisation appeared to relatively diminish, egalitarian relations appeared dominant and the values of innate worth appeared internalized and implicated at a relatively much higher degree amongst immigrants' social interactions. Status consciousness appeared to mostly concern the visible modes of acquisition specifically issues

14 On egalitarian African traditional collective systems, see Dilger with further references (section 6.1.6).

15 With regard to equality of condition as constitutive of the social democratic paradigm, see Sigurdson, 2002, qtd. in: Mullaly 2007: 124. Please note that the social market economy has drastically shifted towards a neo-liberal paradigm since the introduction of Hartz IV in 2004. My study was conducted before this shift (Section 6.1.6).

evolving around labour market incorporation and migrant status. It mainly appeared to take shape within the interview context and within self organised groups (Section 9.9.3 & 9.9.4).

To demonstrate the fluidity of social boundaries, there are cases for example, where women from a low social background who experience upward social mobility in migration construct social distinctions between them and women like international students lacking full labour participation rights despite a higher social background.

To illustrate deterritorialisation of identities (Bhabha Hommi 1994 & 1999), social background in Germany appears mostly brought into focus to explain social attitudes, moral trajectories, ethical dilemmas, and their socially distinguishing implications. Taking the example of prostitution, a respondent accounts this to the lack of a firm social cultural background and identifies this as the basis for isolation, diminished social engagement and social interaction for the affected women.

8.6.2 *Gender, Diversity, Difference and Double Ontology*

What may be emphasized at this point concerns the need for problematising subjectification practices within the historicity and simultaneity of gender and institutional processes configuring a broad range of social divisions including ethnicity and class in a context of double ontology and the political economy of labour which set the stage for diasporic social interactions in the conjuncture of (trans)locational positionality, gendered geographies of power and pluralistic cultural ambivalence (Chapter 4 & 5). Whereas these issues will be discussed below in more detail, a further distinguishing factor characterising class consciousness, which appears largely absent in the German context regards what different authors have already pointed out by conceptualising class relations beyond the manifestations of economic relations to identify also pathologising dimensions that structure hegemonic relationships in terms of binaries of superiority/inferiority normality/abnormality judgment/shame (Skeggs 1997; also critically, Lawler 1999; Finch & Lynnette 1993; Rosemary Garland Thomson 1997; Gills 2000). Indeed Skeggs' analysis of class based identities that is rooted in Bourdieu's theory of practice whilst showing how the appearance of femininity as a form of cultural capital is utilized, theorised, judged and misrecognised emphasizes the importance of cultural configurations of class and symbolic capital through invoking Fraser's argument that miss-recognition is displacing the politics of distribution (Skeggs 2001a). Drawing on my empirical findings, I have argued for inte-

gration of multiple signifiers of difference with Miles Marxian theoretical model on racialisation to fully comprehend the dynamics of ethnicity and difference as not always rooted in race, rather extensively in the political economy of migrant labour (Section 4.5.2) and the intersections with a host of historical, cultural and structural categories in a context of the nexus situativity of postcolonial subjectivities (Chapter 4 & 5). Hence as already demonstrated, the intersections of class, postcolonial subjectivity and nexus situativity within gendered geographies of power, (trans)locational positionality and multi-various structural ambivalence (Section 4.7) appear to complicate subjectification, collectivising practices and identity building for (im)migrant women.

8.6.3 *Classification Schemas of Class Habitus*

Basing on participant observation, it might be of some importance to mention the fact that the classificatory schemes applied by (im)migrants in England tend to reflect the trends observed and defined by the above scholars as characteristic of England's dominant class habitus. These include:

- Notions of class-based femininity which seem to discriminate against working-class femininity by pathologising it (Walkerdine 1997; Skeggs 1997; Lawler 1999). By contrast, Germany appears to largely accommodate the working class attributes. Indeed awareness of class-based femininity appears to diminish in the German Marxian/Social Catholicism/Social Market¹⁶ and Performative habitus (*Leistungsgesellschaft*). Hence in Bhabha Hommi's terms, one could postulate that (im)migrant women in Germany appeared to develop radically new positions (Bhabha Hommi's 1990 & 1994), whilst reinventing and remapping postcolonial identities in egalitarian ways.
- The cultural and symbolic configurations of class implicated in the organisation of social functions such as weddings which are renowned for their material and financial pompous. It is significant that although these appear to constitute central signifying distinctions in the class habitus, they are often the result of a collective pool of resources. By contrast material pompous appears socially unacceptable within migrant communities in Germany, where social occasions appear to mainly construct social and

16 On social market economy and social democratic paradigms see critically Mueller-Armack; Eucken; Watrin; Peacock and Willgerodt, section 6.1.6.

cultural space in terms of their functionality as opposed to means of forging social prestige or recognition.

- Cultural competencies attached to social tastes such as dress and wear, bodily movement, conducts of speech, accents and other capacities enhancing a distinguished occupation of social space (See *ibid.*)¹⁷. In this regard, women in England with lower educational levels seemed largely identifiable through forged English accents, while their counterparts with higher educational levels preserved their language identity. Whereas this is often the reverse in the background societies.

8.6.4 *Class, Difference and Assimilation*

Varied as the class experiences for the migrant women seemed to appear, they all tended to reflect relatively high but differentiated dimensions of assimilation to British norms. Whereas Fanon's concept of 'Black skins White masks' (Fanon 1967) could be largely applied to fit (im)migrant women's public articulation as largely opposed to the partially traditionalized private articulation in England's homes, it is significant that assimilation itself seemed to be classified. To this extent, and by contrast to the German case, different modes of representation appeared variably translated into classifications of legitimate and illegitimate cultural capitals,¹⁸ whereby women with a higher social background seemed to selectively assimilate to exclusive styles and cultural patterns of the middle class in the host society. By contrast, women with a lower social background appeared to lack awareness of class finesse and its implications for cultural practice. In the absence of critical tools necessary to surmount the challenges of migration within the all encompassing England's class system as Kuhn (1995)¹⁹ has described it, they appeared to creatively draw from the multi-class levels in society to reconstruct and negotiate new

17 As Anthias has also postulated, the kind of criteria used for ranking class vary from visible marks inscribed into the body around accent, weight, style, manners to ideas about breeding or inheritance and finally notions of income, wealth and access to economic resources (Anthias: 2001b).

18 That cultural capital is daily traded and obscured see (Bourdieu in Skeggs 1997). Additional signifiers class distinctions seemed to adhere in a range of attributions such as those classifying posh English/-styles/-people/-families, class tastes/green tastes/wanna be (möchte gerne sein kategorien). In gendered terms where women of a low socio-economic status were perceived to lack certain cultural capital necessary to occupy some class habitus, the vulnerability to pathologising classifications like murram, low value, ugly, unattractive etc., was increased.

19 Cited also in Lawler 1999.

cultural meanings and identities without consciously contesting existing images. However their new remakings appeared to contend a major disadvantage of occupational stagnation linked to the adaptation of accented English which appears less readily transferable on the labour market as well as the long term projected loss of cultural norms and the attached social values. Hence Benmayor and Skotnes (1994)²⁰ also highlight the ambivalence characterising migrants within the process of building, reinventing, synthesizing and sometimes even collating identities from multiple resources.

8.6.5 *The Interface of Gender, Ethnicity and Postcolonial Subjectivity*

Returning to Bourdieu's conceptualisation of symbolic interaction and cultural configurations of class, one can study subjectification and collectivising practices in terms of the impacts of symbolic meanings attached to social tastes within a context of (trans)locational positionality (Section 8.7): What seems to aggravate class meaning for (im)migrant women is their complex constitution and (trans)locationality as gender, migrants and postcolonial subjects: From the stand point of cultural representational discourses, the ambivalent space in the interplay of class, ethnicity and gender in which the production of colonial identities takes place is widely documented (Fanon 1969; Bhabha 2000). Within this context of analysis, I draw attention to the social construction of social and cultural signifiers of difference (Said 1978; Bhabha Hommi 2003; Nuscheler 1995b) and the consequential disalienation of consciousness that followed (Freire, Section 4.6.1 & 4.6.2). It is mainly through the relationship of power, subordination and economic dependencies that Nuscheler identifies such factors like the stimulation of Eurocentric class based cultural capital, symbolic artefacts and value judgments as forces splitting the interlink between psychological modes of representation and social reality of postcolonial societies (Section 4.6.1 & 4.6.2). Hence the emergent subaltern nostalgia articulated as the irresistible attraction to the lifestyle of the director society in a context of disalienation from one's own social cultural environment (Freire, Section 4.6.1 & 4.6.2). This perspective is vital to understanding class meaning in terms of factors underpinning both its pertinent and secondary properties observed above.

The next issue to address in trying to interpret the gendered dimensions of class, symbolic interaction and the reproduction of structure and agency in England's migration context, regards women's positionality not only in terms

²⁰ See also Brettell & Hollifield's (2000).

of the category most traditionally to inhere and show deference within systems of cultural authority (Section 8.4), but also in class relations authors identify particular jeopardy for them, as the gender most especially associated with the artefacts²¹ articulating bourgeoisie existence (See Lawler 1999). The unravelling becomes more complex if linked to the dynamics of occupational identity as a key signifier and context for social referentiality (Section 8.11.1). Thus the multivariate structural ambivalences for women appear underscored within their nexus situativity (Chapter 4). Whereas women were historically structurally marginalised and unequally institutionally incorporated, occupational identity was widely elaborated through differences in the value, remuneration and social prestige accorded white collar and blue collar jobs. While occupational and social stratification were intensified along class taxonomies of merchants with colonial administrators with blue collar workers at the bottom of the scale, this process was extended through prestigious education (see Nuscheler 1995b; Brett 1973), which can be directly linked to the subject of international migration.²²

Given this context for (im)migrant women coupled with the ambivalence of cultural hybridity, it is possible to hypothesise that within processes of social change, a plurality of antagonisms and differences have emerged that are implicated in social identities (Gilroy 1992 & 1993a). To thematize the dimension of glocalisation (Dittrich & Lenz 1994) and its impact on the above class framings of identity, it is possible to bring into consideration the interface of factors unique to metropolitan Diasporas specifically the ways in which Black styles and culture of the Afro-American, Afro-Caribbean, Afro-British and Afro-African communities dynamically converge at multi levels.

Against the historical background combined with the complex positioning in a grid of roles, functions, and perceptions, which are context sensitive²³, embedment within England's class habitus appears to make the implications of class to bear further complex entities for migrants. It may be of some importance to mention how this is characteristically reflected through extensive ethnic segregation in ghettos surrounded by poor neighbourhoods characterised by a socialisation environment of high crime rates, drug abuse, poor housing and schooling all of which appear to have culminated into building

21 On symbolic artefacts see also Bourdieu 1993; 1984; 1977.

22 Mabongunje (1980:158) concretises that the adoption of new alien tastes and culture for colonised societies came to be equated with modernisation.

23 See amongst others Taylor (1995); Stryker & Serpe (1994); Benhabib (1992) and Weigert et.al. (1990).

an explosive youth culture. In addition to defining social boundaries through background status, these conditions whilst generating social stratification and complex discontinuities in women's social biographies seem to catalyse migrants' awareness of the class distinctions and signifiers such as education, social status, occupational status, wealth and residential area as they relate to parameters indicating social hierarchies rather than migrant status. And the differential accessibility to these appears largely mediated through education and professional skills profiles, which determine one's occupational status or hierarchical positioning on the labour market.

In sum, to unveil the social constitution of biographies according to my research methodology (Bohler 1994:5–8; Simmel 1984; Strauss & Corbin 1990:9) it seems logical to argue that the differences in subjectification practices of postcolonial categories and the social reconstruction of meaning in the contrasting migration contexts largely reflect the structural and social properties of transnational unfolding which are gendered and differentially inherent in female subjectivities. If we specifically look at the nexus of social cultural background, postcolonial situativity, (trans)locationality and the threefold/fourfold vulnerability model shaping the structural embedment within international migration (Chapter 4), this soon becomes clear. However the conjuncture between background status and class identity in diasporic encounters may be explained in terms of spatial manifestations, reconstructions and embedment of historically situated generic conditions of unequal acquisition into time (See critically Bhabha Hommi 1990b). It is significant that within *ethnic enclaves* subsystems of social enclaves appear to emerge and separate migrants on the lines class consciousness and class psychic hierarchies. The ethnic city may therefore be approached in Low's definition as a mosaic of enclaves (Low 1997 & 1996)²⁴

8.7 Class, Segregation and Social Networks

To illustrate the dimensions of class stratification more vividly and demonstrate their implications for subjectification practices, migrant communication and social networks, I would like to draw attention to the different trends in the congregational composition and discursive practices of African evangeli-

24 She also studies ethnic groups as shaped by the subjective locations in the occupational structure, position in the local immigrant structure, and the degree of marginality or ethnic background as a discriminatory category.

cal churches in England where three major categories were observed. These include:

(a) Elite Congregations

These draw mainly academic professionals comprising the upper & middle class of lawyers, doctors, teachers etc.

(b) Grass-roots Congregations

Traditionally referred to as 'papyrus congregations' due to the nature of their origins in temporary structures out of papyrus. This appears to draw mainly a variety of people from the informal-private sector comprising of small scale traders, non professionals or communities with a generally lower level of formal education and formal academic qualification (the larger part of African society).

(c) Community-Church Congregations.

These seem to comprise both institutional and self organised evangelical churches which have been joined by large numbers of migrants from different countries and now form the majority of the congregation.

The Elite congregations and the grass-roots congregations appear to mainly comprise migrants from a single country. This is on the surface a simplistic composition but internally structures complex heterogeneous subsets of social differentiation linked to class and leading to extra consciousness and carefulness about one's perceived image which in turn affects the interviewees' openness to questions. The community-church congregations constitute multi-cultural communities comprising native British and (im)migrants from many different countries. Stemming from a mixed congregation, interviewees from this group expressed more openness in discussing problems and difficulties faced.

8.8 Evaluation: Implications of Class and Status for Social Cohesion

Whereas the empirical relevance of class dynamics, their intersection with ethnicity, gender and their implications for subjectification and collectivising practices as observed in England fully verify the theoretical discourse on postcolonial situativity as it relates to the social construction of subjectivities within postcolonial legacies and residues, ambivalent locations, nexus situativity and complex cultural hybridity (Section 4.6.1 & 4.6.2), it is significant that class consciousness and essentialism seem to enhance hierarchisation,

fragmentation of social identities whilst also materialising belonging and eroding the solid basis for social cohesion and generation of social capital. It also appears to hamper practical discursive consciousness for England's migrants. Whereas in Germany, deconstruction of postcolonial alienation appears to take place, performative agency and social accounts appear constrained mainly by limitations placed through migration status.

The relevance of the dynamics of class and ethnicity becomes exemplified, when the social economic and historical proximity of England's migrants to the background societies is considered. Particular significance is given to the impacting role for moulding subjectification practices and social attitudes. It appears however that their class position as postcolonial social elites largely holding economic power has just perpetuated subalternism, submerged consciousness and their implications. By contrast, it could be postulated that migrants in Germany in spite of their stimulated cultural authenticity, pragmatism, emancipatory and more cohesive identities relatively lack the social economic resources necessary to contribute to a deconstruction discourse, which the transformation of African societies appears to await for centuries of time. Their role in the global circulation of human resources within transnational participation has also been largely marginalised mainly because of the migrant status problematic.

Hypothesis I – Pedagogical & Sociological Contexts for addressing Intersectionality

Following the requirements of grounded theory, hypothesis are context sensitive and they are therefore rooted in data, subject oriented and empirically grounded to promote social relevance and workability of research findings for the affected (Strauss & Glaser 1967; Glaser 1978).

- Given the above specifications, the question that arises regards the pedagogical concern for researchers to identify the legitimate contexts for addressing gender, ethnicity, and class issues within a framework of postcolonial situativity, intersectional analysis, multidimensional discrimination, compound vulnerability and transformatory education aimed at moulding social cohesion through capacity building as it relates to the dimensions of subjective and collective social reflexivity: As signifiers of salient constructions of difference on the basis of class, ethnicity and gender, the empirical findings not only underscore the centrality of social cohesion as a core category but also underline as has repeatedly been pointed out, the pedagogical relevance of problematising, identity, diversity, exclu-

sion and subjectification through a coherent focus on the transformation and fixation of fluid social relations as a result of the colonial institutional codification of ethnicity (Section 4.6.1 & 4.6.2 & Chapter 9).

- Due to the habitus of the egalitarian social market economy/ social democratic paradigm²⁵ (See critically Mueller-Armac; Eucken; Watrin; Peacock & Willgerodt, Section 6.1.6), which is paralleled to the traditional egalitarian and collective African habitus (See Dilger with further references, Section 6.1.6), Germany provides a historical context and empirical model for developing cornerstones for critical intervention, grounded pedagogy sociological and structural social work promoting identity building, collective empowerment and sustainable transformation of postcolonial societies.

Table 8.1 – Showing differences in communication shaping status Vs class consciousness

Communication	England	Germany
Interview Setting	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Egalitarian relations ➤ Status uniformity ➤ Absence of status consciousness and problematic of social accountability ➤ Absence of deference 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Partially egalitarian relations ➤ Status Heterogeneity ➤ Status consciousness ➤ Problematic of social accountability ➤ Deference as negotiating tool.
Focused Themes in Interview Setting	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ High Labour & long participation in respective professional fields therefore information generative ➤ High correlation between focus and structural integration. ➤ Awareness on hard and concurrence labour market selection mechanisms ➤ Blind spots to social inequalities like settlement patterns 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Less and recent labour market participation in respective professional fields ➤ Limited focus on labour participation ➤ High correlation between focus and social integration ➤ Focus on social dimensions Relationship oriented and selective focus ➤ Focus on marginalising, exclusionary, hierarchising mechanisms articulated within ethnicity, church and polygamy ➤ Blind spots to structural constraints

25 On a categorization of social democratic paradigms see Mullay with further references, section 6.1.6.

Private Sphere	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Re -traditionalisation of filial piety, gender-roles, subordination and deference to spouses 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Egalitarian gender-roles and relations with spouses; individuation ➤ Emancipatory discursive practices
Public Sphere	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Psychological assimilation (class consciousness). ➤ High participation in aesthetic production ➤ Perpetuation of colonial residues, alienation of consciousness ➤ Absence of hands on skills for household repairs; Dependency 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Integration vs. assimilation ➤ Marginalised within aesthetic production. ➤ Deconstruction of colonial residues & alienation ➤ Pragmatism, perform household repairs, painting, plastering etc. ➤ Practical discursive conscious
Social Networks Social Networks (cont'd)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Fixes social background and ethnicity to reconstruct difference even amongst homogenous status categories ➤ Rigid boundaries for classification of identities ➤ Intra-self ethnisation (tribalism) ➤ Symbolic artefacts represent a classification system illustrating differential capacity to poses cultural capital ➤ Pathology, social stigma on basis of class ➤ Multiple spaces for different class categories (Class segregation in self organisation) ➤ Materialisation of belonging on the basis of fixed class hierarchies 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Forge trust and recognition through performing accounting acts ➤ Deconstruction of Social background and ethnicity ➤ Fluid boundaries for defining identities ➤ Relatively less degree of intra-self ethnisation and (tribalism) ➤ Symbolic artefacts illustrate differences in labour market participation rights ➤ Pathology and stigma on basis of migrant status ➤ Fusion of social space with heterogeneity of status in migrant social organisations. ➤ Materialisation of belonging on the basis of fluid status categories

8.9 Impacts of Class and Status Consciousness on Organisational Structures

In Germany, the migration status appears to determine social roles, participation, recognition and belonging on grounds of perceived social accountability (Section 8.3) within social networks. This however, seems to corrupt inner dynamics, organisational development, quality and program contents as well as talent because of the differential structural embedment of migrants where social power tends to lie largely in the hands of the less “educated” migrant class. Youth social space appears missing due to dynamics of social accounts (Section 9.9.3).

In England, on the other hand, class appears to determine social roles, participation, belonging and social recognition on grounds of cultural capital and background status. Though this corrupts inner dynamics, enhances social fragmentation and pathology, it has indirectly favoured organisational frameworks and talent development by enacting quality as well as constructing a colourful social space for youth.

As already discussed critical pedagogical, sociological approaches and structural social work should focus on deconstructing cultural deficiency approaches, integrating dialogical relationships as well as cultural similarity perspectives not only within mainstream society as has hitherto been the practice but also within migrant minority communities in order to deconstruct difference and promote more inclusive communities (Section 5.3).

8.10 Norms of Accountability, Transparency and Taboo Spheres

8.10.1 Class Distinctions, Filial Piety and Self Esteem amongst Youth

It is of further importance to consider the cultural variations underpinning the norms of social responsibility in different societies. Whereas in the westernized culture, norms of information accuracy and reliability have overridden norms of social harmony, it is significant that the relevance of the former in the reporting ways and practices in a variety of social cultural contexts can be described as still assuming a secondary role (Mühlhäusler & Harrè 1990). From the onset of participant observation, the African communication for example appears more accommodating (Section 7.2), whereby transparency does not necessarily constitute paramount elements and imperfections are allowed (See for example Coupland, Coupland & Giles 1991; Gallois, Giles,

a.o. 1995). To elaborate on the function of transparency procedures, there are strict boundaries for communication regarding certain private spheres, what Akashe-Böhme (2000) refers to as 'Taboo distinctions'. Especially as regards the issue of family and economic affairs. Whilst the discussion borders for western cultures appear relatively fluid, it seems not welcomed to discuss private family affairs for (im)migrant communities with an African social cultural background. This constructed also barriers for me as a social scientist sharing the same social cultural background although family and economic factors constitute themes of central importance and could have generated more information out of the interviews including enhancing more understanding of women's roles in labour participation and the wider constraints or some of the risk mitigating and resilience building factors there in.

Indeed divergent norms of accountability and transparency seem to indicate major limitations of the methodological requirements for observing respondents of an African social cultural background within close social environments.²⁶ Within a culturally sensitive framework, for example, negotiating concessions to an interview seemed to imply one thing but suggesting the respondent's home as a venue, not only conjunctured with self-imposition but also seemed to subvert the cultural boundaries of transparency so that the tension was almost always tangible. In Germany, for example, one respondent suggested neutral places like restaurants which ended up inappropriate which led us to look for even more neutral places. Two interviewed working women (though not students) preferred the university libraries. In other cities two respondents preferred my residence as the venue, however, a compromise led to using Church premises. Within this cultural framework of communication, it should be pointed out, however, that Diasporic conditions of living and constraints regarding subjective social accountability appeared to intensify the relevance of transparency levels:

"Because we are in a strange land, we kind of open up to one another more .. but someone comes to you, knows all about you .. your living conditions which may not be good at times. Even if they are very good .. they know your husband .. they know your family .. they know all that surrounds you. Then they rush very fast and go and tell it to somebody else. In no time the whole town knows all about you [Interviewee is in IT-Industrial Marketing, aged 32]."

26 With regard to the methodological requirements' as they relate to the scientific relevance of subject oriented research through close observation of interviewees within immediate environments see Lamnek 1995.

In England however, where migrants appeared less socially integrated, this seemed to fuel a re-traditionalisation of the social spheres of interaction: The kitchen was strongly regarded as a private unit barred from guests and outsiders, in contrast to Germany where it offered the central arena for those interviews and discussions held in private homes.

At this point, one could point out to the meaning of age identity, which constitutes a further traditional aspect that seemed maintained by England's migrants. By contrast to Germany this could be illustrated through the social and cultural construction of filial piety. Underpinning this framework seems to be a collectivity principle, where identity is associational or derived, status and role reinforcing.²⁷ Hence adults appeared to be referred to constantly in a context of uncles, uncles or other friend's parents and strictly never by names. One major important function of this seemed to serve the replacement of the extended kin which is often absent in the Diaspora. However, through this, the contradictions between class consciousness and status roles became very clear in England's migrants communication. It is significant that due to the problematic of class consciousness and the associated essentialism, materialisation of belonging, hierarchisation, invisibilisation, alterity and social antagonisms, children's socialisation appeared shaped by the pulls and splits defining in-groups and out-groups on one hand, and on the other hand the Christian teachings which are parallel to the collectivities, deference principles and social values of humility, Ubuntu, innate human worth and human dignity inherent in the traditional African social cultural structures (Section 8.5.1). This seems to affect their self-making – self-awareness, identity, modes of articulation including self esteem in clearly patterned ways that are absent among migrant interactions in Germany. It is important to highlight the relative insecurity, a certain lack of self-confidence and inferiority complex observed within the majority of children with only a minority displaying strong self esteem. In Germany on the other hand, the strong self esteem and authenticity amongst migrant children appeared strikingly very high.

8.10.2 Ethnicity, Gendered Space and Communicative Processes

Scholars recognise the implications of technological specialization of function and the pervasive penetration of public institutions into the day-to-day lives of individuals which is increasingly characterising the post industrial society. These have affected communicative environments bringing in sharp

27 See also Pittam (1999).

relevance the capacity to conform to the principles of rhetoric by which performance is judged in bureaucratic systems (Gumperz & Gumperz 1982). Hence the central function of communicative resources as an integral part of an individual's symbolic and social capital, whose value and necessity are measurable in terms of what once constituted real property resources (Bourdieu, 1973 qtd. in: *ibid.*). By contrast, since African societies are relatively much less structured by institutional clustering, migrants' communication appears to still poses very live instincts and intuitions whereby not only non-verbal communication but also highly contextualised conveyance plays a major role. To expound, this type of communication has also been traced within the Japanese style. Weiss and Strip's conceptual framework for negotiating intercultural relations illustrates the central relevance of intuition and highlight its major appeal to experience and reason particularly with reference to understanding the indirect and complex forms of communication enacted whereby trust bases on past record (Weiss & Strip 1985). If this type of communication is not grasped, this poses a great risk for intercultural conflicts within communicative frameworks. Within processes of labour market integration, the rhetoric based intercultural conflict could have major implications for the under-valuing and under promotion of migrants' professional skills. However gendered implications appear grounded in what scholars have identified as gendered structural ambivalence and dual orientation (Section 4.4 & 4.5). This usefully describes the gendered art in which men are more integrated into the public institutions that have long framed them for public representation and expression, while female roles and models of articulation are constrained mostly in the private spheres of the household-family as shaped by naturalised traditional gender arrangements (See Karin Hausen 1976 & 1989; Hannah Arendt 1998; Osna Ilona 1990 & 1978; Seyla Benhabib 1998). These factors underscore the need for a high acquaintance with the societies of the interviewees and reading behind lines. The profound implications of this demanded that a substantial part of coding had to take place within the entire interview set up (Section 3.3.3.5; 7.2.1.3). Moreover as I will discuss below in further detail, the issues of separate spheres appears to crystallize further implications for gendered agency within migration contexts.

8.11 Focal Differences and Blind Spots

8.11.1 Occupational Identity

Labour participation as a subject was accorded relatively less attention in Germany by contrast to England. This low interest appears to correlate with the lower and more recent levels of career building and professional experience. You will recall that Germany whilst hindering labour migration of African women, largely facilitates migration through marriage, family reunification or a relatively high social status for scientific research and university educational purposes (Section 6.1.3 & 6.1.5). Looking at marriage as a major context for migration (Table 10.9, Section 10.3.2), this has been linked to the relationship oriented and selective way in which the interviewed African women viewed German society. Hence women focused more on the social dimensions of labour participation but exhibited blind spots to structural barriers. By contrast women in England appeared acquainted with the hard and concurrence selective mechanisms on the labour market despite the blindness to the social dimensions (Section 8.1).

Within the context of the egalitarian habitus of a social democratic paradigm, Germany has previously discouraged brain drain from the South and has constructed legislation requiring international students to return and apply their acquired academic knowledge and skills in the development of the South. However, global restructurings and macro changes affecting migration and social stability in the South have meant that this policy is no longer sustainable but Germany has not responded swift enough to accommodate these changes. It is not surprising therefore that for migrants in Germany, carrier paths in form of training and upgrading were relatively less visible. Though a good proportion of women had acquired training in their background communities, upgrading within their contexts of migration had been for one reason or another hindered. There is a respondent who had encountered major difficulties in accessing placements for apprenticeship and expressed eager communication on the subject. For the majority of the interviewed women irrespective of their skills and educational attainment, the manual sector had provided the largest framework for occupational bridging and economic participation in their work biographies. It is significant that the professionally integrated women generously contributed in this area though most were at the beginning phase of their careers. It is further significant that most women in this category were in anticipation to have their biographies or narratives published with their identities. Whereas for women performing manual labour, their role on the labour market seemed to constitute a most vulnerable area

which they apparently sought to conceal or ignore. At this point, the impact of status mechanisms comes to the foreground as discussed above, whereby the interview may be unconsciously conceived as prompting for social accountability and articulating power and authority components (Section 8.3). Looking at their counterparts performing manual labour in England, it could be postulated that the degree of vulnerability appears more intensified when gender and ethnicity intersect with the hierarchisation and differentiation mechanisms of class. For the above reasons, some interviewees avoided and at times ignored many important facts about their own labour participation. Some information was distorted and details were many times avoided. This required again a lot of intuition and ‘reading between the lines’ but also integration of the strength-based approach that recognises and articulates women’s agency, its interaction with structures and their positive contributions (Section 7.2.1).

The observed differences in the forms of communication between both groups of migrants is consistent with the above findings that work and occupational identities constitute powerful referentials for identity construction amongst women.

Having said this, if we look at the structural constraints addressed in the four-fold vulnerability model as conditioning the extents and dimensions of migrants’ labour participation, respondents hardly mentioned the legislative, systemic or institutional barriers in their narratives. According to my observations, this could be explained in several ways:

First, the discrepancy between the motivating factors for labour migration and the conception of the constraints therein, does not necessarily reflect successful integration into labour markets or upward mobility. Instead, this may be understood in terms of blind spots constituting topics and areas that interviewees may not mention or even be unconscious about although they are important for their material well being. This seems to be especially the case for those women whose situation is relatively distanced from the direct control of migration rules. For those in immediate dependency such as a trainee who has to present a feasibility study and structured plan before extensions of visas can be issued, the confrontation and impacts of the structural constraints are very eminent:

“But the Visa getting is very hard .. they ask you for this and that although they see you every day. They make it always hard and I know that’s one of the main problems we have here. And also forgetting that visa of working here. You have to write those things of ja .. structure

your trainee ... say what you are going to do in which month and all that [...]. It's many things that cause we although we can .. that people end up not being able. Because of the laws that are a bit .. they are nice ... it's nice to have laws. They keep order but there are laws that are not ... they are not supposed to be." [Student, Hochschule, Stuttgart, aged 24]

What else may be characteristic of migrant women in this connection is that they appear to reflect a high consciousness about laws, their functions and the abiding reciprocation. This consciousness, however, does not appear linked to a transformatory, civic engagement or social political perspective. Rather, it appears to denote conformist notions in such a way that perpetuates the status quo. My thesis is that, critical social political engagement gained in international migration is relevant for transforming oppressive conditions in the South. You will recall that, in their analysis of subjectivity and consciousness, Wetterer (Section 4.6.1) and Becker Schmidt (Section 4.6.1) emphasize a focus on the self and its construction in relation to reflexivity by investigating the role of the active performing individual in light of their ability to change structures. Looking at modes of self-construction and their implications for agency, Morokvasic argues for a coherent attention to consciousness as a category of analysis. She identifies a socialisation of subordination as the fourth element facilitating the fourfold oppression of migrants (Morokvasic, Section 4.6.1). This then, is well articulated in the following respondent's views:

'We are not allowed to work ... but those are their laws and laws must be obeyed.' [Student in Freiburg, aged 26]

It is significant that social interaction seemed to constitute a strong category for women, to the extent that even within the deconstruction of work biographies, social interaction at the work place seemed to constitute the central themes focussed by women (Section 9.3). Hence whereas legal barriers were approached as a fixed social reality with disadvantages to contend with, the social context was approached as transformable. The structural constraints were only addressed in connection with social interaction to bring out the contrast between social interaction with the host community and the legislative processes whereby migrants strongly differentiated between the open, humanist and supportive attitudes of the German society and the restrictive migration policy contexts conditioning migrant status.

Whereas these issues will be discussed elsewhere in more detail, it may aid our examination to identify the correlation between women's blind spots towards the structural barriers conditioning their labour participation, their

central focus on social-psychological dimensions, and the feminised roles in the background society. Returning to the argument on modes of self-construction and their implications for agency, one could draw on Wetterer (Section 4.6.1) and Becker Schmidt (Section 4.6.1) to hypothetically identify the public-private divide (Hausen; Habermas; Ostner Section 5.4.3) in background societies as socially constructing the observed women's agency by hindering the development of critical awareness about structural mechanisms and their impacts thereby constraining resources for driving change within structural processes as well as constructing collective gender identities. Hausen discusses the gendering and binarisation of modes of skills acquisition and the implications for polarising and dissociating profession and family life (Section 5.4.3). Habermas problematises the gender specific structural relationship that marks the private and public sphere (*ibid.*). In view of women's overwhelming focus on social dimensions combined with relatively very low focus on the role of structural processes, systemic barriers and institutional processes, it seems logical to draw on Hausen and argue that women's transformatory resources and discursive practices have been mainly constructed within the social sphere as a less abstract system and naturalised environment corresponding to their genderised roles rather than in the institutionalised political-economic arena (Hausen, Section 5.4.3). Once again it has become clear that, the intersections of gender, class and ethnicity as simultaneous process of nexus identity formations within complex, intersecting additive, institutional processes and daily social practices has implications in conditioning migration experiences and subjectification practices. Basing on the analysis of organisational logic in institutions, Auwärter (1995) has argued that the structural incorporation of gender in the public sphere as a socially constructed category constituting cultural patterns of feminised attributes reproduces inequality and gender hierarchies in institutional processes. Thus, within the Weberian framework, feminist scholars link social stratification to forms of sociality and economic inequality, relating to the sphere of distribution, allocation and exchange of skills and resources in the Market place (Anthias 2001b). It is through the concept of female culture (*weibliche Kultur*) or the labour of doing gender that other scholars analyze the above problematic (Ostner, Section 5.4.3). Within this understanding we should also remember the increased subjectification of the labour market (Becker-Schmidt 2002) as it intensifies the problematic of social interactions at work places under corporate globalisation and deregulation of the labour market particularly the policies of temporary work agencies that affect workers' solidarity.

By contrast to the above illustrations there was just one interviewee who addressed the structural constraints with a consciousness converging biological-health-, spiritual-, material- and social perspectives to challenge the constraining laws and categorise labour participation as a basic human right:

“... that one whether I have needs or not, I have to work ... God created me or man we are human beings. I mean we are working beings but ‘von der Natur aus’ God created us ... we have to work. I mean it’s even scriptural ... cause the Bible clearly states that he who does not work will not ... eat. And also they say a worker should have his ... wage ... ja ... daily wage also okay ja? [...]. I can’t do without working. And also working for me is healthy ... you know in this society where everything is so expensive especially for a student a whole ... aaa .. an African student like me ... I can’t afford to go for all those activities. Sport everything is so expensive. I have to ... to work. Working is healthy .. I am always in movement ... it is good ... I’m ... I’m not just seated and my muscles ... getting ... running their own way ... and working ... it is healthy ... it’s healthy ... it helps my organs and biological functions” [Student in Bremen, 27 years of age].

The significance of these empirical and theoretical findings for our research objective relate to the need for specifying the construction of transformatory perspectives and critical civic participation as central areas of grounded pedagogy for postcolonial societies (Section 11.3).

8.11.2 *Social Integration, Self ghetorisation and Agency*

As partially established above (Section 8.1), England generated much information on the subject of labour participation. At the same time, professionalism marked the interview communication, whereby labour integration appears to equip migrants with a framework for dealing with structural barriers and formal processes (official). Hence the differences in the types of blind spots encountered in both research contexts. By contrast to Germany, however, the social dimensions were accorded less attention in England’s interview context in spite of the fact that this appeared to form an important part of women’s lives and constituted themes always present in the informal narrative: It is significant that social dimensions escaped attention in England’s interview communication. A highly notable example includes issues relating to spatial segregation and settlement patterns. As a social scientist with a migration background from Germany, the confrontation with ghettos and social conditions of poor neighbourhoods in which most of the immigrants were located, was quite shocking. This made me anticipate large cri-

tique on the social dimensions. The subjective assessments of the affected women in England appeared to considerably diverge from my opinion. The ghetto seemed to represent an important function of cultural and social visibility in terms of Black art and music, food, fashions and styles. Thus, from an outsider perspective, where the Ghetto represented ethnic segregation, social stratification and higher crime levels while also acting as a multiplier for various social problems, terms like ghetto, racial segregation, social inequalities were absent amongst the migrants and class appeared interpreted as a privilege. Though, concern was raised regarding issues like bad neighbourhoods, negative influences of estate life, etc., it was not linked to structural mechanism of inequality. This whilst collaborating the findings about women in Germany as regards diminished consciousness on structural constraints (Section 8.11) also seemed to illustrate diminished critical consciousness and pragmatism, which can be attributed to embeddedness within a class habitus.

Where discursive consciousness appeared absent, it is significant that a high level of agency was demonstrated through individual strategies of (im)migrant women. As I have already indicated elsewhere, transnational processes have emerged. The social deficits in urban England and the growing concern of migrants for a clean social- and academic environment for their children has been reciprocated by a new market potential for transnational schooling. 'Elite' international schools targeting (im)migrant's social needs are springing up in the background communities. But, migrants with the skills and potential to break through the ghetto environment tend to use it as a stepping stone for bridging migration barriers. Great ambition and aspirations for mortgaging homes in better neighbourhoods as a major social economic goal were consistently expressed.

Looking at some categories of migrants particularly those from Sweden, it is significant that whereas geographical mobility had directly facilitated career enhancement and occupational mobility for the first generation, it simultaneously appeared to account for a loss of social status followed by a decline in school performance as well as quality of life and wellbeing of their children, the one and half generation.

8.11.3 *Matrimonial Alliances and Migrant status*

If we study once again the public-private divide in line with the concept of gendered agency (Section 4.5.1; 5.4.3 & 8.11.1), it becomes possible to postulate that matrimonial alliance as a tool for attaining labour market status appears to bear different meaning for gender. As a culturally sensitive issue

some women appear to refrain from marriage, unless a male partner approaches them first. For similar reasons some categories of women with a higher social status appear to sustain long relationships (households) with their German partners before contracting legal marriage. In my opinion both groups tend to be disadvantageously incorporated into the social structural frameworks of host institutions. On the other hand, since men are culturally more modelled to approach women for marriage, this could imply differences in opportunities for the status mobility of both genders within (im)migration contexts. Meaning that for those (im)migrant communities affected by this social cultural background, women may be less likely than men to improve their status through matrimonial alliances. At this point, the religious aspects in relation to issues of split space could also be highlighted. For some categories of migrants into conservative Christian values within the private sphere, public agency appears to take a conservative direction. While reconstructing their beliefs and core values within the contradictions of material existence it is another group that may not manipulate matrimonial alliance to gain social mobility.

8.11.4 Social Discrimination

Remarkably, the bulk of respondents in Germany tended to reflect on social discrimination, widely attributing it to social factors rather than ethnicity or skin colour (Section 9.4.1). What else may be important to emphasize are perhaps the differences in experiences and perceptions in both host societies whereby England's migrants made explicit connections to exclusion and social differentiation on the basis of what they termed as racism within processes of labour participation. This was often manifested in narrative accounts describing incidences where women who had performed as mentors on the job training experienced occupational stagnation while their recruited 'White' British counterparts experienced job promotion. Such a focus can be explained in terms of high labour participation which appears to have equipped women with awareness of the hard and concurrence selective mechanisms on the labour market. On the other hand, the less structural integration into the labour market coupled with the fact that migration of African women to Germany is extensively realised through marriage seems to explain the selective and relationship oriented focus of migrant women in Germany (See for example, Table 10.9, Section 10.3.2).

A narrow focus on the social integration of women in Germany, presents a danger of masking the structural constraints and impediments to the labour market whilst also hindering recognition of the differences in the levels of oc-

occupational status and economic roles that migrants perform in both societies as well as the ways in which social mobility is variably structured in labour hierarchies:

First, the egalitarian habitus of social market economy/democratic paradigms [Mueller-Armack, Section 6.1.6] seems to reduce economic and social gaps amongst workers in the various occupational ranks and categories as well as securing a relatively high standard of living, quality of life and subjective wellbeing (Currently shifting).

Second, as opposed to the Brain drain in England, Germany has a highly trained and large labour force. Combined with the language problematic, these factors appear to lower demand for migrant labour in the higher labour market ranks. Currently, demographic shifts have implied a transition in these dynamics and has induced the brain drain phenomena in Germany.

Third, the primacy of promotion amongst (im)migrants in Germany seems absent over the contentment of surmounting the rigid initial barriers to labour-force participation.

Fourth, in the production sectors which bring together large numbers of (im)migrant workers with low skilled labourers from the mainstream society and where language proficiency and professional skills are not paramount, African migrants appear to readily undergo promotion and occupy organisational roles as foreman.

Hypothesis I – Differential Approaches to Structural and Social Integration

Despite the relatively high level of social integration of (im)migrant women in Germany, much advocacy work is needed to improve the status of migrant women as it relates to labour market participation, whereas in England community building processes need to focus on processes of social integration.

Hypothesis II – Deconstruction through Critical Pedagogy

The extensive interview focus on social dimensions coupled with a lack of awareness on the role of structural determinants, institutional process and systemic barriers relate to the need for transmitting transformatory perspectives in community building work. As well, civic participation fusing agency, power and political struggle as central areas of grounded pedagogy for post-colonial societies (See critically Freire; Giroux, Section 2.2).

9 Deconstructing Biographies and Doing Theory

9.1 Analytical Approach and Context of Analysis

As already established, grounded theories as presented by Straus and Glaser form the basis of my methodology (Chapter 3). Before commencing on to the main framework of analysis, it is crucial to note some basic procedural-analytical issues which are essential for understanding the emerging field:

To begin with, the grounding nature of this methodology makes it quite difficult to sequentially present the different stages and analytical development between data, induction, conceptualisation and theoretical integration. This is largely because the processes of data collection, coding, sampling and evaluation take place concurrently and involve a lot of backward and forward movement as Glaser also repeatedly points out (Glaser 1978 & 1992). I will therefore concentrate on creating a logical reconstruction of my theory development in a way that facilitates an orderly understanding of the discussed phenomena (Glaser 1978).

Unlike conventional qualitative research methodologies, my articulation of grounded theory departs from the scientific operations of deconstructing single biographies (Glaser 1978). Instead it aspires to generate context sensitivity as well as facilitate the development of multi strategic and multi level interventions by drawing on coding to generate multivariate concepts, categories and propositions within the framework of the iterative process of data collection, analysis, interpretation and conceptualisation (Corbin & Strauss; Glaser, Section 3.2.1). What is important to note relates to the fact that all the concepts developed here are grounded, though it is impossible to present this extensive effort in its entirety in writing (Glaser 1978). It is further necessary to keep vivid the fact that the methodology in view particularly revolves around the generation of theories which are anchored in conceptualisation frameworks rather than in descriptive analysis. The major objective is voice construction; relevance and social transformation through the open approach, triangulating data and through displacing untheorised empiricism by systematising the empirical world (See critically Corbin & Strauss; Strauss & Glaser; Glaser, Section 3.5). Thus, my work is typically organised around making explicit the categorical dimensions, properties, their conceptual relationships and their integration as they relate to the subjectification, collectivising and

reconstructionist practices of postcolonial categories in an existential area that is hardly theorised. To effectively systematize, conceptualise data and generate multiple perspectives and interventions, the differences in the investigated groups are maximised whilst the incidents observed are compared and contrasted along similar and dissimilar axes in a bid to maximise the variety of data analytically related to a category (Strauss & Glaser; Glaser, Section 3.2.1). To maximise conceptualisation, descriptive statements will only be integrated for illustrative and supportive purposes as certain indicators for the concepts but they are neither the main focus nor do they function as verification, since verification must be multidimensionally qualified within theoretical sampling (Glaser 1978). Likewise, existing literature is focused for the purpose of sharpening emerging ideas as supplements or contrasts but not for verification purposes. It is equally vital to keep in perspective the fact that the grounded theories are primarily not conceived as predetermined or proof seeking studies; on the contrary and as mentioned above, they aim at establishing context sensitivity through the generation of theories that have direct relevance and workability for the affected. This is made possible through inducting processes allowing the empirical world and its multidimensionality to emerge (Glaser 1978).

In this regard, it is important to explain that quantitative methodologies have been integrated in order to facilitate comprehensive understanding of structural underpinnings and dimensions of labour migration since as the interviewees and categories generated illustrate, these appeared to constitute blind spots for the affected (Section 8.11).

From my empirical results, it is possible to explain the data in terms of the convergence of the fourfold vulnerability model within the simultaneity of multiple geopolitical conditionings, historicity, and nexus situativity as they relate to subjectification and collectivisation in a duality of gender, class, postcoloniality, ethnicity and their relationship to the core variable which is social cohesion (Section 4.6.1 & 4.6.2; Chapter 8 & 9).¹ This core variable though not apparent in the beginning phase emerged out of cumulative observation of phenomena and was later used as a basic guide for selective coding and focused data collection (See Straus & Glaser, Section 3.4–3.5). Its dis-

1 Many scholars including Straus & Corbin (1990:9) and Glaser (1978) have underscored the relevance of qualitative methods in unveiling the link between impacting conditions, and their implications for social action through a comprehensive analysis of individualities. But authors like Rodriguez (1999) sharpen my emerging perspective by stressing the configuration of the manifold power structures, relations and intersections of historical, institutional, social and symbolic processes and their role in conditioning complex gender relations.

covery was underpinned by the observation that migrants come with a kind of social capital and identity formed in their countries of origin. This identity and levels of social capital are, however, further entrenched in countries of destination due to the structural conditionalities linked mainly to differentiation mechanisms operating within institutional, systemic and legislative frameworks (Chapter 4 & Chapter 5). This will be elaborated later but it is important to note here that, the mechanisms operating in the countries of origin are strikingly similar to those prevailing in the host societies. This underscores the relevance of combining the structural approach with a cultural similarity perspective, multi level and multi strategic interventions to deconstruct difference on the basis of gender, ethnicity and class within the context of international dialogue and community building (Section 5.3). Grovetter a.o. in their analysis have also noted the significant importance of conceiving women within gender stratified systems that can be identified along the lines of culture, ethnicity, nationality and political systems (Lim 1995).

Inductively, my research shows that the intersections of patriarchy, capitalism and colonialism and their articulation at the nucleus level of the household have brought about pluralistic micro, mezzo, and macro shifts which condition subjectification practices, undermine gender identity and affect social cohesion of African countries (Chapter 4; 5; 8 & 9). This is compounded by (trans)locational positionality within international migration. Lim has argued that migrant women embody the interactions between the norms and attitudes of female status in sending and receiving countries (Lim 1995). Ideally understanding the relationship between the development of social capital and its consequences or impacts, offers a framework for generating transformative oriented perspectives that would pragmatically initiate changes from inside the African communities rather than purely from the migration institutional processes whose policies are becoming increasingly driven by inward social political needs such as demographic changes, specific labour needs, regional integration, etc. Yes, grounded theory is an appropriate method for generating context sensitive multiple interventions and forwarding systematising evidence based research on African societies whose education has long been de-contextualised through colonialism and abstract systems (Section 4.6.1 & 4.6.2).

This chapter will in-depth reveal the extents and ways in which various factors in different geopolitical situativity and structural embeddedness mould social processes relating to female status and how this impacts on consciousness, social agency and the (re)production of social meanings and structure (See Giddens; Bernstein, Section 4.6.1 & 4.6.2):

First I will broadly describe the categories that have emerged and precisely explain the techniques applied in the generation process in order to introduce the reader to the general framework as well as provide insight into the theory generation.

Next I will illuminate the multivariate structural variables and their interconnectivity and interplay in structuring social experience. Beginning with the destination communities multidimensional and intersecting dimensions, I will bring out the complexity of phenomena that structures identity building and subjectification while also accounting for the salience of particular categories in the lives of migrant women.

Similarly, I will integrate the social cultural background as a category of analysis through a focus on the impacts of patriarchy, pluralistic structural and cultural shifts in connection with their implications for constructing gendered structural ambivalence and how these unfold in international migration process.

Lastly, after presenting the theory, the chapter seeks to develop context sensitive pedagogical concepts which respond to the emerged needs of the affected and suggest from them recommendations for practice theoretical orientation, change and future inquiry.

9.2 Generating Categories and Core Variables

By ‘categories’ in my analysis is meant the main themes that have appeared in the narratives of women. These were discovered through open coding, data reflection and writing of memos etc., and then sorting into topics, groups and issues of related meaning and relevance. To quote Glaser on the multidimensionality and interconnectivity of social phenomena as well as the context sensitivity of interventions, the core of analysis is fuelled by the search for patterns of many similar incidents which could be attributed to a conceptual name of category while a pattern of dissimilar incidents can be described as a property of a category (Glaser 1992:40). Concretely a general procedure of theoretical sampling emerges which elicits codes from raw data right from the beginning of data collection through constant comparative analysis as data pour in (Section 3.4). Hence comparisons constitute incident with incident; data from the same individuals with themselves at different stages in their narratives; different sets of data, category with category and data with category (critically see, Glaser 1978; 1992; Charmaz 1983). It makes sense therefore as elsewhere mentioned that my articulation of grounded theory departs from scientific operations deconstructing single biographies (Glaser,

Section 9.1). Within this framework, the elicited codes constitute the basis for directing further data collection, which is used for sharpening theoretical development of the codes with respect to their various properties and their connections with other codes until saturation occurs (Glaser 1978). In sum, sampling is induced out of deductions from the coded data. The different stages are expected to unfold in the following discussion (Glaser & Strauss 1967; Glaser 1978).

From analysis of the categories generated, it is possible to postulate that the major problems apparent to the women are of a social-psychological nature. Their being of a social-psychological nature attributes them to the family of dependent variables – they are consequences.² They apparently relate to subjectification processes and collectivising practices as consequences of structural generating contingencies, their introjections, subjective manifestations and negotiation. But what are the causal factors i.e. independent variables, their dimensions and the role they play? It was through casting such questions on data that the underlying complexities were discovered. But first, let us describe the emerging categories.

For example, lack of solidarity especially as reflected through social conflicts was repeatedly pointed out as a factor leading to the disintegration of social networks, isolating some women and keeping participation in self organisation activities at lower levels. This will be in depth elaborated in the commencing sections. The major aim here is to provide an introductory insight by illuminating a few relevant incidents in order to illustrate how the conceptualisation frameworks in my research were developed:

While elaborating on the major source of assistance an interviewee reported:

“Well in the beginning possibly from my country ... well I mean fellow countrymen ... but later it’s been mainly from the Germans ... I feel it is mainly from the Germans. These people ... I mean from my country ... also ... ja it’s like they all compete one against the other. So if someone is better then .. du .. then they say this and the other du ... a funny lot !!! (Laughter) [Entrepreneur in Stuttgart, 34 years of age]”

At first sight the above could appear to reflect a very simplistic phenomenon. Indeed it is even tempting to drop the category in the endeavour of finding more substantial material (See critically, Glaser 1978). After all, as the Expert interview also demonstrated, social friction substantially exists amongst women of other origins too:

² To review the meaning of basic social processes see, Glaser (1978).

„Was ich immer Schade fand war die Mangel an Solidarität unter den afrikanischen Frauen, auch viel, Jealousy auch viel ... das hat mich irrendwie traurig gemacht, weil das gibt es bei uns auch ... das gibt es über all denke ich ... man sagt ja ,nicht all Frauen sind Schwestern [Expert Interview, Freiburg].“

Yet, the specific relevance of this in the migration context for African women still remains to be elaborated: To draw theoretical codes specifically conceptualising the phenomenon of social solidarity, it was of central importance to avoid reductionist notions, cultural deficit approaches or pathology whilst interpreting the data. On the contrary, researchers incorporating a human agency perspective often point out to the great contribution and solidarity expressed by migrant women through the enormous support of their families, the economic systems and social security of their societies of origin and increasingly the host societies (Section 4.3 & 4.7.4).³ With this in view, it is important to recall that the problematic and conflict circumstances were interpreted as a reflection of a complex interaction of social factors whose momentum my focus from now on seeks to unveil.

Data from England illustrate salient constructions of difference on the basis of ethnicity, class and gender (Section 8.6.2). Not only does the problematic of social fragmentation recurrently constitute the biographies of women but it was also striking to observe the strongly emerging pattern in women's interviews as it relates to the almost exclusive focus on social problems such as those constraining social interaction, self organisation and community experiences rather than the structural hindrances to labour participation. This was in depth demonstrated and analyzed in section (8.11 & 9.2–9.4). In this chapter, we shall only discuss some of the underlying reasons and their implications.

You will recall from the preceding analysis, the congruency established between women's blind spots towards the structural barriers conditioning their labour participation, their central focus on social-psychological dimensions and the feminised roles in the background society (Section 8.11.1). Looking at the argument on modes of self-construction and their implications for agency, I have drawn on Wetterer and Becker Schmidt to hypothetically identify the public-private divide in background societies as socially constructing the observed women's agency through both the problematic of double orientation, gendered structural ambivalence and polarisation of masculine and feminised roles whereby women's roles are primarily modelled within the

3 Review also, UN (1995); Adepoju (1995:100) and Boyd (1989:645).

less abstract reproduction spheres, which also shapes and confines their modes of skills acquisition (Wetterer; Beckers Schmidt, Section 8.11).⁴ Whereas a gender specific structural relationship marks the private and public spheres (Habermas, Section 5.4.3 & 8.11.1), the intersection with postcolonial subaltern nexus identity formations (Section 4.6.1) appears to have hindered the development of critical awareness about structural mechanisms and their impacts on women thereby constraining the development of resources for driving change within structural processes including constructing collective gender identities amongst African women (Chapter 9).

Inductively from the above constellation of events, divergence was induced from a focus on the structural dynamics of international labour markets as laid out in the original research design towards a structural deconstruction of the social psychological dimensions of gender and international migration (Section 8.1). Indeed Glaser describes the objective of grounded in terms of context sensitivity as it relates to the scientific need of allowing core processes and core problems to emerge through identification and deconstruction of the pattern of behaviour which is relevant and problematic for the affected (Glaser 1978). By acquainting me with the field and dimensions of research, as well as specifying the prevalent problems therein, a good foundation for ongoing research was provided (Glaser & Strauss 1967; Glaser 1978). The need for capturing the views of women on the central issues affecting their lives rather than focusing on my hypothetical assessment of their situation became very apparent. Adapting this focus, brought to light many hidden factors which in my view could explain a lot of the woes affecting African societies at large:

To illustrate multidimensionality, intersectionality, and the implications of multiple interventions for practice theoretical orientation, migrant women's lack of focus on structural determinants and diminished solidarity can further be explained in terms of the absence of a working class and working class consciousness as a result of the historical evolution of African countries, specifically the unequal incorporation of the domestic sphere into capitalist relations of production and the transformation of the gender order that followed (Section 5.6.4). In England, for example, women were extensively aware of the hard and concurrence mechanism on the labour market due to their relatively higher labour structural integration on the labour market. However, they appeared not to relate this awareness to the broader structural mechanisms conditioning their migration status. Basing her analysis on off-

4 Review also Hause; Kiersch Auwärter *ibid*.

shore production to explain the sex selectivity of international labour markets, Sassen draws attention to the offshore proletariat as the new class position assumed by migrants and women. She links the distinct mode of incorporation that renders migrant workers and women invisible to the major factors breaking the nexus between the status of a worker in leading industries and the opportunity to become as had been historically, the case in industrialised societies a labour aristocracy or its equivalence (Sassen, Section 5.6.5).

To interpret the overwhelming focus on social dimensions in women's interviews, (Section 8.12), data seemed to articulate the social construction and constitution of women's biographies in terms of complex underpinnings and the introjections and subjective manifestations of categories of difference. This is in itself, a manifestation of complex processes of social change. To draw on anecdotal comparisons, it is possible to postulate on the case of England and Canada that even at the household levels and within kinship networks, relations, subjectification and collectivising practices appear extensively shaped by class dynamics, ethnicity, gender hierarchies and social status. What this seems to further demonstrate is the materialisation of belonging and the complex, extrinsic linkage between psycho-sociological and heterogeneous structural factors which also appear to produce multivariate structural ambivalence in gendered identities in a framework undermining social cohesion and social capital (Chapter 8 & 9). To scientifically deconstruct the solidarity problematic, it makes sense therefore to pedagogically integrate into this broad constellation, analysis of gender identity, subjectivity and self-constitution through a structural focus on socialisation contexts, specifically the family context as the primary socialisation unit and arena for gender construction (Section 9.10–9.11). These perspectives whilst rooted in data have generated workability for the affected and map the road for future grounded pedagogy, sociology and multiple interventions which should mainly aim at consciously and critically moulding subjectification practices through deconstructing difference as a salient construction and build stronger communities through a critical confrontation and destabilization of *ethnicity, class and gender* (Chapter 4; 5; 8; 9 & Section 11.1).

Here we should note once again for clarification that originally my theme of research aimed at investigating the economic and labour participation of the women in view. Though my categories were not initially preconceived (theoretical openness and context sensitivity),⁵ I hardly expected research to flow

5 See Straus & Corbin 1998; Lamnek 1995:15

in this direction. Note that, my theme was not entirely dropped but will later be raised in the adjacent chapters. In this connection, it further became apparent in the course of analysis that the social dimensions and labour participation are so interwoven, making evident the need for applying mixed methods particularly statistical inference that is more suitable for demonstrating the participation rates, career and qualification profiles, demographic characteristics, status issues, etc. As already explained, statistical analysis was not integrated for the purpose of verification or internal validity which is done through induction of hypothesis, properties and theory (Glaser & Strauss 1967). Rather, it was further legitimated by the absence of a focus on structural variables and determinates of labour participation in the interviews (Section 8.11).

9.3 Establishing Relevance

As further data analysis became increasingly focused, it became evident that the research can most suitably study the problematic of social interaction within the broader context of social cohesion as it relates to the materialisation of subjectivities and collective belonging. This expands the perspective of analysis because it reveals other mediating factors and structural dimensions apart from social solidarity which condition women's cohesiveness. However the discovery of independent and core variables that explain the causes and their interplay only emerged in quite advanced stages of research after various comparisons of different data had taken place. This was so much aided by identification of the dimensions and spheres of social interaction. Namely by discovering the 'how's' and 'where's' of these problems (see Glaser 1978). The 'how's' and 'where's' appear to relate to the convergence of the fourfold vulnerability model within the multiple, ambivalent and (trans)local positionalities of postcolonial subjectivities on one hand and on the other hand, nexus situativity in shifting intersections of the geopolitical conditionings structuring the multilocal spaces of background societies, countries of destination and transnational communities (Chapter 4; Section 9.5 Figure I & II, section 9.3 below). The convergence of the fourfold vulnerability model within complex nexus situativity and their variable introjections and subjective manifestations has been interpreted to constitute the underlying structural core variable as it relates to social cohesion. Apparently the difficulty of negotiating the complex relations structured by these mechanisms seems to constitute the main problems affecting women.

Two distinct features emerge from data: Female status and structural dependency. These appear to highlight the simultaneity of identity, subjectification,

complex social change – historically situated structural mechanisms, shifts in institutional and legislative contexts which aggravate the complexity of the realities within transnational positionality. However, this realization alone does not suffice to explain the problematic of social cohesion. There are hidden cross-influences which also appear to play a crucial role. The next sections will be dedicated to an in depth analysis of the interplay of the above described phenomena. By analyzing the phenomenon of social cohesion from a grounded point of view, could we be on the way to grasping the internal constitution of democracies and Africa’s recurrent political and social crisis? It will be for further research to investigate this perspective since I can only indicate at different stages those aspects of this whose relevance fits and works the data as it empirically emerges in my field of study (Glaser & Strauss 1967; Glaser 1978).

Figure 9.1 & figure 9.2 below attempt to capture a detailed reconstruction of things. They illustrate the complexity of influences and relations underpinning the migration phenomena here, which also explains why the social dimensions are more eminent in the narratives. Against the above background, the distinct emerging features could be conceptualised in terms of the tensions and interplay of social, symbolic and material ties between homeland – destinations and relations between destinations – transnational positionality.⁶

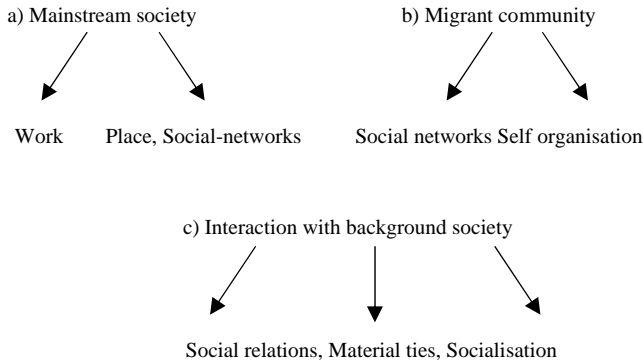


Fig. 9.1 Spheres of Social Interaction – Multilocal Spaces of Belonging: How and where do these problems emerge?

6 For a definition and review of translocational social spaces see Anthias, Section 4.7.1

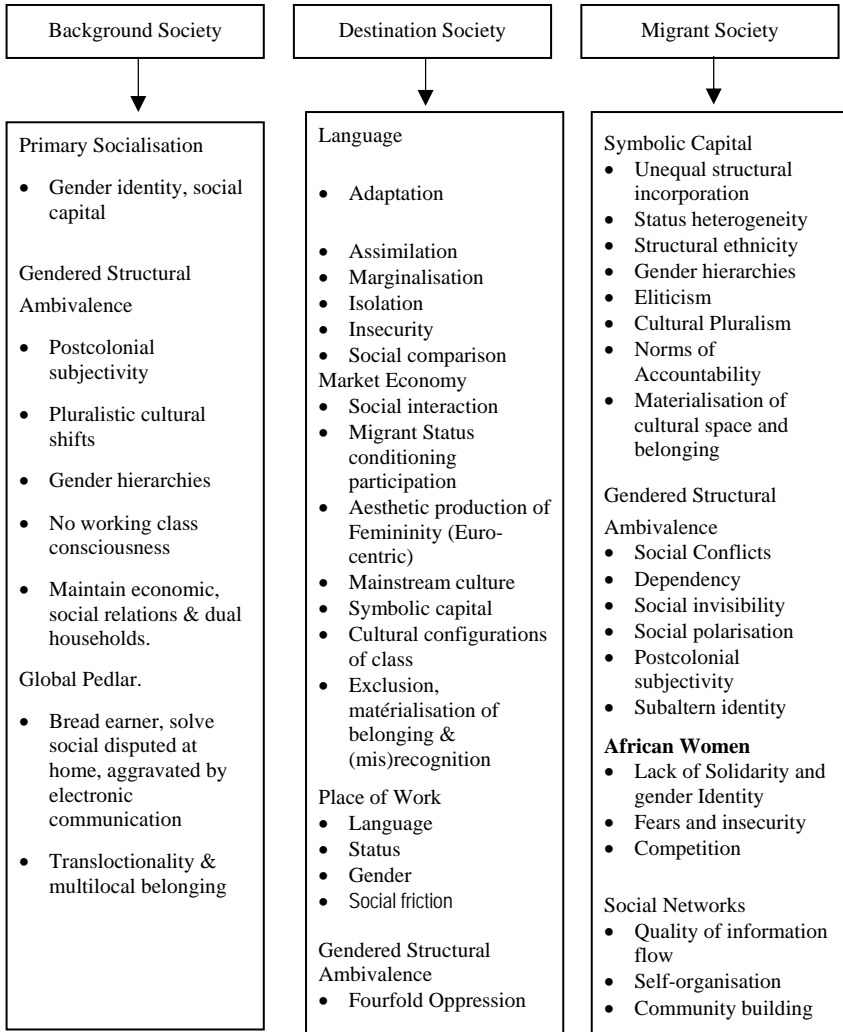


Fig. 9.2 – Social Interaction in a Framework of Dependencies

Looking at the heterogeneity and variability of social status, the challenges of negotiating the congruent and contesting locationality and relations of multi-layered identities, their shifting intersections within multidimensional situativity (Section 4.1–4.7) are illustrated in the following observations regarding labour participations.

“Everything concerning the work was okay but the people the way they treated me, [...] and the way they used to boss over me .. they used to load it over me. [...] I find the work itself is okay .. you get very good money if you get a good paying job. But then every morning .. you may not feel like going to work .. not because of the work itself but because of the people you have to meet and you kind of talk to ... so you say oh God again! Oh God again! Oh God again! [...] These ladies had to fight to assert their position and it used to disturb me so much. And then some of them always wanted to head. To kind of be head over you in everything you did and that also used to trouble me because I was used to a different environment whereby people work together even if you are head, you show me what to do but in a polite manner ... so that this difference was not felt so much ... I was a student, I had just finished my education but the lecturers were not like that ... they were always polite, they were always loving ... I mean they were always .. they knew their position .. they didn't always have to assert their position. And when I come to think of manual work in Germany ... I feel that most people make you feel uncomfortable or they have the ability ... to make you feel very uncomfortable. But when you go to other places whereby like at the university *you are dealing with* students and lecturers then you have peace and you flow .. you don't have to force yourself [...] things just flow out of you much easier [Student in Stuttgart, 24 years].”

The above narrative whilst illustrating the multidimensionality, ambivalences and juxta positionings of identity also concretise the importance of avoiding the application of social scientific approaches that treat subject positionalities in unitary ways by showing as Judith Butler and Anthias have already established the diversity of gender categories as they relate to the variety of positions women occupy in other categories of difference and locations and the roles that women sometimes play as subjects and objects of oppression (Section 4.2). Also note that the narrative does not articulate differentiation on the basis of ethnicity but general challenges of managing work relationships faced by also women of the majority. These challenges are always aggravated for structurally ethnicized categories with a weaker legal and labour market position. Whereas such challenges have increasingly made professional

development marketable in terms of assertive trainings etc., special vulnerability for migrant women can be identified through their confined status that constrains accessibility to such programs. It is also important to note here as we shall also discuss later that social problems encountered by African women in Germany did not appear to articulate race as a differentiating category. Instead, in considering structural differentiation and materialisation of belonging, the dynamics of the political economy of migrant labour as analyzed in Miles Marxian model seemed to form the strongest category and constitute the pragmatic framework for deconstructing the biographies (Section 4.5.2). Whereas this has been linked to the egalitarian Habitus (Section 8.6.2 & 8.7), it also suggests that social differentiation within the comparative analysis between Germany and England will be approached in terms of the varying degrees and different forms of articulation. Thus, it is also important to note here that embedment within England's class habitus as opposed to the egalitarian habitus appears to complicate and intensify the problematic introjections and subjective manifestations of social differentiation – as subjectification and collectivising practices of migrant multi-local communities at the diverse levels (Chapter 8).

To explicate the dimensions of multiple (trans)locationality, the two narratives below concretise once more the challenges of negotiating congruent and contesting relations across time and space: Here, migration may afford women improved accessibility to gainful employment, however, insecure migration status appears to drive women into attempting to establish an economic base in their background societies, which does not necessarily deconstruct existing insecurities but may reinforce social vulnerabilities by raising economic risks and dependence on informally regulated structures such as kinship ties in background communities.

“You always try to put up something at home so that you have something to fall back on. But a lot of times people at home don't understand because they think we are in Europe money is very easy to get. Other people will just cheat you out rightly or even try to set up businesses of their own using your money as credit. Some people think they can make quick money out of it and profits on it but then they may lose it and fail to pay it back. You hear a lot stories like [...] [Nurse in Bremen aged 24].

Indeed whilst scholars highlight the need for a combined approach aimed at capturing the ambivalence of structural vulnerability and productivity (Maihof, Section 4.3), these dynamics can further be conceptualised in terms of

the challenges associated with the intersectional vulnerability of multilayered identities and the complex social roles within (trans)locational positionality specifically articulated in the maintenance of dual households (Section 4.7.5).

“Ja ... and ... whenever ... there is ... there are disputes at home or anything they call you ... you know and you have to be the one to take charge although they are the ones at home ... sometimes ... I don't want to give ... my number ... telephone number or email ... cause like the school fees I pay for some of my nieces and nephews ... they don't listen to my grandmother ... they don't want to listen to anybody because they know the money comes from Europe [...] you know these problems with the young people ... the youth when they start to have big heads ... it is hard for the grandmother [...] But the people also ... the relatives ... the other relatives ... everyone is ... everyone is trying to be in good books with the people sending money ... sometimes this is also not good for their friendships ... their working together ... because if you don't send money to someone, other people think they have been bad mouthed that is why you don't send money ... so you find you are always trying to solve those problems but you also have your own life to live ... to live here but the people at home they don't know how much you have to struggle here ... they think everything is so easy. You come back from work and already a message is waiting for you ... or ... whenever the telephone rings your heart skips ... you don't know whether there is trouble at home ... or how big is the trouble. ... Is it just a problem ... somebody has done something or is it somebody who is very sick or may be somebody has died?” [Personal support worker in Stuttgart, aged 26]

9.4 Theoretical Sampling and Casting Questions on Data

From the foregoing analysis, it is clear that basic social and structural core variables constitute the basis for guiding further data collection, theoretical sampling and establishing relevance for the affected. The convergence of the threefold/fourfold vulnerability model within complex nexus situativity and the materialisation of collective belonging has been interpreted to constitute the underlying structural core variable as it relates to social cohesion (Section 4.4–4.7).

But to operationalise this framework, diverse questions were cast on data according to the methodological requirements of grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, Section 3.5.1): For example, why are women very divided in the Diaspora, where solidarity amongst minority groups is most relevant but

bond a lot through remittances to home society? What are the other factors in addition to status, which relate to the core process and how does status itself impact on these processes?

Some of the structural factors relating to the core variables have already been identified (Chapter 4; 5; 8 & 9). Whilst these objectively relate to the constraints of negotiating the complex relations structured by migrant women's nexus situativity, complex dynamic locationality, the absence of gender identity and working class consciousness as a result of historical evolution and complex social change, it suffices here to draw on Glaser and postulate that their discovery was facilitated through a series of forward and backward steps (Glaser 1978). As well, through in-depth analysis of the ways in which the different factors in transnational processes affect subjectification and social cohesion.

In light of the diagram (p. 292), it makes sense to problematise further interacting dynamics linked to structural conditionalities within the framework of legislative, institutional processes and systemic barriers in the migration set up as they relate to factors constraining social cohesion, subjectification and self organisation (Destination Society). These include:

- a) Insecure and subordinate female status linked and conditioned by male status through marriage (Boyd 1995).
- b) Weak industrial relations (Section 4.6.5).
- c) Heterogeneity of status, geopolitical conditioning and backgrounds of (im)migrants (legal and social status, levels of education, social cultural backgrounds, perceived cultural and symbolic capital, ethnicity).
- d) Lack of supportive kinship networks to assist in childcare. (Trapping women in the roles of motherhood and hindering participation in self organisation activities).
- e) Working conditions (unconventional working hours reinforcing the above).
- f) Multifarious intersections of class, ethnicity and gender as in the case of England.

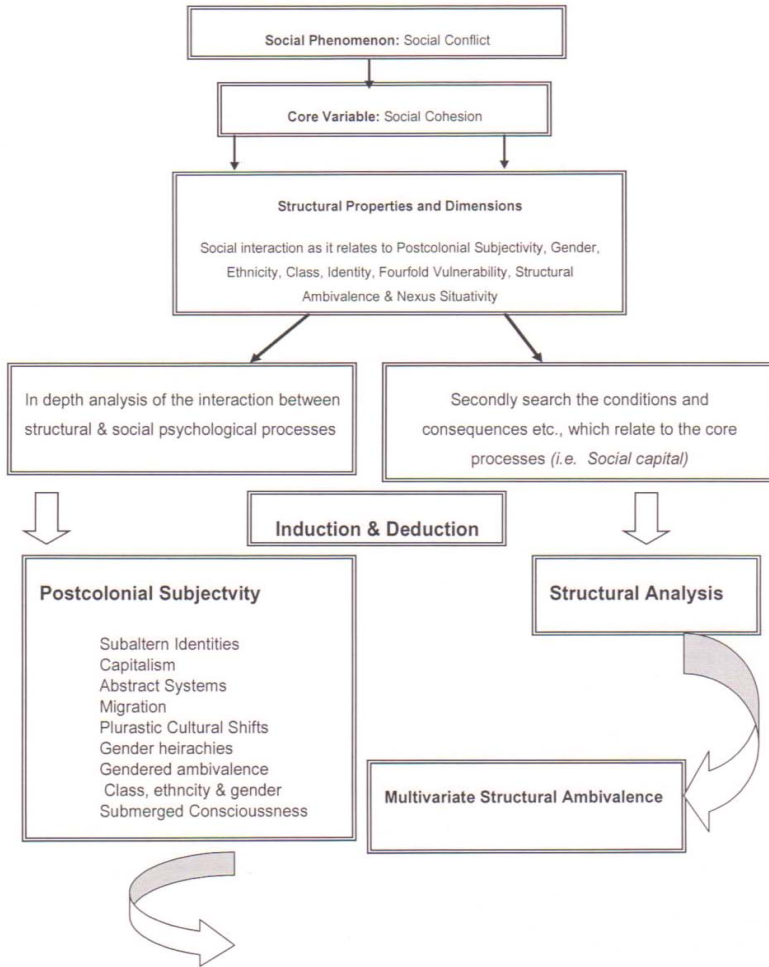


Fig. 9.3 Constructing Validity

Against this background, one can identify the emergent properties of the core categories at a higher more abstract conceptual level (Section Chapter 4; 5; 8 & 9) as constituting diversity, social exclusion and social differentiation. Hierarchisation is particularly stressed if England's case is taken into consideration. Most important these dynamics appear not only to characterise transnational communities but also seem to articulate African societies, kinship

relations and households as constitutive of complex diversity within a framework of postcolonial situativity. Since the main categories appear to constitute subjectification and collectivising practices in a context of gender, ethnicity, class as manifestations of the globalising mechanisms of complex social change, approaches for community building should integrate cultural similarity perspectives and apply some of the evidence-based Marxist-feminist and sociological models developed in the West to confront diversity in developing countries.

9.5 (Trans)locational Situativity: Habitus, Status, Symbolic Interaction and Materialisation of Belonging

The previous sections have analyzed the category 'social cohesion' and have examined the extent and ways in which a series of intersecting factors in the host societies affect its properties and dimensions as they relate to the social and structural constitution of postcolonial subjectivities. The rest of this section is concerned with the aim of studying the emergent properties 'social exclusion' 'diversity' and 'difference', their complex underpinnings and implications for subjectification, collectivisation and social capital. It will focus on the multi-localized social interaction amongst migrant and mainstream populations:

As Miles has also argued (Section 4.5.2) much of the social discrimination, social exclusion and marginalisation confronting (im)migrants have been often attributed to racism. However, in the course of research, it has become obvious to me that there are indeed other factors that play a significant role that can easily or have easily escaped the eye at first sight (Chapter 4; 5; 8 & 9). As elsewhere mentioned, it makes sense to construct internal and external validity by aligning my empirical findings with Miles Marxian approach to difference through analysis of the political economy of migrant labour. In addition, by bringing into analytical interplay Bourdieu theory of practice in order to capture the materialisation, institutionalisation and (de)legitimation of cultural space and belonging (Section 4.5.2)⁷. This is particularly exemplified in the German case study. But before discussing these factors it is necessary to briefly introduce the framework of empirical reactions regarding this topic:

7 For a comparative view on the materialisation of collective belonging and cultural space see also Anne-Marie Fortier 2000

First, there are no indications of continual or patterned experiences with racism in all the narratives of women in Germany by contrast to England. Out of sixteen interviews only two women sighted such accounts while at the same time placing them in relative perspective as very isolated incidents lacking significant relevance to describe the host population as racist:

“The most striking thing for me when I came to Germany is the kind of acceptance that I found here .. so I really can’t call Germans being racist if anything .. but there are some things you have to be aware of ... I remember when I was looking for a factory job as a student ... I was wearing high heels but of course I knew If I get the job I will change the shoes but the people did not give me the job. So my friend told me to change the shoes and when I went home and put on running shoes. ... and some shabby jeans ... I got the job. I noticed too at the Jobvermittlung if you are dressed a bit expensively they will not give *you the job* ... *I always* dressed cheaply then I think they would think this student really needs the job more than any one ... I would get the jobs ... so you have to .. have to know how they think .. but when I go to look for jobs at MacDonald’s or Burger king I have to dress real nice because there ... they are dealing with customers ... you know so if you are dressed like a factory worker they won’t give you the job” [Student in Freiburg, aged 26].

“... I would say no. And really I ... I’ve not really had such an experience in Germany and in fact to that effect, I think Germans are not really racist: Although I’ve noticed of late that when I sit in the trams no one comes to sit near me ... near me. And six years ago all I had to do was smile ... you know part of the smiling thing in Germany ... ja ... you get in a tram, you smile at everybody .. when others are getting in you also smile. Then they will be always people sitting around you. Some used to complain that no one sits near them but I never felt it even once. But ... of late you find that no one wants to sit near you. And I don’t know if it is connected to the fact that drugs .. drug trafficking has increased in the city also. But I guess it is [...]. I would also hesitate to sit with a Black .. I mean who is ... who looks dubious ... of a dubious character. [...]. I too when I get into a tram ... I look at a Black because somehow I have learnt to study them and their faces and I know who could be who ... so I also avoid them.” (Respondent is in IT- Industrial Marketing, aged 32)

“I’m ... I’m almost lucky ... I think ... I’ve not yet had that. I only had it once in the ‘Discotheque’ [...] well when we came everybody was getting in ja. And we came only Blacks ja ... we were told only members.” (Nurse in Stuttgart, aged 32)

To maximise differences and conditions in data as well as varieties of data bearing on a category through a comparative analysis of different biographies and incidents [Strauss & Glaser, Glaser, Section 3.2.1) that did not directly discuss social discrimination, other complex dimensions that could be related to the above incidents became apparent:

“aah ekikulu abayaaye banji wanno. (‘You find very funny characters here’). A man finds you on the street and say I’ want to marry you .. give me your telephone number ... Uhm ... Such things eeeh ... It’s very annoying. You ask yourself ‘Mensch’, ‘where are you from .. are you from the bush?’ Because even at home ... people don’t do such things. And I hear they even go to the discos and do the same thing so now they are bouncing them out ... and they have come to the churches .. that’s why I run a way ...” (Entrepreneur in Stuttgart, aged 34)

The above narratives should not imply however a building of stereo types about African migrants, whose image is already distorted. But they are important because they introduce some of the major concepts discussed below. Indeed studies like Agisra (1990) have comprehensively analyzed the structural construction of identities within the institutional and legislative conditionings of exclusion, diversity and marginalisation as causal linkages to drug trafficking. However, in terms of community building (im)migrants expressed concern about this problematic in their societies. This does not only pose a risk for disintegrating their communities but also their images and social relations with mainstream society. Thus, these voicings concretise and emphasize the need for pragmatic, multidimensional approaches to diversity as well as multiple and multi level strategic interventions that address the root causes of crime and stereotypes whilst also promoting the proactive role of (im)migrants in community building. This necessitates critical social political engagement.

“Germans are not racist but what you have to do to be successful here is that you must not tell lies at all [...]. That one Germans do not do and they won’t stand if you do that ... here if somebody tells lies it is ... like it is like they are not functioning if you see somebody telling lies here .. something is definitely wrong. Even children do not tell lies ... but I know many societies people tell lies ... that is the order of the day ... to be polite people tell lies to save someone’s face ... sometimes they lie to you but you find with Germans ... they are very direct and open people ... to be polite ... here transparency is at the order of the day ... with Germans they talk about everything and they don’t despise people so if you are the type also who despises people

because they are poor maybe ... you are in trouble ... if a German sees you treating people like that ... you will lose all your friends. Germans treat people equally [...] it is a good place for children to grow up in this life because the society is like ... an open Church in fact I am yet to find another society earth which compares to Germany. This place is like an open university ... open church ... it ... is like open university ... you just get the values just like that ... people have very strong values and they are going to be hardworking, they like order, they like truth they actually walk in the light as the Bible say ... they are not backstabbers because the truth, if someone does not like something ... they tell you and also you tell them if you don't like something and it is accepted just like that ... but also with respect ... This despising thing ... I have not seen people despising ... they make you feel like strong like a human being even if you are poor but if you have the values ...they appreciate values I think.” (Student in Freiburg, aged 26 years)

In spite of the quite rare references to racism, the biographies indicate various forms of social exclusion which when theoretically sampled reveal hidden mechanisms that are at the core of differentiation and this does not exclusively affect African migrants but also groups in the mainstream society who happen to fall in the schema. To clearer illustrate this, I will develop my arguments from Bourdieu's habitus (2000:169–174), and raise the empirical observation that it is differentiating mechanisms that run under-surface the performative egalitarian welfare state (Leistungs-/Ellbogengesellschaft) and social systems in Germany which appear to fundamentally operate to socially discriminate categories rather than the grounds of race. Due to the political integration of migrant labour (Lenz, Miles; Phizacklea, Section 4.4–4.5.2), and the convergence of the fourfold model of oppression, African migrants appear to constitute more vulnerable categories.

It is important to bear in perspective the interconnecting subtle implications that relate to the materialisation of cultural spaces, subjectification and collective belonging and how these structurally define difference. In Bourdieu's theory of praxis, the Habitus is applied to describe different systems of generative schemes which are on one hand internalized and on the other appear as systematic configurations of properties expressing the differences objectively inscribed in conditions of existence in the form of systems of differential deviations which, when perceived by agents form pertinent features that function as life-styles. Referred to in sum, is the generative principle of objectively classifiable judgments and the system of classification of

these practices Accordingly, the social world and its space of life-styles is constituted within the governing relationship between these elements and how they materialise subjectification and collective belonging (Bourdieu 2000) – Against this background, it is possible to postulate that in the migration case, the social world and governing relationships are constituted in a context of structured ethnicity – the relative and varying positionality on international labour markets through migration status.

Both constituents of the habitus i.e. a) the capacity to produce classifiable practices and works and; b) the capacity to differentiate and appreciate these practices and products (taste) are relevant to analysis of my findings. It is necessary to grasp the importance of these generating principles especially the power behind them which largely lies in economic and social conditionalities as well as positioning. Implied too, is the fact that judgments of tastes and dispositions are equally moulded by the two factors, and most important that the different conditions of existence produce different habitus. Hence also the class habitus in England and the egalitarian habitus in Germany are likely to produce different outcomes for the social construction of gender and ethnicity within international migration (Chapter 8).

This concretises my arguments that the inferior conditions structured by migrant status which is obviously also linked to the international capitalist and unequal relations of production seem to create a different habitus that appears inferior to the one prevailing in the dominant destination economies. To the passive observer though, the structural confinements of migrant status and the political economy of migrant labour are not visible, the social impacts become so through the accentuated lack of perceived symbolic capital as will be diversely illustrated here. Hence one can view difference in Bourdieu's terms of the dialectic of conditions and habitus which control the distribution of capital and power relations to create a system of perceived differences and distinctive properties who's objective truth is disguised (Bourdieu 2000: 172). As it were, the schematic of the internalized dominant habitus appear un-understandable to the common man who lacks knowledge about the structuring mechanisms which organize difference:

“So you don't fit ... in their society very well ... you don't fit in the German society very well ... because as a mother of two, you are supposed to be here competing like any other mother of two ... That's how the Germans look at it. But then you are a student ... maybe you are in a hostel ... or in a poor house. So they can't ... it's like you ... you know ... you have to keep on explaining, you know I am a stu-

dent. And at one point in life, it becomes a bother to tell everyone that you are a student .. You don't want to mention it." (Student in Freiburg, aged 34)

"For them they don't think much about the fact whether you are a foreigner or not. They are things which are taken for normal. I mean a person living ... a person of your age and family status. I mean eeeh ... living in such a place like this one already shows your social standing. If you are staying in such blocks as these ... they automatically take you for a failure. They put you in a certain 'Schuhblatte' because for them somebody growing up normally who ends up there is semi-illiterate or grew up in queer ... not normal family circumstances. You didn't grow up in ... what they call 'bürgerlich ... bürgerliche Familien' ... descent family ... Because 'Heutezutage' even a factory worker can afford to own a house ... apart from people who are 'Sozialabgrund'. Uhhmm ... Somebody who is may be alcoholic ... spends all his money on prostitutes or a 'Rentner' who didn't save during their active years !!!" (Personal Support Worker in Freiburg, aged 45)

The egalitarian relations and egalitarian expectations based on ability rather than ethnicity appear articulated in the above narratives. Rejected appears to be the visualizations or symbolic representations of perceived discontinuities in systematic subjectification and social practices rather than ethnic differences. But the paradox is that it is the international structural conditionings that simultaneously structure and maintain plurality of social economically strong identities and tastes on one hand and the weak ones constituting migrants who because of their historical evolution, postcolonial subjectivity and nexus situativity will be affected based on the degree of congruency or contesting relations and their contradictory outcomes (Section 4.4–4.7). Hence the impacts of structural distinctions which are simultaneously at work while at the same time being obscured.⁸

"You will fit in their society ... Sometimes you even forget that you are an African or that they are Germans ... I mean you don't feel so different but then they are those times ... like one time I was driving ... my car was old ... and had some problem ... so it would refuse to start at the traffic lights and then you run into a panic ... so that's the time I felt ... aaah on top of that you are an African ... or if you are looking shabby of course you feel bad. People think maybe you are 'Asozial' or get 'Sozial Hilfe' But it's expensive to look nice here ... sometimes you don't have money for buying nice things ... ja ... braid-

8 Bordieu 1989:14–25.

ing hair will cost you about Dm 300 and you can't afford such things if you are not working. Yet at home these are basics ... which everyone can afford so I find it a big problem here ... or if you are wearing a winter jacket in Autumn or spring ... but you do not have money to afford a spring jacket, a summer jacket ... an autumn jacket and on top of that a winter jacket !!!" (Student in Freiburg, aged 26)

A further striking factor regarding the structural mechanisms above seems to constitute the double effects which marginalize women within international migration while at the same time inducing status losses linked to the much higher costs of exotic products, thus, constraining acquisition and visualisation of cultural capital once affordable in background societies. But their bodily appearance and perceived embodied capital is not the outcome of the migrant's own lack of cultural competence. Rather, it is a direct outcome of conditioned status, constrained labour participation and historical evolution as it relates to the structure of international migration and its implications for conditioning the numeric presence of African migrants – lower numbers of 'Black' women in Germany which affects low demands and the associated higher costs of African products. To be noted here is the contrasting situation of the 'Black community' in England which appears to play a leading role in fashion, design and life-styles.

Drawing on Bourdieu to make her arguments on class analysis, Lawler (1996:6) has argued that cultural competencies constitute knowledge and aesthetics themselves. Correspondingly according to her, lack of symbolic capital can translate into failure to participate in the games of aesthetic judgments, of knowledge and of cultural competence (ibid.). Which seems to be the case surrounding some of the (im) migrant experiences.

Even within the egalitarian habitus, the structural differentiation mechanisms operating within an international framework (Lenz, Section 4.4–4.5), appear to construct cultural marginalisation through prioritising and ranking Eurocentric aesthetic production of femininity which appears to exclude African women by producing conflicting ideals of womanhood. This is aggravated by transnationalism that not only implies ambivalent social positionings of multilayered identities in multiple shifting communities (Chapter 4 & 5) but also a continuity of the alterity escaped in background socialisation contexts – ambivalence, hierarchisation and differentiation according to physical appearance, ability and disability as they relate to reproduction and production capacities underpinning the major criteria for social recognition within

polygamous families (Section 9.10–9.11). The following narrative illustrates these aspects more concretely:

“no ... I don’t think Germans really are racist but ... they have other social injustices which could be as bad as racism. One is you are fat here, you are not really well accepted in this society. ... they imagine that everybody has to be slim ... and everybody has to ... you know ... have the kind of figure that they imagine it should be like ... you know ... a ‘traum’ figure. So it’s hard for those who are a bit on the other side of the line ... diet line. It’s hard for them to fit in this society really. And unfortunately many of our cultures like in the African culture, you know ... when you have a big ‘Po’ ... and a big tummy ... you know ... fatness is generally a sign of beauty and prosperity and well doing ... so ... you find it hard to ... you know, ... to stay here at ease. Because on one hand ... you feel like you have to be fat to be accepted. If I send my parents pictures when I am sick ... they will think I am ... when I am slim ... they will think I am sick. But also the other Africans won’t consider me beautiful when I am ... when I’m so thin. So ... it makes it so hard for them ... and some of them have grown so big, so fat that they can’t even reduce their bodies ... In any case ... a Po is part of the African figure: So it makes you ... you know kind of feel socially ... discriminated against ...” (Student in Stuttgart, 24 years old)

The above narrative illustrates that nexus situativity complicates the ambivalences and challenges of negotiating pluralistic intersecting habitus within the context of unequal structural embedment: Whilst African women’s concept of beauty remains absent in the German ideal (Oguntoye 1992:146), Skeggs (2001a) advocates for more focus on the implications of space and taste for the construction of gender identities with the argument that the invisibilisation of cultural space leads to misrecognition. Since Germany’s egalitarian habitus offers hardly any possibilities for studying the implications of cultural configurations of class, it is necessary to integrate comparative analysis and broaden our understanding to situate my debate within the context of the class habitus in England (Chapter 8). In terms of subjectification and collectivising practices, I have repeatedly shown that the class habitus appears to (re) produce salient constructions of difference based on class, ethnicity and gender. To theorise the implications of femininity constructions (Section 9.5) as a subjectification practice within the ambivalences of doing ethnicity, gender and diversity in a framework of congruent and contesting relations of time and space as well as practices of social exclusion, Skeggs highlights the act of reading the female body through appearance and draws on Fraser to

argue that this reading also attaches value (Skeggs 2001a:301). Thereby symbolically representing capital, which is invariably class based and dependent on access to capitals, alternatives and other forms of plausibility. Worse still she argues that interpretations of bodily appearance are to some extents institutionally anchored. Which not only produces daily suffering, humiliation and pain but also places limits on the value of embodied capital. Through equating appearance with ability, such evaluations in her view minimize opportunities for social mobility that would facilitate the acquisition of other forms of capital while at the same time limiting the ways in which acquired capital can be utilized. Hence producing symbolic devaluation leading to Miss-recognition (Skeggs 2001a:301). In terms of labour market participation, I draw on Bourdieu (Section 8.10.2), and the above background to suggest that it is important to investigate how equating appearance with ability intersects with equating rhetorics with ability and how intercultural confronts could arise that hinder the labour market integration of migrants while favouring the rhetoric of the place. Viewing life-styles as the systematic products of the habitus, which due to their mutual relations through the schemes of the habitus, become sign systems that are socially qualified' (Bourdieu 2000), the hierarchisation and social discriminatory criteria of the habitus become even more exemplified through England's case study.

Hypothesis I – Structural Incorporation and Symbolic Devaluation

It could therefore be hypothesised that unequal locationality within international capitalist relations of production conditioning the political economy of migrant labour (Miles, Section 4.5.2) may translate into symbolic devaluation linked to the low perceived cultural capital as it relates to gender, femininity constructions and the materialisation of subjectification and collective belonging. Subsequently, this constitutes under surfaced mechanisms which intersect with ethnicity to complicate difference and social discrimination experienced by African women. This does not necessarily valorise the experiences of African women as a group but selectively according to the degree of congruency and contradiction with the mainstream schematic. This perspective whilst implying and applying structural ethnicity as analytical category, facilitates a sophisticated complication of difference that remains untheorised within the analytical confinements of a race oriented paradigm.

Heavy institutionalisation and compartmentalization of social processes whereby the mentally challenged as well as the social categories that are perceived as socially weak or dependent and the physically weak or less eco-

nomically productive such as the aged and the handicapped are secluded into special facets, leaving the socially, mentally, physically strong and able bodied to participate in the performance sector seems to shape the performance habitus further (Ellbogen Gesellschaft). Operating under production pressure (Leistungsgessellschaft), the performance orientated sector appears to have marginal space for the weak and their forms of articulation: Although the values of innate worth appear very entrenched in the German society, this is the dimension that seems to highlight cracks within the systems. Thus, emphasizing the relevance of ability and disability as both categories of analysis (4.5.3) and future areas of social structural and pedagogical intervention:

‘They have this thing against the weak ... physically weak ... weak or mentally weak ... they don’t accept you. If you are physically weak ... you know ... I don’t know ... but you feel like they don’t take you ... they don’t really want you to be so much part of them like the strong. Probably they mix strength with self-confidence I don’t know ... but if you are mentally weak ... they call you stupid and I find that a very sad point. In my country ... you often help, those who are mentally retarded or mentally weak. And you really try to make sure that they don’t feel it. You really try to make sure that you help them to come up and fit in your ... in the society. But here ... it’s different ... and whereby ... here ... mental weakness is when you ask too many questions. ... They tell you to do this and you ask how ... ‘wie bitte?’ ... pardon me! ... They ... they feel like you are mentally weak, you don’t get things as fast as they do. Or if you don’t do things as fast they do ... you know ... Like at work, they show me how to do some thing ... and you are not doing it as fast as they are doing it. Then they think you are mentally weak and they think you are stupid which I really consider a great social injustice. We also have great social injustices in my country but normally ... that which have to do with the human being, their nature, ... you know ... physic ... and physical appearance ... and all that ... it’s something that we hold sacred. We don’t laugh at those who are not as good as us ... at school, ... in games ..., in anything ... we don’t laugh at those who are not as rich as we are, who are not as blessed as we are. We might laugh at them because of their ... character ... you know ... like ... those who go spitting everywhere. ... Those who use the same plates for eating ... I mean plates for eating and then ... wash them in the birth room. ... You know ... cleanliness and all that ... is something that we may laugh at. That which can be changed, we laugh at ... but not that which cannot be changed.’ (Student in Freiburg, aged 26)

Age (ageism) seems to constitute another determining factor. It appears to define social status, ability and social accountability⁹ in terms which migrants with constrained rights of labour participation may not fulfil. As addressed in the following narrative, social support appears to decrease while social accountability increase as one grows older. But contrary to their counterparts, migrant women due to their subordinate integration into the labour market seem to undergo status deterioration which again socially eliminates them from the habitus.

‘They understand your situation any way because students have such problems but now when you are older, they can’t even imagine that you are a student. [...] When I had just started uni the bank would give me credit when my money took long to come ... or such things. That was not a problem I would go to the bank and they give you money. The people think you are young ... you are just starting Uni ... you are building your career so to them it’s like you are a very promising person ... so they support you. But when you are old ... when you grow old it becomes another issue altogether. ‘Irgendwann mal’ you must leave the Studenten Wohnheim and get your own apartment ... and this is very expensive ja. Everything becomes more expensive. Things like the travelling become more expensive ... because you don’t have the student tariff any more. You know here everything is done according to age. People expect you at a certain age to be working ... because they expect ... they expect people to ... uuum ... [...] like recently I went to the bank for some credit ... after talking to me the lady looked at me and said ‘but you when I talk to you ... you sound reasonable, why can’t you get a job and work? And she was very young ... much younger than me which is very embarrassing because I think sometimes they just can’t imagine ... you know she has just finished her Ausbildung, she got a job and here you are an old person roaming about without a job. And for us ... in my case our situation even worsened because when I had just come we were allowed to work at least six months in a year and ... now they have reduced the time we can work ... to three months.’ (Student in Bremen, aged 27)

“And then if you are old, you find it hard to stay in Germany ... When you are young, everybody loves you ... they all smile at you and you fit very well. And you know ... one thing ... like I am of a small stature ... so often I ... people ... also think that I am very young. And then

9 On social accountability see, Harré; Butney, Section 8.3.

when they find out my real age ... I'm telling you, they change towards me. I've experienced this even at work they often come running to help me with heavy things (laughter) ... they cannot let me do the hard work ... but when they find out that I am not as young as they thought I was (laughter) ... then, they make me do that work myself. They let me do the hard jobs, they let me do all that ... you know... they could not allow me to do and they go ahead to help the younger girls. And I always feel that age in Germany is a problem. You have to be young to survive in this country ... and that's really not like in my country. In my country ... if you are old then you have the ...” (Entrepreneur in Stuttgart, 24 years reflects on previous work experience as a factory worker)

Differences in cultural interpretations and attributed classifications of personality sets prevailing in the dominant habitus of destination communities appear to have substantial implications that play a role in shaping the boundaries of social interaction and experiences of social discrimination. It should be reasserted with the example below that the German habitus does not specifically aim at (im)migrants alone but rather all categories including host populations who fall out of the schematic. But where migrants are affected, their vulnerability appears linked to their structural location, the challenges and tensions of negotiating differences in the habitus produced in the countries of destination and in the background societies:

“Then things are made worse when you are also shy and quite. Whereby shyness does not mean, you don't have the self confidence ... People have different natures ... some talk much ..., some keep quite. But in this society if you are shy, then they consider you to be stupid. ... Which I find is ... which I find so hard because ... for me I find shyness to be part of a human character and there is nothing wrong with it. I mean as long as the person is good. But then here, they kind of push you back ... and ... if you are quiet they think you cant ... you just can't speak out your mind. So they kind of load it over you ... Some go ahead to call you stupid. They say you are 'doof' because you are quiet and shy. And those things make it hard for a foreigner, or a person who's just come from Africa especially to just ... flow in this society. Of course they don't like lazy people ... also ... and I just feel sorry for those who move slowly by nature because they appear lazy. So they will be staring and wondering ... like this lady I was talking about ... the lady I work with ... the lady ... from ... Turkey. She moves very slowly. So you find people really feeling she is lazy but I, ... when you look at her ... you find that it's part of her ... of her ... of her character ... She just moves slowly like that not be-

cause she is lazy but it's her ... natural way of movement. So some of ... those are some of the social injustices ... that I find here in Germany." (Student in Stuttgart, 24 years old)

In considering intercultural communications and intercultural conflicts, the above narrative makes transparent hidden dynamics that appear to play a further role in impacting social discrimination. The challenges of negotiating social interaction within the contradictions of the egalitarian habitus become evident in more complex dimensions. Note as elsewhere mentioned that this has nothing to do with racism:

"Plus the fact that I had to keep on smiling. In my background, you don't have to smile to show that you are good ... you are just good ... I mean your heart is good. You talk to the people nicely and when they are in need you go ahead and help them ... when they have problems ... you know ... you read the people ... some one's heart and then you go ahead to meet their needs. But then here you had to keep on smiling bad or good. You had to keep on smiling ... and I could see behind their smiles. At times ... somebody smiling had cold eyes and I couldn't combine the two very well. Because for me, a heart that smiles is followed by eyes that are warm. I was always ... you know ... in a confusion. I had to smile ... and the smile couldn't be so wide and then somebody once commented that I don't smile wide. And it also disturbed me ... because ... if you can't smile wide ... it's also a problem. And you have to force yourself to smile and you are used to smiling. At least in the background I come from ... I smile when I really have to smile. I laugh when the thing is really funny and I found it so hard ... that was my first working experience. And we had to work many hours. Everything around ... concerning the work was okay. But that ... that ... I had in mind. The people ... the way they treated me, the way I had to keep on smiling even when I didn't feel like smiling ... The way I had to keep on speaking even when I couldn't speak the language." (Student in Freiburg, aged 26)

Hypothesis II – Deconstruction and International Dialogue

A structural approach, multi level interventions and strategic actions are required that will operate within an international framework of community building through the destabilisation of the subordinate integration of migrant communities into international labour markets combined with human rights strengthening the status of women and the masses in background societies. This will require strengthening the core values of the social democratic paradigm combined with an integration of cultural similarity perspectives in inter-

cultural dialogue as the prerequisites for change promoting social cohesion within globally stretched communities.

The role of language social and economic integration is broadly documented by scholars. Language constitutes a strong factor that seems to assert further differentiation. Below we see that language is not only a communication tool but also appears to be equated with ability and social (mis)recognition within the German habitus. This appears to have implications for symbolic deligitimation¹⁰ and social discrimination for those who fall out of the schema:

“And then we had to meet in a room upstairs before work and I hated those minutes. You have to talk and converse and I had been told that in Deutschland if you didn’t talk ... you ... you are considered stupid. And I couldn’t speak the language ... so it was always a bother to me ... I felt like ... oh ... they think I am stupid. They think I’m not able. They think ... I can’t ... you know... and it was always disturbing my mind. It made it so hard for me to ... deal with these ladies because I always thought .. they are judging me. They think I am not able to be ... you know ... to deal ... to sit among people and talk ... and yet it was a language barrier. That thing really troubled me for so long. And then ... some of them always wanted to head.” (Student in Freiburg, aged 26)

“... I realize with Germans you must be able to speak their language ... if you ... you speak their language .. you understand their jokes ... you are hardworking, you are punctual ... such things you know... then you will fit. But the language is very important. Even those ‘Behördes ... Ausländer Behörde’ even if you have a big problem ... if you can explain ... if you can express yourself then most times they are willing to help ... maybe they will look for a way if they can’t help you. They send you to another place or they will give advice ... Ja People will support you if you speak the language.” (Child and Youth Worker, in Stuttgart, aged 27)

“Germans are basically good people ... that’s what I feel ... ja [...]. I feel Germans are good people. As long as you know what the weather is, the basic needs ... what ... what you need for a conversation ... So when you stop talking about the weather, you think of some thing ... general to talk about ... and then you can deal very well with Germans ...” (Domestic Worker in Oldenburg, aged 27)

10 On symbolic deligitimation, see Bourdieu’s theory of practice as it relates to habitus, social field and symbolic interaction (Bourdieu 1977; 1984 and 1992).

Drawing from the above narratives, one could correspondingly hypothesise:

Hypothesis III – Intersections of Language, Status and Difference

Language acquisition is status determined. One may assume that migrants with a low unsecure status who are not in a position to access language tools and resources are most likely to fall out of the habitus schema here and are most prone to social discrimination.

A comparative analysis with the situation of German born nationals having dialect difficulties, who may not speak 'Hoch Deutsch', would help to throw more light into this area.

The fear for symbolic deligitimation within the performative habitus which comes about due to pressures of social comparisons does not only marginalize migrant women within the mainstream societies but may also act as a setback on social cohesion amongst migrants communities and self organisation activities:

“... Even the Germans ... they always rate you ... they are always rating foreigners ... it's hard to share friends ... the Germans will see oh! The other African is doing well ... she can speak better German ... you know ... it's like I mean she's been here short and speaks better than other Africans [...] she's making it ... so they run to her and they think you are stupid ... and you ... you are already low because you are also just struggling to make it.” (Entrepreneur in Stuttgart, aged 34)

That fact that economic, social and symbolic configuration of class within subjectivities appear to play a decisive role in determining social recognition in daily social interactions of this habitus rather than ethnicity is further concretised below:

“Once you are getting money from their social welfare then ... they ... they will most probably not like you so much. And if you don't appear to be needy, unkept or uncared for you know ... then they also kind of take you [...] Poor and every thing ... ja ... So they also kind of keep away from you. And when people learnt that you are a student. They also take you in a different way altogether. It's like they feel like ... Oh, this one at least is achieving something. They are hard working people Germans ... you know ..., so they always want you to be hard-working. When they see that you have a job, they also like you. [...] So when they see you working, when they see you studying ... then they change towards you. They kind of appreciate you. But of course it's part of their background ... Germans are hard working people and

... they expect others to also work that hard. [...]. And just like any other people ... you know ... they ... they like you if they see you are prospering.” (Respondent engaged in IT-Industrial Marketing, aged 32. Retrospectively compares life of student and worker)

But this brings us to the great paradox of the German social democratic egalitarian habitus characterised by performance, social justice and social equality (*‘Leistungsgesellschaft/Elbogengesellschaft & Markt Sozial Wirtschaft*). On one hand perceived and socially classified social weakness seem to sometimes translate into social miss-recognition. Where social weakness intersects with ethnicity, this may in isolated incidents as indicated below translate into racism depending on one’s definition of racism. As a migrant woman observes, small children may be more prone to racial slangs than elder ones:

“But kids .. kids complain of racism in schools. They do talk about it. My son was called a gorilla. He’s told me of so many reports. But that was in the beginning and as he grew up ... then the things also kind of reduced. So now he’s got many friends ... and they have accepted him in their society. I think really, the higher they go also ... the more understanding they become [Child and Youth Worker in Bremen, aged 27].”

“Especially in the first class my daughter told me about some girl who would call her names ... but that girl was herself a foreigner and her sister was my daughter’s friend. Even I ... knew her mother very well. So with children you can’t really know. It’s hard to tell whether its racism or they are just being bad. I remember when I was a child ... I used to think out the most hurting thing to tell my brothers ... to pin them down. And I had a sister we used to tell ‘no wonder you are as dark as charcoal or your hair is faded’ because her hair was not so black as ours ... but when you look back that was not good [Child and Youth Worker in Stuttgart, aged 30]”

“When my son had just joined school some kids did not want to hold his hand like when they are asked to make a circle ... some would ask him what did you fall in to make you that dirty ... or why are you dirty? They thought he was dirty that time ... he was the only African in school but somehow they began to realise that he was not dirty ... I think the teachers taught them and later he ... they really became good friends [Nurse in Stuttgart, aged 34].”

“I once met a child in the tram and she called me ‘Schokolade Frau’ She really thought I was a chocolate woman I think but those are the days when they were very few Africans here ... you would go to town

and come back screaming or I saw an African in town today [Personal Support Worker in Freiburg, aged 45].”

Moreover monetisation is characteristic of the modern habitus of industrialised nations because of the pervasive marketisation of the economy. This appears to materialise to some extent the contexts in which social interactions takes place, and the framework in which social relations are built and maintained. Again due to the structural constraints linked to the political economy of migrant labour, the convergence of the fourfold oppression and the selective schematics of a materialising habitus (Chapter 4), certain groups of migrants appear pushed out of the schema and hence the resulting social exclusion they may experience:

“Then there are hardships for us ... for me as a foreigner ... and for me as a student. First of all they would want you to go out may be for a coffee and I have to save my money ... they don't have to save their money like I do. Even if they are students their parents are helping them or are getting some help from the state. And if they are workers ... I mean if they are just normal Germans who are not students or anything like that ... then they don't have this extra need. To them that's so little money to go out for a drink. But for me, it means very much ... and so I always find like we talk ... we ... we converse very well but I don't want it to go so much deeper because I know there some commitments I will not be able to meet and they are very important to them. ... And funny enough ... to Germans that's the basic of a friendship. You have to go together. If you keep on withdrawing from all those things then they feel like you know you are not giving enough ... ja... of your friendship to them and it also ... kind of ... puts me always under stress. And then ... when they have parties ... birthday parties ... you always have to give them a present, you may not have the money ... but you have to give a present. So I have problems with that actually buying presents for them ... for me it's a problem often. Because I have ... this in my consciousness ... I think it's what I was told and then it stayed in ... and it's what I have seen ... you give them the presents that they also wanted or kind of expected. In any case buying presents is very expensive and then buying what they expected makes it double expensive. So God has ... and they are really good people ... but I feel like we don't get on so close ... I don't invite so many Germans to my home ... Ja ... maybe if I make a meal or two. So at times I really find it so hard especially when it comes to money and presents in German. Or when you are going for dinner, they want you to take a bottle of wine with you ... and you know at times ... you really may not have that bottle ... that money for

the bottle of wine ... and you've been invited for dinner. So it makes you really ... you know it makes you ... feel so uncomfortable. And then there is another question: is the wine I am buying too cheap ? (laughter) or is it the wine that is expected ... and what is a cheap wine ? All those questions come in your mind because you don't want to appear like you know ... you can't fit in their society. And then to try and fit in their society makes you, ... you know ... drain yourself so much ... at times [Student in Stuttgart, aged 24].

To sum up the foregoing analysis, it is significant that the above narratives illustrate that integrating students as a sampling category not only increases diversity in comparison groups and in the conditions in data bearing on a category as grounded theory postulates (Glaser; Strauss & Corbin, Section 3.2.1 & 9.1) but also maximise conceptualisation (Glaser; Strauss & Corbin, Section 3.2.1 & 9.1) through capturing and integrating into analysis the multilayeredness of identities since student status appears to bring them into contact with the different segmentations and ranks in the labour market as well as life constructions at the various societal levels and social divisions. This enhances the generation of context sensitivity and multiple interventions through multidimensional perspectives.

9.6 Describing the Egalitarian Habitus Schematic

Against the above background, one can trace the emerging schematic dispositions of the dominant German habitus as constituting largely following criteria:

- Productivity, productive age & hard work.
- Personality sets including sympathetic demeanour as articulated through the ability to smile and boldness (Sympathische sowie starke Ausstrahlung)
- Physical and mental ability.
- Performativity which translates into social and economic strength given the more egalitarian and socially just labour relations as well as the more conducive framework for broad based participation.
- Eurocentric femininity construction given the relatively recent history conditioning the numbers, patterns and structure of African migration to Germany.
- Social market economy & the flaws in it as partially discussed in (Section 6.1.1).

- Ability as it relates to language, social responsibility, social engagement, strong environmental, social justice and human worth consciousness.
- Order, punctuality and reliability¹¹

To summarise the foregoing analysis, it could be postulated that, the forms and levels of inclusion and exclusion appear to depend upon the degree of congruence of women's social characteristics in relation to the above factors. To a large extent, the German social space and habitus do not appear to specifically aim at migrants alone but rather all categories including host populations who fall out of the schema as previously indicated. But migrants are likely to suffer most exclusion, often because of their confined potential for social mobility due to migration status and sometimes also due to differences in the habitus produced here and their countries of origin. In such a case, one could fuse Bourdieu's theory of practice¹² with Miles Marxian theoretical model¹³ to argue that migrant women may not be able to possess the German habitus because of the international unequal capitalist relations of production conditioning the political economy of migrant labour. As the case of the dominant Eurocentric femininity construction illustrates, nexus situativity complicates the challenges of negotiating pluralistic intersecting habitus for migrant women. Consequently it can be hypothesised that:

**Hypothesis IV:
Habitus – Political Economy of Migrant Labour vs. Race as Analytical Category**

In the German egalitarian habitus, the political economy of migrant labour as it relates to the international capitalist relations of production and the unequal structural incorporation of migrants appears to constitute some of the strongest determinants of differentiation. Therefore migrants whose legal status is low, insecure or undefined are more prone to face social discrimination attributable to the structuration of ethnicity, the materialisation of subjectification, belonging and other causes rather than racism. Deconstruction must broaden the analytical scope within a structural and multiple interventionist approach.

All in all, it is important to keep in perspective the remarkable difference between the 'social space habitus' that defines social interaction with the host

11 See also critically Dittrich & Lenz (1994).

12 See, Section 4.6.1 & 4.6.2.

13 On the political economy of migrant labour see Miles, Section 4.5.2.

population and the structural habitus (state laws) generating exclusionary mechanisms which women view as discriminatory in nature:

“It’s something that has been .. so pointed out especially when I was still in Uganda. Back there people say Germans are racists. Probably because of their history. That we’ve studied in schools about the world wars [...] but when I came here ... I really realised that German people are ... not that at all. It is a shame that we think they are racists, it’s a shame we think they are that ... yet in many ways they are better than us. There is yet to accept that fact. Sometimes it takes a fact. But well, their laws and systems are hard cored ... they are a bit against the ... foreigners but the German people themselves are very good and friendly [Student in Stuttgart, aged 24].”

To summarise the foregoing analysis, it is important to emphasize the duality of ethnicity which must first be conceptualised at the international level through analysis of the political economy of migrant labour (Section 4.5.2) and secondly the convergence of the fourfold vulnerability model within this framework through a focus on the operations of the institutional and legislative contexts of destination and background societies. This combination of factors appears to produce two habitus – a dominant one and simultaneously a by-product which is perceived and regarded as weak in terms of Performativity, specifically in the absence of critical awareness linking the personal to the political. Thus, the pedagogical and sociological empirical relevance of making social historical and political categories the objects of reflection (Freire 1972) in community building.

9.7 Re-Evaluation and Comparative Analysis

9.7.1 Egalitarian, Class Habitus and Differentiation

It is difficult to write about social differentiation without losing focus on the larger framework of social justice and egalitarianisms previously characterising the German social market habitus (Section 6.1.6). Whilst the above observations regarding experiences of social discrimination call for critical pedagogical, sociological and feminist models of intervention as elsewhere already mentioned, they also emphasize the need for the reader to bear in mind that differentiation as presented here relates to the relative degree and different forms of articulation within the everyday localized social space. It is significant that if the dimensions of subjective wellbeing, socially mitigating factors and personal human development described in terms of internalizing the values of social justice and social equality are taken into consideration,

social integration appears comparatively higher in Germany. It is important to ground my analysis within the egalitarian social democratic habitus. Indeed it appears difficult to claim that social discrimination experienced here happens mainly on the grounds of racism. It seems that there is more structural ethnisation of categories (re)produced through inequalities in structural locations. Research findings reveal high co-relation between the degree of social discrimination within institutional and legislative contexts and the level of migrant status. Migrants with a low or undefined status seem to be more vulnerable to contemptuous and unjust treatment from state authorities.

“Well ... in the beginning, there was a time when I had finished my language school .. language course and I wasn't yet at the university. So every time I went to renew my Visa, I ... I went quaking because I wasn't sure whether or not ... I would get it or not ... I mean they would tell you this and the other ...and the lady there wasn't friendly ... but ... aaam since I joined I didn't have any problems with them actually. She even ... aa ... wished me a good time in studying and the like [...] It's this, when you have a status here then it's like they'll accept you and will not really trouble you – but if they know they can still push you out ... they are a bit hard I think ... because I was only at the Sprachen Kollege and they always gave me a visa for three months, three months, three months ... and I mean any time they could say 'no this time you won't get it'... but if I am at the university, I mean there was no choice for her ... she didn't have a choice ... she had to give me the visa ...” [Lecturer in Stuttgart, Aged 38. Reflects on the different stages, transitions and social mobility linked to migrant status in Germany]

This according to me reasserts the meanings of the performative habitus explained here, whose generating mechanisms whilst producing socially egalitarian relations, social justice, social equality and a framework conducive to broad based participation generates schematics with cracks through which categories perceived as socially weak fall. As empirically illustrated in the foregoing analysis this could be linked to the lack of critical awareness of structural conditionality and their implications for configuring gendered subjectivities. Thus, the need for thematising the social political and historical basis of social problems (Section 9.5). It is perhaps important to highlight in this context the similar experiences of those categories from the dominant societies who are perceived as socially and whose situation brings them into direct dependence on social services workers administering their fate. Indeed the unequal incorporation into structures has formed a major subject of debate for social pedagogists (Section 4.6.5 & 4.9). It is important to always

bear in perspective the fact that the implications for migrants are much more profound due to their multiplistic structural dislocations.

Whereas the performative Habitus correspondingly inscribes pragmatism or practical discursive consciousness and metaphors in the attitudes and lifestyles extensively based on ability and performativity (See critically Bourdieu 2000), it is important to note that by contrast to England's class habitus, identities in Germany appear fluidly constructed. And social relations appear fluid. Meaning that social status does not necessarily underpin social weakness within the egalitarian habitus, since performativity variability straddles across all social categories. Whereas in England categories appear differentiated on the grounds of class according to the variable distribution of their cultural capital in social space (Skeggs Section 4.6.6 & 4.6.2; Chapter 8), in Germany differentiation appears to happen on grounds of the variable distribution of performativity in social space. As elsewhere mentioned, attention to the differential and precarious outcomes of vulnerability for migrant women is necessary to deconstruct the social construction of gender within the fourfold structural oppression (Section 4.4 & 4.6).

9.7.2 *Subjective Well Being and Social Indicators of Health as Analytical Categories*

Drawing from the foregoing analysis, what appears relevant to study in Germany is the social construction of postcolonial subjectivity and agency in the intersections of the political economy of migrant labour, the convergence of the fourfold vulnerability model within an egalitarian but performative oriented habitus and the materialisation of belonging. Centre of focus should integrate the dimension of the subjective wellbeing of the affected in order to capture the multidimensionality of phenomena, intersectionality and the aggregate impacts. This should bring into relevance mitigating factors, for example the high standard of living in Germany and the more equitable remuneration of labour within segmented labour markets. Whilst comparing the situation of immigrant women in U.S.A., Canada and England, I have argued that experiences of exclusion on the labour market bear entirely different structural implications for women in the lowest ranks of the labour market in these countries than those in countries like Germany due to the class relations extensively defining the remuneration of labour (Section 6.1.7).

From the empirical findings, it is clear that the forms of social differentiation, hierarchisation and marginalisation generated within the class habitus and the

egalitarian habitus are different and bear different social meanings and implications for the affected. As elsewhere already established, the class habitus appears to reinforce relatively higher observable levels of salient constructions of difference based on ethnicity, class and gender amongst (im)migrant communities – this articulates differences in subjectification practices, self definitions and collectivising practices in England and Germany (Section 8.6.2). In Germany, despite experiences with social differentiation, migrant women appear to extensively internalize the values of social justice, social equality, and innate worth or Ubuntu. Therefore, much less differentiation on the basis of ethnicity, specifically as it relates to intra-self ethnisation is observed.

9.8 Interaction within Migrant Communities: Self organisation and Transnational Space within Gospel Churches

9.8.1 Gendered Structural Ambivalence, Social Networks

Whereas scholars have widely identified the function of social networks as complementary adaptive strategies while putting in question their long term relevance (see critically, Lim 1995 & Hillman 1996), Faist (2000:54) laments the over-concentration of network analysis on the forms and patterns of ties while ignoring their contents. My data contributes to new directions showing the contents¹⁴ and multiplicity of dislocating experiences, where ethnicity, status and gender interact to submerge female agency:

Giddens addressed the problematic of reflexive encounters with expert systems, whereby identities seek to reconstitute the self in the face of modernity disembedments. Whereas this is seen as expressing some of the central dilemmas of modern society (Giddens 1991:143), women's agency in terms of reconstructing life trajectories and negotiating postcolonial subjectivity appears to confront new sets of patriarchal relations with complex gender hierarchies reconfigured within migrant social organisations. This appears compounded by their nexus and (trans)locational situativity at the intersections of complex discursive conjunctures (Sections 4.6.1–4.6.7). Hansjoerg Dilger traces the dilemma of religious pluralism within processes of globalisation and modernisation as they relate to the contradictory outcomes for not only configuring and reinforcing pluralistic cultural diversity, difference and

14 Faist (2000:54) laments the over-concentration of network analysis on the form and pattern of ties while ignoring their contents.

social antagonism but also articulating an inner conflict and ambivalence in youth identities. Within this framework, he empirically fuses capitalism, gender hierarchies, patriarchy, the crisis of identity and the scientific debate on structural health promotion within Sub-Saharan Africa (Hansjoerg Dilger, Section 5.2.6.1). Whilst integrating the notion of shift in micro and macro sociological variables to study the social construction of gender in background societies, the hypothesis empirically generated collaborate Dilger's findings and moves beyond that to conceptualise in line with Habermas the relationship between the public and private sectors as structured through a gender asymmetry and pluralistic cultural ambivalence (Section 5.4.3) with illegitimising and alterity mechanisms which not only underpin social cohesion but also the generation of social capital.

The gendered ambivalence appears to articulate the rise of gendered religious discourses and discursive practices within the public-private divide as reflected in the widespread rise of self-proclaimed untrained leadership in a context reinforcing female vulnerability, materialising collective belonging and subjectification as well as constraining social capital and social cohesion within the dislocating simultaneity of class, ethnicity and gender (Section 9.8). Anthias (2002) while critiquing Kymlicka raises questions regarding the private-public divide in relation to the problematic of power, class and gender and their implications for voice construction and authentic representation. Although current observations with regard to rising extremism and terrorism suggest that the binarisation of the cultural domain into public-private spheres is no longer sustainable, attempts for bridging the sectors and deconstructing gendered ambivalence through critical education, critical religious dialogue, responsive social policies and empowerment appear widely absent. Whereas this seems true for the South, in the West, it is most exemplified in the Canadian context (Section 5.2.6.1). This study whilst drawing on feminist scholars, critical pedagogy, grounded theory and structural social work underscores the importance of integrating broad theoretical approaches that bring into focus the intersections of gender relations with social structures and institutions as the framework for understanding the motives, potential and gendered agency in a context of social, political, economic constraints and opportunities (Lim 1995; See critically Freire 1970 & 1972; Glaser 1978; Giddens 1984; Bourdieu 1977; 1984 & 1992a).

9.8.2 *Deconstructing Postcolonial Residues:
The Cultural Similarity Perspective*

It is significant that Germany's highly reflexive and pragmatic social space appears to largely favour inter-group social integration based on core social values & beliefs, shared skills and social interests rather than ethnicity. In terms of subjectification practices, this seems to provide new meaning and a new space for reclaiming the Ubuntu African habitus by socially empowering migrants through deconstruction of colonial residues specifically subalternism, fixation, territorialisation and salient differentiation on the basis of ethnicity, class and gender. Thus, providing a firm foundation for social cohesion, the construction of cohesive identities and an optimal orientation model for the social transformation of background society. As well, it appears to endow practical discursive consciousness, reconstruct authenticity and self esteem in postcolonial subjectivities. Self organisation around increasingly marketised and abstract relations within the modern gospel Churches seems to undermine the social reinforcers of cohesion to reconfigure hierarchisation, marginalisation and social fragmentation as subjectification and collectivising practices for gendered identities. Therefore, pluralistic cultural incorporation appears to amongst other things paradoxically produce complex exclusionary mechanisms at the hidden intersections of gender, class and ethnicity. Thus, also reconfiguring female vulnerability and subordination to hidden exploitation and social practices which combine to insert women deeper into disparity and social ambivalence. In this regard, Freire describes the duality of the oppressed as always divided, contradictory shaped by and reshaping a concrete situation of oppression and therefore also restrained in their capacity for collective liberative action (Freire 1972).

I have demonstrated in-depth that mainstream society constantly improves itself through consciously driving critical subjectification discourses aimed at critically deconstructing difference, hierarchisation, paternalistic relations and reductionism within the dynamics of diversity and multiculturalism (Section 5.3). By not integrating a cultural similarity perspective and by approaching subjectivity in unitary positions masking the multilayeredness of identity, these approaches have ignored the exclusionary dynamics and daily subjectification and collectivisation practices within minority communities (see critically, Chapter 5). I have argued that an overemphasis on race as analytical category promotes linear interventions and obscures the different spaces and levels for engaging actions and multiple strategic interventions. I have explicated the structural constitution of ethnicity as a valid analytical category

(Section 4.5.2). Beckett and Macey (2001) remind us of the blindness in multicultural ideology about certain specific areas of intersection between race, gender, ethnicity and sexuality which, if ignored, inherently breed oppression within the struggle for equality. Whereas this has been empirically linked to exacerbating and legitimising oppression of already oppressed minority groups thereby posing threats to liberal democracy and individual human rights (Beckett & Macey 2001), it is significant that pluralistic incorporation on the basis of ethnicity in modern Church formations seems to mask and obscure contradictions and the development of false dogma within Christian teaching (Section 9.7.1).

The result is increased polarisation between the critically enlightened Christians in the destination societies and the weaker communities of (im)migrants with diminished critical enlightenment. Most clearly this has influenced the emergence of ethnically based churches as regards the organisational structure in general and forms of worship in particular. Hence the Afro-churches provide important vicinity for observing the interaction between postcolonial subjectivity, the political economy of migrant labour, class, status, gender and ethnicity in relation to the hypothesis developed in the preceding sections which study the dilemma of social cohesion as a resultant of historical evolution, modern abstract systems and resources for identity building. As well, macro micro and pluralistic cultural shifts in a context of nexus situativity – all of which construct multivariate structural ambivalence (Section 4.4–4.7).¹⁵ Looking at the differential integration of men and women into both the social relations of settlement communities, migrants self-defined communities and within transnational works in light of their implications for reinforcing systems of gender subordination (Anthias 2001a), this chapter argues for more diversified modes of incorporation integrating international services, mixed congregations and diversity in the forms of worship as an addition to the existing models.

Given the above limitations, what must be emphasized regards the central importance, roles and function of Afro-churches in transnational spaces. In my opinion, self organisation as a social movement offers a high potential for effecting social transformation and collective empowerment if properly operated. Today there is a growing need for adult- and basic education especially

15 Therefore, Anthias (2002:275–286) theorises the multiple social, cultural contexts and positionalities structured by the interplay of different locations relating to gender, ethnicity, social class etc. and their contradictory outcomes for women.

in view of the narrow capacity of formal education to absorb large proportions of the population, in a context of constantly increasing poverty, of urbanisation inter-yoked with the mass phenomenon of globalisation of the economy, the major problems of competition and exclusion; and of democratisation, the overriding aspiration of social justice as well as participation in civil society (Bélanger 1995:9). At the same time scholars and frontline workers paradoxically highlight the difficulty of mobilising the masses to participate in programmes as a major obstacle to community building and adult education (Adisehiah 1982:71; Freire 1972:25).

It is significant that this social movement has managed to overcome this hindrance. In most capital cities in the background societies for example one can hardly move 500 meters without seeing a church. They continue to mushroom everywhere in the suburbs and have gained significant influence on the masses. This influence has extended to the African Diaspora in Europe (Germany). Apart from sports men and women, the Afro-churches appear to constitute one of the major forms of organisation that Africans are involved in as individuals and their families and run the organisation affairs themselves. In this way one can really study the Afro-Diaspora from these gospel churches. Moreover as a form of social organisation, it has fulfilled diverse functions for the affected communities. Since these are discussed in section 9.8.6, I will at this point integrate a transformatory perspective that critiques some of the major weaknesses with a pedagogical view to make oppressive conditions the objects of reflection. As well, to enhance critical dialogue and social reflexivity as prerequisite for social action (Freire 1970; 1972 & 1974).

Looking at the umbrella of the gospel churches' teachings though very lamely pursued, it's anchorage is within 'Christian Pedagogy' that promotes the core values of social cohesion and diversity as they relate to innate human worth & dignity, social equality, unity, solidarity, tolerance, acceptance, social responsibility, social justice, truth, transparency & integrity as well as egalitarian positionalities of the genders – a framework which not only parallels the traditional collective African Habitus and the values inherent in the social democratic paradigms (See critically, Dilger, Section 6.1.6 with further references) but also potentially facilitates deconstruction of social differentiation on the basis of ethnicity and class divisions amongst socially heterogeneous groups. Critical insights into these should in my opinion (but also as global developments indicate) form the foundation upon which all educational activities should build as subjectification practices and a motor for future community building (Compare Kultusministerkonferenz 'KMK' 1990:3). As

others have also pointed out, the church potentially acts as an institution bridging the gap between spiritual continuity in the countries of origin and the host countries thereby potentially offering a broad range of adaptive strategies for migrants (Chafetz a.o., qtd. in: Bayer 2001:1480–1481).

To bridge the gaps between the public, private and voluntary sectors as they relate to major implications for subjectification practices and collectivisation processes, one must critically address the increased hierarchisation, politicisation and instrumentalisation of the gospel Churches through power elites. As the case for health promotion indicates, this places major challenges and limitations on the integration of critical reflexivity and liberative pedagogy. This makes necessary the establishment of work groups, multipliers and multiple stakeholders committed to the process of change, training and collaborative effort.

9.8.3 *The Relationship between Gender Identity and Social Cohesion*

To begin with, it is necessary to clarify those issues surrounding the apparent lack of self organisation amongst African women. Though this has been addressed in the broad literature on (im)migrant's self organisation in Germany, it is further emphasized through the following comments from an Expert interview, which highlight the diminished levels of self organisation of African women in a comparative perspective with women of different geo-ethnic origins:

„und was mir auch aufgefallen ist ... ich war ... z.B. im Vergleich zu philippinischen Frauen waren in Freiburg die afrikanischen Frauen nicht organisiert. Und auch viele haben gesagt ja wir brauchen eigentlich eine Frauen Organisation oder einfach mehr ... wir müssen uns unterstützen [Expert interview, Freiburg. Gender & Ethnicity Analyst with a binational background].“

Whereas Brettell and Hollifield point out quoting Brettell and Mandel that migrants tend to engage in those community activities which correspond to expressions of their ethnic identity (Brettell & Hollifield 2000), it is significant that community activities of African women appear to largely revolve around the church in cross gender relations with men. In the different chapters, I have highlighted the lack of working class consciousness, the transformation of the gender order (Section 5.6.4 & 5.6.5) and disembedding of socialisation contexts through historical evolution as it relates to the intersections of colonialism, the articulation of capitalist modes of production in the domestic sphere, postmodernity and their implications for dismantling gender

identity (Section 9.10). What is crucial to note here regards the fact that the diminished self-definition of subjectivities along the lines of gender categories appears to intersect with structured ethnicity to construct conditions conducive for reconfiguring patriarchal relations, gender hierarchies and power constellations which reinforce the subordinate status of women within social networks:

“... but those that struck me most are the African women. I think they don't really like to take leadership from one another. They accept it easier from men but not from women. So you find that most of them do not want to come ... just because they have problems with the one heading it and they have problems with the one heading it not because of any reason but by virtue of the fact that she is a woman ... they don't feel like being you know ... under her authority. [...] ... So I think there is something to do with it, we don't really like women heading us probably. And it's the same thing I see here. ... And ... when I consider men who are in authority in the church that I attend ... you know ... the women really rush to them... and they are willing to take orders from them... and are willing to listen to their advice. But they don't do it ... they don't take the same things from the same ... fellow women ... [...]. So I think if it were headed by a man ... they are more contented at least it's none of the women heading them [Entrepreneur in Stuttgart, aged 34].”

These accounts illustrate not only the gender constellations in social organisations, but also articulate the different ways in which postcolonial legacies and residues are continued, remapped or transformed within international migration (Section 4.6.1 & 4.6.2).

Taking this into consideration, it is relevant to recall the fact that migration, has been identified as placing women from one social context of gender stratified systems into another without necessarily improving their status, or emancipating them from the complex gender constellation of their social cultural background (Lim 1995: 33; UN 1995:13). Rather than that, our empirical evidence demonstrates that the oppressive mechanisms appear to adapt more subtle and complex forms to not only reinforce the factors named above but also increase the social vulnerabilities women face and subordinate their status further. Hence further undermining the construction of gender identities: Anthias argues for a coherent focus on the extents and ways in which the cultural and structural shifts involved for women lead to either more emancipatory and liberating experiences that can help fight entrenched systems of gender subordination or reinforce disempowering experiences that condition

women to maintain the status quo (Anthias 2001). Several researchers have already established that ethnicity as a major determinant of the status of women in the Diaspora is structurally constructed within the conditionings of migration rules and regulations to subordinate women's status by heavily linking it to that of men (see Boyd; UN; Section 1.1). Within this framework, our empirical observations in Germany demonstrate that women not only have to contend with the challenges linked to the fourfold discrimination as a new element in their environment but also with the social risks and vulnerabilities arising from different categories of women with insecure status. For example, women with insecure status seem to pose major tensions and threats to married women whose status is linked to that of their husbands since the destabilization of marriage contractions could escalate into deportation or status deterioration. Thus showing the different ways in which migration status transforms and recreates social boundaries amongst women and how alternative practices for identity construction appear framed within the dialectic of inclusion and exclusion. The empirical relevance here is to provide a framework of community building in which notions of individualization, human worth, dignity, non-judgmental support, empowerment and social justice (Biestek 1957) can be actualized within social pedagogy.

In this sense, it is worth noting the contrasting gender identity produced in Germany's egalitarian habitus, which seems to extensively underpin the normative configurations of female solidarity. These arguments undersign the need for empowering women through critical social integration, social policy and responsive education.

„aber ich weiß nicht wieso sie sich nicht zusammen tun Vielleicht einfach, weil sie sich nicht so sehr über die Kategorie Frau definieren. Weiß du ich habe immer die Idee ja sie müssen sich doch gegenseitig unterstützen aber das ist auch so ein... westliche Idee vielleicht. Wir haben das auch mit den Frauenhäuser, Frauengruppe ...“ [Expert Interview, Freiburg. Gender, & Ethnicity Analyst with a binational background]

9.8.4 *Gender, Ethnicity, Status, Class and Social Roles in Social Networks*

One way to theorise social networks is through an investigation of the various ways in which gendered relations are constitutive of the positionalities of minority groups themselves paying attention to class and other differences within the group and to the different locations and trajectories (Anthias 2001a).

At this point, one could highlight women's location in the social networks which not only appears as subordinate to men but also seems to largely reproduce traditional patterns of gendered roles relating to child care, cleaning, cooking and serving duties whereas men seem to occupy the leading positions and functions. It might be of particular importance, however, to mention the decreasing gender asymmetries articulated in the increased tendency for male involvement in Sunday school childcare and Christian instruction because of their capacity for group control and their role as symbolic figures for discipline. The challenges relating to group dynamics could be owed to the complexities linked to the heterogeneity of social backgrounds, social status, role divisions in homes but also the narrow space where often children with the different age-groups interact together (contrasting the space and group differentiation in the mainstream churches).

Nevertheless, it is significant that women's gendered roles and activities seem to form the back-born structure of these social networks. Therefore the apparent lack of self organisation in the literature and empirical research does not adequately depict empirical reality. In fact the organisational framework provides a forum for women which is unfortunately constrained by the above identified lack of gender identity.

9.8.5 *The Dilemma of Exclusion and Inclusion within Pluralistic Cultural Incorporation*

It has already been mentioned in the introduction that Germany's social space by contrast to England appears to largely favour inter-group social integration based on core social values, shared skills and social interest rather than ethnicity. In terms of subjectification practices, this seems to provide new meaning and a new space for reclaiming the Ubuntu African habitus. It has appeared to socially empower migrants in terms of endowment with practical discursive consciousness, deconstruction of cultural ambivalence, development of authenticity and African identity. To this extent assimilation seems quite absent in the German context. Indeed analysis of those isolated incidents where cultural dominance has appeared to surface, suggest paradoxically that this results into either social exclusion, pluralistic cultural incorporation or both. This is particularly so in the area of aesthetic production but also contradictory within the church.

Elsewhere, I have demonstrated the contrasting context where assimilation and economic empowerment observed in England are contradicted by the segregation in settlement patterns. Hence appearing to impede on social inte-

gration within the mainstream society. It is important to recognize here, however, that as an isolated sphere, the institutionalised and community churches by contrast to gospel churches appear to emerge as the major social space fusing multi-ethnic interaction between (im)migrants and the mainstream society. This is unlike the situation in Germany where high levels of social integration are observed amongst (im)migrants and the mainstream society but much less within the institutionalised Church. It seems that diversity has managed to promote unifying goals in some of the institutionalised churches in England which have not been undermined by the increasing forms of self organised gospel churches amongst (im)migrants.

In order to provide a more complete picture, it is important to highlight the issue that although the visualisation of cultural space for migrants with an African background is not so apparent in Germany's institutionalised Churches, Churches have devised structures that foster structural and social integration through scholarship funding programs, conferences and seminars, etc. Examples include Stube, KHG, ESG, etc. Due to constraints in time, I was not able to observe this phenomenon in England.

On the basis of the emerging data, the missing visualisation of African cultural space in Germany's institutional Churches could be explained in terms of differential historical evolution, which while declining Germany's involvement in colonial processes does not only seem to alienate German cultural forms of worship (social institutions) from the African social context, but also delayed the transition from monoculturalism. Thus, contributing to the social exclusion of migrant experiences, knowledge and forms of expressions particularly as reflected through language and cultural orientation:

"I also find it strange that the whole service is conducted in German ... all the hymns are sung in German ... very strange songs ... that I have never heard of before ... very ... I mean very difficult ... tunes which are difficult to follow ... They don't... have international hymns. Even if you go to the African churches the services are in at least English and German but I know of another church where the service is in French, German and Lingala ... English ... uum ... aaa ... but even in Africa the service is translated in different languages but here ... It is sad because God is for all people ... you go to ... aaa... you go to the American churches ... you just flow ... you feel at home ... we sing the same songs ja ... but here ... here ... uuum ... First of all ... they are very boring... So when you are there you struggle ... you struggle to sing ... to follow the hymns ... They ... they can't clap their hands ... and when you clap your hands ... it's like ... you are a fool... you feel a

fool ... [...]. Funny enough it is in the churches where you really feel discrimination. JA ... that is the place where I always feel queer ... they give you that feeling of ... aura ... of being ... of feeling misplaced ... ja ..? They invite you for church programmes ... they always invite you to attend ... with smiles ... they talk kindly but when you get there ... they start acting queerly... they are no longer that kind ... then they look down upon you ... They think you came to eat ... yet for us in Africa we grew up going to church ... our churches were poor they didn't give us anything but you see people walking distances even without food to go to church. But here they use food and money to attract people to the church and then they despise them." [Student in Stuttgart, aged 24]

Taking this into consideration, however, it seems important to point out to the split in the functions of the self organised evangelical and institutionalised German Church – it has been the key collaborative partner and stake holder as this relates to leveraging resources, space and social support for the development of the Afro-Churches on one hand. On the other hand, however, it has articulated a diminished role as a centre for diffusing worship, critical pedagogy and spiritual values. An important factor to consider concerns the plurality of cultural space that has been constructed. This regards the development of ethnic churches on culturally equal but spatially pluralistic levels as a process which has been largely facilitated by the German institutionalised and self organised evangelical churches. Hence the distinguishing ways in which African cultures constantly enter into dialogue, cooperation, recognition and mutual support with the mainstream Churches (Section 5.2.5). It could also be emphasized in my opinion, that such processes have in part consolidated the fragmented cultural biographies of African migrants by cultivating self-confidence and cultural awareness. Thus, in specific ways contributing to reclaiming the African authentic habitus, the deconstruction of postcolonial legacies and residues as they relate to subalternism. However, this seems to happen at clearly lower levels than those observed amongst migrants interacting with the broader mainstream society. At the same time, as I shall demonstrate below, segregation into ethnic enclaves appears to compound marginalisation, hierarchisation and social fragmentation, thus also to an extent corrupting the organisational frameworks and inner dynamics.

9.8.5.1 Modes of Incorporation: Heterogeneity and Social Integration

Though the overwhelming importance of inter Church-cooperation encountered here cannot be underemphasized, it is significant that the empirical demonstrations in the rest of this section reflect the necessity for more diversified modes of incorporation. It is enough here to point out to the substantial proportion of migrants who appear less discursively affiliated to the Afro-churches. Although some of these are attracted to the dogma of the German church, they appear kept out because of cultural alienation. Moreover, within migrants social networks, the significance of heterogeneity in cohesive processes can be empirically critiqued in terms of the materialisation of belonging, the failure to construct a common identity, principles and goals as integral parts of the social-emotional structure in self organisation activities. Hence apparently crystallizing a major impediment and hindrance to participation and networking of some groups of (im)migrants as the following respondents have commented:

“What stops me from going to Church is you meet all types of people from all walks of life and not all of you share the same values or principles and people have different behaviours so it’s hard.” [Child and Youth Worker in Stuttgart, aged 30]

„[...] und dann ich meine auch immer wenn ich Afrikanerinnen sehe, sie sind alle gleich. Und das ist eben nicht so. Sie sind alle nicht gleich. Genau so unterschiedlich wie wenn ich mich mit einer Griechen treffen oder mit einer Polin und dann haben die auch unterschiede ja.“ [Expert interview, Freiburg. Gender, ethnicity analyst with a binational background]

In line with our observations Brettell (2000:114) has also argued that by pooling populations with different social backgrounds together migration creates boundaries.¹⁶

In my opinion, because Germany’s social space seems to favour inter-ethnic social integration, it is possible to highlight triple modes of incorporation that accommodate international church communities, dialogue and integrated services as a most adequate alternative. In view of the relatively new and geo-

16 In Germany however while ethnicity seems to facilitate integration in the dominant society as well as the variety of minority categories from various societies, constraining limits appear placed through unequal structural incorporation as it relates to the political economy of migrant labour (Section, 4.4; 4.5; 4.5.2, 4.6.1; 4.6.2).

graphically heterogeneous pattern of African migration to Germany drawing migrants from diverse social cultural origins coupled with the low geographical segregation amongst ethnic groups, it is significant that social status appears to play a decisive role in facilitating social integration. Given these conditions the observation here demonstrates that ethnicity fails to act as the primary influence and that social status (profession, skills, social interests), subjectivity, and other social categories crystallize as the drawing factors for mutual relations¹⁷. This appears to stand in line with Hecter's conceptualisation of ethnicity in terms of interactive group formation that is constituted out of similarities and overlapping networks (Hecter 1978). Whereas England's structural and psychic class hierarchies appear to illustrate the reactive group formation in which ethnic groups reassert historically grounded distinctions from other groups within a common national polity (See also Hector, qtd. in: Gumperz & Gumperz 1982).

9.8.5.2 Ethnicity, Gender, Cultural Exploitation and Social Fragmentation

Whereas scholars identify contexts of exploitation and manipulations of ethnicity (Brettell, qtd. in Brettell 2000:116), it is important here to call to attention the fact that cultural meanings and Christian dogma appear subverted and altered in transnational social spaces of collectivisation. Indeed as I have consistently argued, the materialisation of collective belonging, social fragmentation and contradictory outcomes for the social construction of cohesive identities appear generated and legitimated. Whilst concretising the dilemma of gendered ambivalence structuring the public, private and voluntary sectors (Section 5.2.6.1), it is important to study the implications of this for subjectification practices amongst the youth, the reproduction of social meaning and the reproduction of structure. As observed at the beginning, Dilger has collaborated my findings by looking at pluralistic cultural orientations in a framework of gender hierarchies, capitalist modes of production and their implications for bringing about a crisis of identity amongst youth, which he has also linked to the structural determinants of the Aids epidemic in sub-Saharan Africa (Section 5.2.6.1). The following observations from a respondent whilst addressing the widespread phenomena where religious sentiments are exploited to facilitate power and individual social mobility at the expense of collectivity within social networks (see McLaren 1993:55), also articulates

17 Chiswick (2000) has also stressed the role of human capital inherent in language, educational levels, professional qualifications in facilitating social integration.

the cultural configurations of gendered identities and ways in which women may be integrated as objects rather than subjects of social transformation within postmodern social structures (Section 5.3.3.1).

“Well you know at home or even in School, a Christian ... AAA ... as I know ... Ja, we are more genuine with God and with ourselves and with one another. But when you come here ... I mean it’s like everyone is looking for their own ... for their own profits you know... they are all building their own small empires ... it’s not for God or as a family you know – what church should be like. ... So you find when you are not from Ghana for example aaa ... you are sort of kept out. And then one commented one time that ‘aaa ... we are building. I mean we are, ... we have many churches now. In Karlsruhe we have even two !’. ... JA ... so it’s like their church. I normally feel it’s their church and it’s ... aaa ... it’s normally called the African church in Freiburg and normally church should be man and God. But here it’s, it’s something else.” [Student in Stuttgart, aged 24]

While the following quotation could reflect the dynamics of religion, ethnicity and exclusion, it is necessary to highlight the centrality of economic interests often underlying such social networks. Therefore the political economy of migrant labour (Section 4.6.5.2) can also be linked to the formation of social networks and the social construction of postcolonial subjectivity. You will recall from our discussion on the structural integration that the relative weakness of migrants’ social networks can be articulated and described in structural terms – as articulated through the lack of industrial relations and the operations of systems of social closure, all of which compound marginalisation and difference (Section 4.6.5.1.2). Within international comparative analysis, it is significant that despite experiences of marginalisation, Afro-gospel churches in Germany appear to have managed to relatively draw mixed congregations within shared space as opposed to the spatial divide extensively observed in England’s class habitus (Section 8.7).

9.8.5.3 Power Relations: Balancing Risk, Trust and Outcomes for ‘Intellectual Impacting’

In the preceding sections, the structural contexts of migration and the historical frameworks as well as social cultural factors underpinning status consciousness in migrants’ subjectification practices are fully drawn out. In view of the structural location of migrants whereby access to labour participation is mainly realized through marriage, there is an important factor to demonstrate here. This regards the implications of unequal structural embeddedness of mi-

grants for social participation within their multiple, self-defined and (trans)-locational communities. Within such a migration context for example, economic power appears mostly favoured not only in the hands of the less formerly educated postcolonial subjectivities but also the most disembedded groups from cultural systems which are most likely to bear the characteristics of uncontrolled urbanisation (Section 7.3.1).

In practice, however, this seems to bear significant implications regarding the inversion of social roles where the educated groups become excluded from processes of social impacting, role modelling and critical dialogue in their respective migrant communities. Interestingly highlighting perhaps the relatively isolated areas in which postcolonial legacies are perpetuated in Germany. Thus, paradoxically articulating the background social structures into transnational space. This is perhaps most elaborated in the following narrative:

“The Africans are a bit materialistic, the more you have the more you know, then ... that’s the thing that is the greater it is ja? For instance with people who have may be who... if you have a better car, German citizenship they find that .. your say.. or what you say is really highly thought of and highly regarded than someone who lives probably a lower kind of life. That I don’t find fair because I may lead a higher, a lower kind of life but some body’s understanding, reasoning or worth qualities ... inside qualities are not measured by what they have or what they look like [...]” [Student in Bremen, aged 27]

It can be postulated from the onset of participant observation, that in order to adequately explain the factors underlying these social perspectives, the dynamics of social accountability and their enactment into social relations within the interactive framework of status, gender and ethnicity must once again come to the foreground. Considering the structural and relational embeddedness of migrants observed above,¹⁸ it is significant that the potential to engage into transformation of insecure status to recreate meaning through acquisition of higher migration status and therefore also flexible access to the labour market, seems to underpin the perceptions defining resourcefulness, problem awareness, ability and performativity rather than the more hidden academic capacities embodied in student status. Meaning that migrants with a working status appear the most perceived as socially accountable. If I could concretise in Giddens’ terms, one could highlight the logic of identity under-

18 See also Portes (1995).

pinning social relations here in terms of the differential capacity for different status categories to forge trust within disembedding articulations of risk, danger and security. But ontological security¹⁹ (Giddens 1994) appropriated within such constellations, appears to produce unbalanced outcomes for social impacting as a result of the contradictory structural locationality of social agents due to migrant status. Therefore the above framework while constituting materialist symbols of orientation to evaluate social capacity and knowledge upon which basic trust for community organisation is constructed, could be interpreted to reflect structural components of social action more than individual properties (see Giddens 1977:126). In terms of subjectification practices, this poses the risk for masking moral dispositions as illustrated in the above narrative.

9.8.5.4 Unequal Space and Hegemonic Cultural Production: Contesting Modes of Acquisition

Whereas both labour status and educational capital constitute visible modes of acquisition,²⁰ it is significant that empirically the two appear to constitute opposing valances – social competition for cultural space and visualisation, recognition and legitimatisation, which seems to conduce hegemonic impositions of cultural ideals in the social networks. Given the inequalities structuring cultural space, it appears that academic titles sometimes become manipulated in the attempt to reconstruct alternative modes of representation and status distinctions. ‘Eliticism’, however, while framing identity appears to revive the split consciousness inherited from subaltern encounters with colonialism, which diminishes identification with the educational and social needs of the disadvantaged social categories and contradictorily frames contexts of social privileging.

“For instance when you talk about literacy levels someone who thinks because they have a doctorate somewhere that is the greatest thing in the world, I don’t believe so. The Africans really think so when on occasions they really try to show who ... who has which title.” [Student in Freiburg, aged 26]

Thus, whereas Bourdieu illustrates the ambivalence of intellectual identity in regard to the contradictions of the respective social framework for practice, it

19 Meaning the combined orientation of trust and knowledge (ibid.)

20 To stress class meaning Bourdieu 2003 uses the concepts of visible and invisible modes of production whereby the latter often refers to background conditions of superiority particularly given dynamics of equal social status.

is significant that he also substantially depicts the existential mood as sinking into narcissistic self-absorption in substitution of the hope for transforming the social world let alone the will for comprehending it Bourdieu (2003: 366). In the case of our empirical findings this further concretises the complexity of identity construction in the nexus of colonial legacies and postcolonial situativity, multiple identities, matrices of oppression and shifting discursive fields (Section 4.4–4.7). Drawing on Freire's pedagogy for the oppressed (1972), one can postulate that, such a situation is surmountable and calls for critical social reflexivity and responsive social policies within community building processes empowering intellectuals to identify legitimate contexts for translating scientific knowledge and for developing community organisation tools as well as enhancing solidarity.

Taking the above factors into account, the African postmodern Gospel Church could further be observed in relation to the narrow sphere of social visibility circulated with competing status, which has compounded the extremes of inclusion and exclusion by setting in motion selective mechanisms producing unequal social and political positionings. The environment created continues to frame identity within difference and alterity just as in the polygamous family habitus of background communities. Thereby conducting migrants to increasingly define themselves in relation to other migrants in a framework constraining efficacy and social capital.

'I find that a very wrong mentality. That is why Africans don't go forward. That is why when an African achieves something and they really become well-off, and they are a bit higher than the other members of society... that is the end of their development. They only compare themselves with people. They don't even maximise their points. They reach a point whereby they are better than others and they are satisfied.' [Nurse in Stuttgart, aged 32]

It is important to note however, the differential embedment of gender within this constellation, which seems to aggravate the vulnerability for women as a category likely to bear the lowest and most dependent status. They appear caught between the struggles of contesting with other women for preferential status while at the same time struggling to achieve social recognition whose proto-characteristics are increasingly defined by men as bearers of higher status within gender hierarchies. While focusing on the church experiences of migrants, an interviewee highlighted contrasting binarisation of exclusion on grounds of gender, whereby single women differentially encounter marginali-

sation, prejudice and social friction more than their male counterparts. All this appears to culminate into covertly social friction. A respondent observes:

“I felt the church was mainly for married women ... all the women were fighting me ... they looked at me with bad eyes and kept blocking me from singing ... they stopped greeting me ... but they would let the men sing .. Like there is another student who came after me... but they were always kind to him, they encourage him, and now he is assistant choir master. Ja ... so now they turn things around ... it’s like I’m funny ... I’m bad uuum and then they forget one thing, you can deceive people but you can’t mock God! They fought against me ... people kept fighting ... the men too were fighting ... fighting to be seen ... it’s a small church but people were fighting to be seen ... just to hold the microphone and stand in front whether they can sing or not ... people who can sing are fought and those who can’t lead the service.”
[Personal support worker in Stuttgart, aged 26]

These comments illustrate not only the materialisation of belonging as a subjectification and collectivising practice within matrices of gender hierarchies, differentiation and their intersections with ethnicity but also the limiting ways in which organisational performance has been impaired through acts of implicating status (economic grounds) or structural location in defining participation. While obscuring skill sets, core values, moral and ethical orientation as well as talent, it is once again significant that the organisation seems to suffocate the development of social capital hence, also operating in a vicious circle hampering expansion. In practical terms, basic elements analogous to efficacy and international participation are often disintegrated in the organisational design. Apart from the Congolese congregations for example, music is often disharmonised and performed by untalented actors. This seems to constrain the melting point with mainstream societies. By contrast and as mentioned elsewhere, England’s class habitus appears to positively enhance organisational performance (Section 8.9). To facilitate further insight into this problematic as it is socially manifested in migrants’ social networks which are status conditioned in Germany, a respondent observed:

“The choir mistress is a very funny woman ... she fights with everyone in church ... she keeps changing the songs we have practiced, she doesn’t allow any body to lead the songs on Sunday except herself although during the practices somebody else was leading .. but the pastor doesn’t say anything ...” [Child and Youth Worker in Bremen, aged 27]

“I was the announcer in the church and one time the pastor elected somebody else to announce but he didn’t even tell me. So on Sunday I stood up to announce and she also stood up... so I was confused but when I asked the pastor... he just said ‘fight for your post ... if it were a worldly post ... Wouldn’t you fight..?’“ [Entrepreneur in Stuttgart, aged 34]

Within this context, a further factor contributing to the social exclusion of women seems to constitute generational difference combined with the discussed hierarchisation of power, knowledge and social experience. Socially anchored and legitimised through allocation of posts, this certainly promotes authoritarianism and establishes paternalistic relations. As well, it hampers the construction of horizontal, subject to subject and dialogical relations advocated by Freire in learning processes. In addition, it conditions participants as passive recipients of knowledge (Freire, Section 5.3.3.1.2):

“... So I told her ‘no’... but I have to dress in a modern way... and she said that her being a choir mistress, we should dress like her [...]. Well it was during our choir practice and... We discussed a dressing cord for the next Sunday... and of course I was bent on something different but smart also. So this lady a bit advanced in age of course compared to me was shouting me down that I should listen when elders speak.“ [Child and Youth Worker in Bremen, aged 27]

“And the pastors also just promote people with titles or money ... they are given posts, titles, ja ... deacons, church elders JA? It does not matter whether they are committed Christians or not. So you find a lot of chaos [...] and funny enough the pastors know how to spot out such things very first ... I remember one time I visited a church and the first thing the pastor asked me was whether I had German papers ...” [Student in Freiburg, aged 34]

9.8.5.5 Youth Space

This appears widely absent for young people (between the age of 12–18). In my opinion the pattern is largely explainable through the lack of social recognition that certain categories of migrants experience in transnational space. It is also possible to quote Valentine (1996) who highlights the missing recognition of young people’s social competencies largely emerging from reductionist notions perceiving them in terms of ‘human becomings’. While scholars increasingly shift from conceptualisations of youth as ‘adults in training’ (Dunne 1980; Valentine 2000; McCormack 2002), my empirical findings suggest that the social space youth occupied in the background societies

appears inverted and largely occupied by adults within migration social networks. Compared with the situation in the mainstream churches (i.e. Baptist Gemeinde), the youth appear to assume organisational roles and functions, where their engagement is centrally situated in the organisation of social activities such as sport events, Sunday school construction, camping, youth meetings, decorating halls, serving and partially leading social occasions, etc. Hence the African youth in self organised Gospel Churches appear disadvantaged both as regards the development of social competencies, public articulation and future-role-recruitment ('Nachwuchsförderung). Whereas England's case demonstrates youth incorporation on a wide scale, full operation appears constrained by the limitations of class consciousness. This seems to emphasize the importance of institutional networking and social integration for youths. As well, it is important to develop more capacity and youth programs.

9.8.5.6 Coping Strategies and Negotiations

While negotiating the tensions and challenges within social and spatial relations, migrant women in Germany contrasted migrant communities as regressive in comparison to the supportive and progressive mainstream society. Assuming that interaction with the mainstream egalitarian habitus widens the framework for self-referentiality, reclaiming the African Ubuntu habitus and social cohesion as opposed to the narrow sphere of interaction characterising the structurally dislocated migrant communities, this potentially deconstructs the ambivalences of colonial residues and legacies whilst also supporting personality enhancement:

“... Uuu ... for instance when I'm like with the Germans, I'm free enough to expose any weaknesses. I don't know why ... they tend to have ... because they will be willing, I have people to help me ... and may be better, but the Africans, I just have a fear that when they discover the weak point about me, then they are going to step on me, show me that I am lower than them or they show me that they are higher than me. So that keeps me ... a bit closed to myself ... and... for instance when you are with Africans, you have to prove yourself to prove who you are, show the great thing about you, show that you are better. That's not ... that's not what should be the point... I think I'm not free to be myself ... I just want to be myself... but with Africans in order to raise to a good status, in order for your views to be taken ... you have ... you have to show that you are better, you are good ... [...] Another teacher now ... on a ... on another picnic when I just danced a

little bit of 'Lingala', that's a dance from Zaire she ... she really encouraged me and pushed me forward that go on ... go ... dance on. Personally I would not have taken dancing as ... a very big thing but she encouraged me. No wonder my pastor also said, that we should make friends with Germans. He said Germans help you to become better. When they see a bit in you, they develop it more. You see ... the Africans may appreciate but they may not push you forward. If they ... that's if they will not fight against the gift." [Student in Stuttgart, aged 24]

Resistance on the basis of moral judgment, reflexive contestation of existing images, dialogue and verbal confrontation or total isolation from migrant communities constitute further strategies that some women seem to adapt to negotiate the contradictions and challenges of gender and structured ethnicity within (trans)locational nexus identity formations. While reflecting on modes of hierarchisation and their social implications for subjectification, some women critiqued the social meaning of educational titles (Elitism) specifically as they relate to knowledge abstraction and the inherent banking concept of education (Freire 1972) to invoke counter discourses which address the broader humanistic values consolidating innate human worth, tolerance, unity and equality within diversity:

"But personally I find education good but someone settling down to read a book, to read books is something big but it's something that anyone who is determined can achieve. Personally this is what I believe ... if anyone who doesn't have a problem with a... with a mental state of course, settling down to read they will go some where ... but for instance in a situation where someone has to forgive ... the meanest person on earth, some one really treated you so badly and someone has to forgive, I think this takes greater strength, wisdom and understanding ... to forgive and love people despite who they are ... than settling down to read a book because I believe that's what anyone can lock up themselves and do. So ... I really believe ... we have a lot to change." [IT-Industrial Marketing, aged 32]

The strategy of open dialogue, however, seems to constitute the least effective means in negotiating social relations due to reasons accruing to power constellations and generational difference. It is also important to note, how this seems to undermine transparency:

"So I had to speak ... break out ... and say that ... I can't dress like you. I cannot be smart if I dress like that. Normally I would not like to speak to people like that ... but ... this is... this is a community that

makes me speak out like that. It's a place where ... you have to prove who you are ... when you speak cool ... and sometimes humbly, your views and ideas are under looked. So it's when you break out and speak with force and vigour that sometimes they ... know that you are serious with your point [...]. Yes ... and of course I also had something to say so I continued to speak on ... so at the end of the day they thought they had offended me ... they thought they had offended me. So she promises me some dressing attire ... to wear on Sunday. Yes of course I received it ... personally we were going to wear the African wear ... I didn't have what to wear [...]: So I accepted it with mixed feelings of course because I don't know whether she was being ... she just wanted to help me. I wasn't sure whether she just wanted to say sorry. She didn't say anything about it [...]. I don't know the reasons they have behind giving to people. Do they give out of a free will or just to ... buy people around and make them their puppets? So well I took the gift but ... with mixed feelings. I knew she was going to do the same thing to me again ..." [Child and Youth Worker in Bremen, aged 27]

Some migrants opted for total isolation from the migrant communities, and integration into the host community, where exclusion from church appeared in some situations to mobilize more emancipatory subjectivities as they relate to situating Christianity as an internal referentiality and a tool for identity framing:

"I just want to do everything with the German community but the African community, it is always a pressure ... to prove who you are ... I don't like it ... I don't find myself comfortable there. Uum... they like to influence for instance your whole life. ... For instance from hair style, from the way you dress." [Student in Stuttgart, aged 24]

"This is a place where you have to be independent ... you have to learn to stand on your own ... to build your own relationship with God ... because the churches ... you can forget them ... they just give trouble ... you get more problems when you go there ... Ja ... [...] like one time I went to church and there was this women who kept looking at me with bad eyes ... she was sitting front but she kept turning around and eyeing me ... so I felt so disturbed ... and for me such things torment my mind. ... So you start also getting bitter ja ... asking yourself 'what have I done?' And these things stay on my mind ... I could not pray ... I could not praise ... so you start also getting bitter ja ... and ... And ... they have this thing of making you feel guilty ... ja ... so you don't feel free ... you feel observed ... and then ... there are a lot of rumours ... conflicts ... So now I really avoid them ... it's better I pray alone in my

room ... I drum the tables and sing my songs ... Ja ... and try to follow the Bible in my own way.” [Personal support worker in Stuttgart, aged 26]

9.8.6 *Positive Role of Gospel Churches*

9.8.6.1 External Referentials and Community Building

Whereas materialisation of collective belonging as well as the associated experiences of marginalisation and social friction seem to largely characterise the social relations within the migrant self organised Churches, a multiplicity of important functions both in relation to community development and identity construction were recorded. For example, church appears to offer significant points of references for some categories of migrants (the in-group) as well as endowing them with organisational abilities:

‘It’s a pass time ... it’s like when people have a hobby ... it busies them ... it occupies them and keeps them off the streets. Can you imagine if they ... those people had ... because they invest a lot of time there ... It engages them ... and it also gives them self-confidence ... they feel ... it gives them a sense of importance and they also feel they are organizing some thing ... and at least they learn ... aaa ... aaa some kind of organisation anyway ... group leadership sort of. Because ‘eigentlich’ those guys even in schools I don’t think they were surfacing anywhere in things like ... sports or as prefects ... school prefects.’ [Lecturer in Stuttgart, aged 38]

Since identities may tend to adhere to patterns and roles even more than cognitive decisions (Goffman 1963; Stryker & Serpe 1982), the potential for Afro-churches to provide external referentialities,²¹ where migrant identities can be defined through social posts and functions could be underlined.

9.8.6.2 Internal Referentials: Prevention of Crime, Addictions and Substance Abuse

It appears moreover, that Afro-Churches as self organisation projects contribute to crime prevention and reduction as well as establishing order in society by keeping particularly vulnerable groups of migrants (i.e. those with lower education and a low background of socialisation as a result of uncontrolled urbanisation) from the streets. Similarly they seem to create a social environment hindering and totally diminishing substance abuse, drugs, alcohol and cross addictions. Their role in crime reduction amongst youth could be

21 On external referentialities see Giddens (1991 & 1992).

emphasized even more in the developing societies in the face of growing polarisations between the rich and poor including diminished future perspectives for youths.

9.8.6.3 Recreational Programs and Social Functions and Social Security

Furthermore, they appear to substitute recreational sites and past-time activities. They also seem to facilitate improvement in social status for those working migrants who previously suffered social invisibilisation in the background societies. Obviously structural approaches to support youths within this framework are urgently required to balance emotional stability and material wellbeing through critical education, skills building and institutional networking.

As a respondent comments below, self organised Churches also seem to fuse spiritual and cultural identities, fashions and styles thereby acting as a sphere of social visibility and aesthetic production in a metropolitan context of anonymity:

“I like the worship atmosphere ... it’s like at home ... it’s not like when you go to churches here ... everything is like a ‘Uni-Veranstaltung’ ... with a lot of theory ... everything as stiff and dull ... here it’s more jovial ... it’s aaa ... aaa full of drumming and singing ... jumping ... and people pouring out their heart you know ... so it’s very relaxing.” [Student in Bremen, aged 27]

“and then I realized, people come for different reasons to church ... many just want to show ... I am doing well ... I am looking nice ... I am looking well-to-do ... my wife is ... putting on an expensive dress. It massages their egos ... it massages a lot of people’s egos. They have a place to show their cars ... their families.” [Nurse in Stuttgart, aged 32]

Basing on participant observation, it appears quite common for migrants to mobilize both economic and social resources to finance and organize social functions like weddings, baptisms, graduation ceremonies, funerals and burial functions etc., whereby the shared notion of community seems to crystallise a central role in times of death and bereavement. This articulates the roles of crisis intervention: In many examples women take over household chores, job replacement (cleaning jobs). In addition, they spend nights with the bereaved to avoid isolation in times of mourning. In addition, they provide informal grief counselling.

Moreover, the Churches also offer emotional support and counselling services for youth, families, women and vulnerable groups in the diverse social fields.

As a new development, homework support groups and clubs that mainly target youth to provide skills in areas like mathematics and the physical sciences are being organised by some University students.

9.8.6.4 Focal Point for Social Integration

It is surprising to note here that in spite of the identified limitations, the African postmodern gospel Churches seem to have great potential for social integration and intercultural exchange with the mainstream society which has not been adequately exploited specifically because of the inner organisational weaknesses. By contrast to the Afro Gospel Churches in England, the Afro-Churches in Germany reflect more social integration with the mainstream society as articulated through the larger presence of members from the mainstream society and through a relatively much higher presence of Afro-German families. Though continuity seems often constrained, in my participant observation, many mainstream Germans expressed interest in the cultural framework.

Once more, by contrast to England, the Afro-Churches in Germany adopt and apply a bilingual approach (sometimes also multi lingual as is often the case with Congolese Churches). In addition, they display adherence to traditional instruments and rhythms in their cultural spaces – this seems to distinguishingly construct cultural authenticity. It is important to bear in mind however, that cultural authenticity is not restricted to migrants in self organisation only but appears strongly constructed amongst the broad variety of migrants with an African background living in Germany. Indeed whereas the problematic of social accountability²² and the dilemma of negotiating its contradictions and challenges largely lurks in the identity formations within self organisation projects, the larger proportion of migrants that has avoided membership has seemed to develop more practical discursive consciousness, emancipatory identities and cultural authenticity.

22 On accounts and agency, see Harré and Butney respectively, Section 8.3.

9.8.7 *Re-Evaluation*

9.8.7.1 Habitus and Postcolonial Subjectivity

Whereas class consciousness appears to constitute subjectification practices as well as underpin the intersections and salient constructions of difference on the basis of ethnicity, gender and class within migrant interactions, relations and community building processes in England, status consciousness is observed amongst migrant communities in Germany. Within comparative analysis, it is important, to approach social differentiation in terms of the relative degrees and their differential implications for subjective wellbeing. Social differentiation observed amongst migrant communities in Germany must be contextualised within the broader egalitarian habitus underpinned by core values of the social democratic paradigm. To that extent, it is significant that although there is social differentiation within migrant communities in Germany, it appears less salient than that observed in the Class Habitus. In Germany we see migrants with heterogeneous social backgrounds and social status building communities together through self organisation. By contrast, in England, communities appear defined and separately constructed along the lines of class (Section 8.8). Here also the materialisation of belonging appears to have stronger implications for subjectification and collectivising practices. Indeed within the intersections of class, ethnicity and gender, differential nexus identity formations can be observed whereby class essentialism, territorialisation and fixation of ethnicity appears to growing characterise relations in England but also in Canada by sharp contrast to Germany. Self ethnisation and ‘classicism’ also appear to constitute the coping tools for negotiating the tensions and structural shifts experienced in international migration in the absence of critical tools due to the socialisation background of abstract postcolonial epistemic practices (Section 8.6.2). In some cases social differentiation as a subjectification practice appears articulated as the consequence of transnational locationality whereby political events like ethnicisation (*‘tribalism’*) in background countries spill over into migrants communities. Such a framework empirically concretises the various ways in which the self and its constitution are linked to structural underpinnings at local, national, international and (trans)locational levels.²³ As well, their dynamic nature, interconnectivity and interplay.

²³ For a similar perspective compare Dilger and Wolf (2004).

The framework also charts the different levels of strategic actions that can be implemented within multiple interventions in the nexus of postcolonial legacies and residues, multilayered identities, matrices of oppression and complex discursive conjunctures (Sections 4.4–4.7 & Chapter 5). Drawing on scholars, it is possible to further postulate that this underlines the importance of identifying and incorporating a more internationally and inter-culturally oriented comparative dimension of analyzing social cultural diversities within subjective and group-related concepts and images of learning and knowing – it is useful to distinguish between several types of knowledge: (a) according to their sources and media of generation and transfer and (b) according to their status or mode of subjective internalization and awareness (Nitsch 2008).

It is imperative to contextualise ethnicity within historical evolution and locate the social structural constitution of subjectivities within colonial legacies as they relate to the institutional and legislative transformation of fluid social relations through territorialisation, codification, fixation and essentialisation (Section 4.6.1; 4.6.2). Similarly class consciousness within postcolonial subjectivities (Section 8.6) has been linked to its postcolonial roots (Section 4.6.1 & 4.6.2). It is important to grasp the multilocal communities structuring African countries and the differential implications of the genealogies of generating conditions for subjectification and collectivising practices. Thus, looking at nexus situativity, it can be postulated that England appears to perpetuate postcolonial legacies and residues as they relate to submerged consciousness as Freire would say (Section 4.6.1 & 4.6.2). These have strong implications for social cohesion and social capital. Germany on the other hand, appears to provide a context for reclaiming the African Ubuntu habitus as well as deconstructing subalternism, configuring emancipatory-authentic identities and providing a pragmatic framework and orientation model for constructing social cohesion of postcolonial subjectivities.

9.8.7.2 The Need for a Cultural Similarity Perspective

Whereas social reflexivity aimed at destabilizing difference as it relates to ethnicity, racism, class, hierarchisation and marginalisation is extensively the focus of mainstream scientific debate as well as transformatory social pedagogy, the absence of a structural approach combining a cultural similarity perspective that acknowledges the multilayeredness of identities has hindered a critical focus on the dynamics of difference as they relate to minority communities (Section 5.3). Considering identities as multiply constituted and never singular or unitary but consisting of varieties of roles, locations and

functions which are context sensitive (Taylor 1995; Stryker 1989; Benhabib 1992), the practical challenge at hand seems to lie in the need to integrate intersectional analysis, multidimensional approaches, multi level strategic interventions and more diversified modes of incorporation of ethnicity:

It has appeared to turn out for migrants in self organised communities in Germany that though embedded in a highly reflexive and egalitarian destination society, they face the risk of building weaker communities. For example, their congregations face an acute lack of pedagogical instruments and critical reflection. It can be clearly seen and dramatically through the variety of audio taped teachings and sermons that the social contingency structuring both background and migration existence escapes conceptualisation. In terms of critical pedagogy, this corresponds to the diminished transformative education and raises pedagogical questions regarding the empirical relevance of education as a banking concept within community building (See Freire 1972). But this condition in itself appears to reflect the dynamics of relational and structural embeddedness in ethnic networks (Portes 1995), whereby the capacity to forge trust within the dislocating articulations of risk, danger and security (Giddens 1994) appears constructed through the social recognition accorded to ability and performativity as they relate to the capacity for achieving a full labour status (See critically, Section 8.3). Thus, contradictory images appear produced by the categorizations and hierarchies of migrant status, which seem to underpin a logic of identity eliminating scientific role modelling through African academicians at German universities. Not to mention the implications for undermining the framework of Christian core values, ethics, professionalism, qualification and skills sets. In most cases the 'Evangelist Pastor' who is more often than not also self-proclaimed appears structurally favoured within the intersections of multivariate gendered ambivalence to crystallize as the symbolic opinion leader. This is compounded by the lay leadership's limited formal education, disembeddedness from cultural systems and an increased socialisation within an environment of uncontrolled urbanisation: The context is similar to the postcolonial background societies, where social power seems mostly accessed by the less formally educated class.

In this regard, it is significant that the Afro community churches as postcolonial constructs appear constituted in the configurations of gender, class and ethnicity as simultaneous process of nexus identity formations within complex intersections of multidimensional inequalities shaping the international capitalist relations of production, the political integration of migrant labour

and the social economic (trans)locational space of both the societies of origin and the destination societies. Therefore, faced by the challenges of negotiating the convergence of the fourfold model of oppression within postmodernity, the marginalisation of migrants within the mainstream Church as a monolithic construct appears to catalyze the emergency of gospel Churches. This seems to collaborate scholars' arguments concerning transnational ethnic communities as both complementary²⁴ (See Faist 1998; Portes 1998)²⁵ and distinct models of migrant incorporation (Preis, qtd. in: Heisler 2000). As part of the background community, this church movement appears to be characterised by syncretism which largely absorbs influences from the market-economy and the social cultural environment. The trend has been to materialise evangelization and notions of collective belonging, thereby hampering the spiritual categories, core values and the key functions which relate to the construction of social cohesion. This appears to be aggravated by globalisation, largely spearheaded by 'Americanization' of the gospel. Thus, de-contextualising knowledge and experience:

Moreover there is need to highlight the subtle hegemonic fusion of modes of cultural representation that appears symbolised and accentuated through the pastorate's visualization of the materialistic idyll and images transmitted. By failing to emulate the spiritual idyll propagated by 'Traditional Christian Doctrine', the contemporary visualizations of Christianity in the African context, appear to significantly undermine identification with the affected whilst also compounding the dualism of the oppressed as divided and contradictory beings²⁶ by materialising belonging as a subjectification and collectivising practice and stimulating nostalgia for material wealth in the contrasting conditions of scarcity, which catalyses social-dissatisfaction, rivalry, envy and promotes contempt for the socially disadvantaged (Section 9.8). Within this articulation of a framework, one must address the oppressed's dualism in terms of issues of power and agency as they relate to the disalienation of consciousness and the empirical relevance for shaping the oppressed' conformity to the security of bondage and preference for gregarious rather than authentic leadership. This not only hinders the oppressed's critical intervention into their world but also complicates authentic political organisation and creative liberative transformation (Freire 1972):

24 Social capital as a resource for adaptive change.

25 Viewed largely in terms of economic and social adaptation.

26 On the dualism of the oppressed, see Freire 1972.

“... And then he can say whatever he wants about any body ... sometimes they twist the scriptures to fit their own funny intentions. And the people believe them so much ... what he says is what they take ... so you find after the service ... people talk ... AAA ...” [Entrepreneur in Stuttgart, aged 34]

The low institutional parameters in the background societies imply that this church framework increasingly constitutes the central arena for basic education. The transnational implication is most elaborate when highlighted in Freire’s eyes, who has already pointed out to the oppressive mechanisms constituted both within the colonial teaching methods and abstract epistemic practices as they relate to knowledge abstraction, expertisation, prescription and hierarchisation of teacher-learner relations (Freire 1972). Here, the image of the teacher becomes glorified and his teachings never contested (Freire 1985): While symbolising emancipation and self organisation of minority groups, this construct appears to subtly produce and reproduce the dynamics of social disparity and social friction with in international migration.

Once again, whilst concretising the dilemma of gendered ambivalence structuring the public-public and voluntary sectors (Section 5.2.6.1), this underscores the importance of a critical focus on the implications of pluralistic cultural orientations for identity construction and subjectification practices in a framework of gender hierarchies, capitalist modes of production and patriarchy (See also critically Section 4.6.5 & Chapter 1).

Taking into account the juxta positioning of identity as indicative and historical in relation to past contexts of biographical constructions on one hand and on the other hand subjunctive with potential for future makings and possibilities (Turner & Laurel 1983), it is significant that in spite of alternative critical resources for identity building in the destination society, female agency appears reconfigured within the dichotomy of the public-private articulation as well as the traditional gendered roles and relations. Hence the polarisation between those migrants outside ethnic enclaves who seem to reclaim the African Ubuntu habitus within the egalitarian habitus and develop more practical discursive consciousness (Characteristic migration experience in Germany) on the one hand, and on the other hand, the polarisation between the more enlightened mainstream German Christians and the submerged postcolonial consciousness of migrants within the modern Gospel churches.

Therefore, in considering the multilayeredness of identity, the practical challenge at hand seems to lie in the need for confronting diversity through the introduction of more diversified modes of incorporation to integrate interna-

tional services, congregations and forms of worship in addition to the existing modes.

There is further need to empower self organisation groups with critical tools for developing pedagogy for their own liberation by problematising domestication and contesting internalised images of difference whilst facilitating alternative forms of political organisation and mobilisation of the oppressed anchored in social justice, innate human worth and social equality (Freire 1972 & 1970). As well, transmitting knowledge of group dynamics, techniques and skills of group facilitation incorporating Freire's conceptualisation of subject to subject dialogical relations as the theoretical context of problematisation within learning contexts (Freire 1970).

9.8.7.3 Pedagogical-Sociological Relevance and Community Building

Gospel churches as self organisation constructs play a significant role in community building. They not only perform key functions in preventing crime but also in hindering and diminishing drug and substance abuse, alcohol and cross addictions amongst youth, adults and the community at large. Therefore they constitute natural resilience systems and key natural leadership hubs in local community building processes. This role is exemplified not only as a coping strategy for negotiating the tensions and challenges within international migration but also contributing to social stability in background societies in the face of increasing material scarcity, gaps between the rich and poor as well as lack of future perspectives for youths. Since gospel churches have successfully managed to overcome the hindrances to social organisation and mass mobilization within community building, this underscores their empirical relevance as a centre for social transformation. From a pedagogical-didactical point of view, they highlight the importance of combining charisma with core values and social accountability based on the Christian norms of individual responsibility, innate worth, social equality and social justice as well as integrating critical pedagogy and reflexive identity. As elsewhere mentioned, the limitations observed appear to reflect the structural underpinnings of gender, ethnicity, status and class at macro, mezzo and micro sociological levels. Thus, also articulating the complexity of identity construction in the nexus of colonial legacies and postcolonial situativity, matrices of oppression, complex and shifting discursive fields (Chapter 4 & 5). Since the dimensions and implications of gendered structural ambivalence appear most articulated here, Gospel Churches appear to constitute a central arena and potential for social transformation.

As a major limitation to the implementation framework, one must take into consideration the increased penetration of power elites into this social fabric and the implications for undermining critical consciousness, voice construction and liberative humanistic praxis.

As a consequence, this seems to suggest, the need for a critical developmental focus on this community building framework. Whilst reflecting the need for critical bridging of the private-public and voluntary sectors, it also highlights the importance of independent social research and empirically grounded theories (Glaser 1978 & 1992) to provide the basis for evolving indigenous critical pedagogy and the necessary social infrastructures (Section Chapter 1; 3.2). The pedagogical and social work aim is to make issues of power and agency (Freire; Giroux, Section 2.2) as they relate to difference, identity and political categories as well as internalized normative aspects the objects of reflection for the oppressed – a process which amongst other things empowers the affected as knowing subjects with a deepening critical awareness of the complex reality which structures their lives and of their capacity to transform that reality (Freire 1970; 1972 & 1974). Further empirical relevance here is to provide a framework of community building in which notions of individualization, human worth, dignity, non-judgmental support, empowerment, social justice (Biestek 1957) and social cohesion can be actualized within social pedagogy. It's a call for inducing conscientisation processes therefore underlining the empirical relevance of Freire's liberative pedagogy of the oppressed (Freire 1972; Shipani 1983:4):

Given the strong role of adult education as an instrument of mobilizing and organizing the socially marginalised masses, as well as bridging gaps of social in-equality under consolidation of solidarity (Nyerere 1982: 33 & 34; Adisehiah 1982; 68 & 69; Nuscheler 1995b: 195), critical Christian reflection as a subjectification practice and resource for community development should not only be confined within the dominant societies but ought to be extended to include the nexus identity formations within minority communities. The pedagogical aim here is to avoid polarisation between the critically enlightened (liberated) and the unenlightened sectors of society as well as promoting social cohesion at all levels of society while at the same time erasing elements which potentially brood social violence. Further aim, is to facilitate international community development through the transfer of critical knowledge and experience of migrants to their progressing background societies and vice versa.

9.9 Interaction with Background Society

9.9.1 *Social cultural-Institutions, Postmodernity Disembedments and Gender Identity*

Deriving from grounded theory as it relates to theory building²⁷ and the categories generated from the method of constant contrasting and comparative analysis as well as systematisation and conceptualisation of African women biographies in Germany (Glaser; Strauss & Glaser; Corbin & Strauss, Section 3.2.1), we discover in this section the implications of gender construction within dichotomous socialisation processes tracing its empirical linkage and relevance to the core variables identified in the beginning (Section 9.1–9.4). Specifically emerging factors regard the disembedding consequences of postmodernity on family systems with devastating implications for gender constellations, family boundaries, collective identities and system reproduction in background societies. The hypothesis generated regards extents to which polygamy, as a patriarchal resource for identity building under dislocating macro, mezzo and micro sociological variables and their impacts on the variety of institutions conditioning gender construction, articulate multivariate structural ambivalence in female consciousness which is embodied as a conflict between gender and social identities. Thus, bringing out the dilemma of a postcolonial society which is apparently collective however, with contradicting inner divisions that have strong implications for moulding female lives and subjectification practices. The constraints of reconciling this dilemma or friction between identities appears to have detrimental impacts on social cohesion, efficacy and social capital. Whereas this has crucially been linked to factors subduing the foundation for the construction of democratic structures in background societies, in the international migration context, structural ethnicity aggravates this situation through the fourfold oppression and its convergence within nexus situativity of postcolonial subjectivities – historicity of complex discursive conjunctures, unequal international capitalist relations of production underpinning the political economy of migrant labour, patriarchy, gender hierarchies and pluralistic geopolitical conditionings (Section 4.4 & 4.6).

In considering the patterns of perpetuations, disruptions and remappings of postcolonial legacies and residues through a focus on the structural constitution of biographies and their configuration within a context of embeddedness

27 On grounded theory, review Chapter 3.

in class vs. egalitarian habitus of destination communities (Section 6.1.6), the research categories point out to the need for a coherent focus on intra-self ethnisation, bipolarisation and cultural centrism (Section 8.6.2). As well, the integration of a structural approach that takes into consideration the duality of structure, constructed subjectivities and gendered agency by exploring the role of institutional processes conditioning subjectification practices within a context of structurally fixed and codified social relations (Section 4.6.1–4.6.2). Thus, providing new pragmatic insights into institutional building, conflict resolution and democratisation driven within the North-South/South-North Dialogue and International Development.

To establish the theoretical codes of our data and in order to discover the structural underpinnings and processes accounting for the social constitution of women's biographies (Glaser 1992:29) my categories point to the logical possibility of interpreting findings in an impacting context of shifting, multidimensional and constantly intersecting micro, macro, mezzo variables at the household, national, transnational, global and (trans)locational levels.²⁸ I develop my arguments largely from Giddens (1990:36–38) theoretical discourse specifically his poststructuralist conceptual framework which seeks to connect local and global dimensions in postmodern experience. This perspective usefully allows for analysis of the major factors which appear to gravely destabilize the social construction of identities, social cohesion and social capital as concretised in figure 1 below and also partially in the corresponding narratives:

Whereas authors widely analyze the relationship between economic transitions and the social construction of gender within patriarchal constellations (Brettell & Simon 1986; Radcliff 1990; Massey et al. 1993; Bailey & Elias 1993), Giddens emphasizes a shift in the mode of referentiality of the self that has occurred with the rise of modernity (Giddens 1990:36–38; Giddens, Section 4.5.5).²⁹ In this context, given that the family as the immediate socialisation unit, conditions the style and ability of women to articulate themselves in society (Radcliff, qtd. in: Lim 1995:42; Becker-Schmidt, Section 4.4–4.5) analysis of female locationality under modernity disembedments and abstract systems conditioning the reflexive constitution of the self, society (Giddens 1990:53; Giddens Section 4.5.5) and their intersection with

28 Compare also Dilger et al 2004.

29 See also Hay, O'Brien and Penna (1999) on a critical reflection of Giddens modernity and self-identity.

the fundamental inequalities that structure and reproduce differential modern identities (Hay, O'Brien & Penna 1997)³⁰ appears central to understanding the constitution of migrants biographies. But as partially introduced above, the complexity of identity construction for postcolonial subjectivities is aggravated through the nexus situativity of gendered selves within the articulations of international capitalism, the simultaneity of patriarchy, gender hierarchies, postcolonial legacies and residues, intersecting matrices of oppression, abstract systems and complex discursive conjunctures that are in constant flux and flow (Section 4.4–4.7 & Chapter 5). Becker-Schmidt and Knapp (1995) introduce the notion of ambivalent gendered subjectivities and integrate the role conflict approach to problematise the implications of gender hierarchies as the product of distinct capitalist modes of production and their articulation in the domestic sphere (Section 4.4–4.5.2). Thus, they also define gender as a structural category constituting stratification criteria and relations of social inequality.³¹

Against this background, the disembedding of gender from the traditional context for framing of identities through what Giddens calls reflexive monitoring of social behaviour that was originally located within 'externally referential systems such as those constituting symbolic relations, ascribed social roles, fixed habits, traditions and customs (Giddens 1990; See also Giddens, Section 4.5.5) appears to compound the dislocating impacts at the household level of African societies. Since the family constitutes the nucleus of society, it is possible to empirically link the household mechanisms to the social reproduction of systems at all levels of society,³² which would imply if properly highlighted, that understanding the dynamics of female status, kinship relations, gender and their implications for identity building from this point of view constitutes a study of the constitution of African society.

Such a perspective contributes to new trends in conflict theory and community building by unveiling the hidden underpinnings of the vicious circle of violence and some of the missing tools for social transformation. Moreover while internal referentiality as Giddens emphasizes evolves in the industrialised countries to replace the traditional frameworks, whereby the self as well as the broader institutional contexts in which it exists increasingly becomes reflexively constituted (Giddens 1991:1–10, 147 & 148), postmodernity

30 For a similar framework see Beck Ulrich 1986 and his analysis on risk society.

31 See also Anthias 2001b.

32 Yuval-Davis links the constructions of nationhood to specific notions of both manhood and womanhood (1997:1).

through the introduction of abstract systems has hindered an adequate reflexive organisation of knowledge environments in the existential dimensions and institutional parameters of African society (Sections 4.6.1 & 4.6.2). Whereas this can be seen through privileging of education (even basic education), the absence of a social infrastructure of indigenous critical pedagogy and the tendency to de-contextualise educational contents through external orientation towards colonial administrative needs (Freire 1972:23; Nuscheler 1995b:181 & Mabongunje 1980:158), appears to collapse the positive dialectic between agency and structure.³³ Within this framework, the double effects of the duality of agency and structure (Giddens 1984), appear to empirically concretise the duality of the oppressed subaltern communities as contradictory divided unauthentic beings existing in a concrete situation of oppression which they have internalized (Freire 1972). Arendt (1973) has theorised the implications of abstract systems in terms of the transformation of social space that wrought the split between the public and private spheres. Hence relegating central areas like social cultural practices to the shadowy interiors of the household sector and making them dormant to discursive analysis in the variety of educational institutions (Arendt 1999; Benhabib 1992:108). As well, within the church (Section 5.2.6.1). While lacking the critical tools for problematising and negotiating the tensions and challenges linked to major existential issues like those relating to postcolonial polygamy, the abstract systems and modern symbolic resources for identity construction appear to diminish the ground for consolidating gender identity and thereby escalating female status. This relationship of macro factors is illustrated by the diagram depicted in figure 9.4 below.

33 On the dualistic relationship between agency and structure see (Giddens 1984).

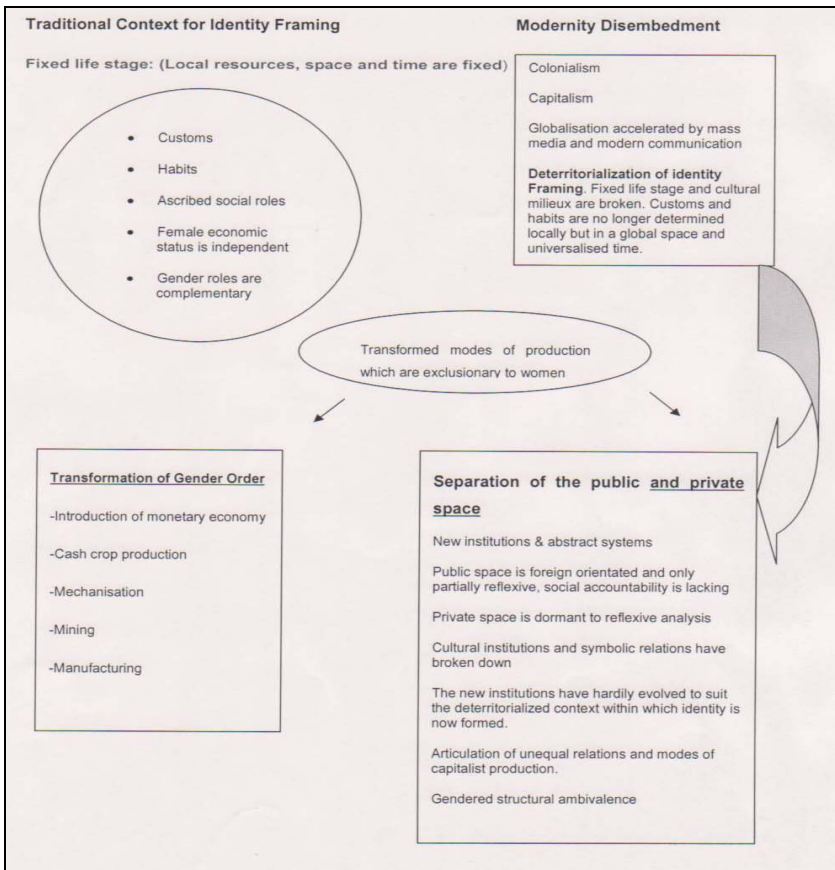


Fig. 9.4 Section 9.8.1 – Macro variables affecting gender identity

Basically, it has been hypothesised that the simultaneity and complex intersectionality of the above disembodiments construct structural and multivariate gender ambivalence which is articulated in the public and voluntary sectors as a search for external referentials for identity construction: This appears to raise the propensity of religious identities becoming more salient than family ones. Whilst explaining the strong influence of religion on one hand it also sheds light to the simultaneity of gender, class and ethnicity as intersectional processes of nexus identity formations, institutional and daily social practices in a context of postcolonial situativity, capitalism, patriarchy and international migration. Within this framework, Dilger has linked the destabilization

of homogenous cultural systems and the rise of pluralistic cultural orientations within the framework of capitalism, gender hierarchies and patriarchy to the crisis of identity amongst youth as well as the structural underpinnings of the HIV epidemic and therefore also to the construction of basis health systems in Sub-Saharan Africa (Section 5.2.6.1). The implications for the social construction of precariousness, intersectional vulnerability and consciousness is articulated through religion and the growing witchcraft, whereby, the traumatizing ambivalence of postmodern family systems appears amongst other things to expose children and women seeking new referentials and support from social networks to external manipulation and multidimensional vulnerability. The growing phenomena of ritual killings³⁴ and the limited pedagogical attention can be problematised within this theoretical framework.

9.9.2 *Socialisation within Alterity Paradigms*

In analyzing the dislocating structural mechanism on modern polygamous family systems within a global (trans)locational and critical transformative context, one can postulate on the basis of the empirical findings that these have not only generated pluralistic cultural shifts, gender hierarchies whilst articulating capitalist modes of production within the domestic sphere but they have also transformed fluid social relations through the creation of rigid family boundaries. While seeking to capture (im)migrants discourse on experiences undergone during socialisation processes, a large number of narratives reflected the constitution of the background family units as a complex network of subsystems with a variety of competing relations, which simultaneously embody hidden mechanisms of social differentiation, alterity, hierarchisation as well as marginalisation operating on the lines of gender, age, production, reproduction, physical appearance, etc. To illustrate a respondent said:

‘It was not easy .. the relatives we grew up with my step mother and many cousins .. but the relatives ... the relatives from my father’ s side ... they liked my step mother so much ... they said she had beautiful children ... she could dig much. She went to the village and put up a show so everyone praised her. They had to like her ... any way she was the new wife and they all favoured her and ... and my father was paying their school fees so they all wanted to get his favour [...] ... Then my step mother also ... she liked to please my father. When he

34 On ritual killings see New Vision & Monitor 2008.

was at home she would wake up very early in the morning and scrubbed the veranda ... she cleaned the house and she would tell my father ... we don't work ... we leave her to do all the work but when my father was not around she would sweep her bedroom and leave the rubbish in the sitting room ... and we had to remove ... or my mother ...' [Nurse living in Stuttgart, aged 32]

It is true that household units are constituted as political economies in which access to power and other value resources is distributed along gender and generational lines (Grasmuck & Pessar 1991:202). Whilst drawing on Marxist theory, Meillassoux (1981) explains gender oppression in terms of the relationship of exploitation structuring the sphere of production and reproduction as a result of the intersections of capitalism, patriarchy and biology. Whereas authors also emphasize the key role of multiple hierarchies and social construction of difference within patriarchal structures (Radcliff 1990; Anthias 2000), it should be noted from our data, that the complexity of this phenomenon and its gendered impacts seem much more compounded in structurally and culturally disembedded postcolonial polygamous family structures. Subsequently, drawing from Giddens, postmodernity can be critiqued in terms of the exclusionary and marginalisation impacts it produces (Giddens 1991). This perspective appears to convey more meaning regarding the social construction of gender hierarchies, sets of relations, multidimensional locationality and the associated tensions and negotiations as reflected in the discord characterising the framework of Co-wife relationships, rivalry for male status compounded by the conflicting interests of relatives and live in care-givers. Giddens' earlier mentioned absence of harmonising symbolic relations and external referentialities that reflexively monitored actions in traditional settings could be brought into could perspective here (Giddens 1991). Not to mention their intersection with multidimensional structural inequalities that have deteriorated female status as indicated in figure 1. Basing on the emergent categories, the inextricable interrelationship between macro factors and the micro context of female status have been demonstrated in figure II concretising the implications of gender and kinship relations within the socialisation frameworks (Section 9.8.5).

At this point, it may be relevant to once again transcend the data and look at the hypothesis generated out of the sum of emerging categories and their theoretical codes.

Hypothesis 1 and II: Structural Disembedding of Polygamy and Gender Identity

Polygamy as a culturally and structurally disembedded postmodern construct constitutes patriarchal oppression within capitalist modes of production and complex gender hierarchies whereby male status is transformed into the major determinant for female status. Due to its subordinate position, female status within this constellation is constructed as potential rival and therefore social threat for other females. In the absence of working class consciousness and internal referentiality linked to the emergence of abstract systems, this undermines gender identity and social cohesion.

This hypothesis however raises major questions concerning the reasons why gender disparity is particularly aggravated in the Diaspora where the need for social cohesion of minority groups is most needed (Section 9.1–9.4). Thus in turn generating a second hypothesis:

Hypothesis 2 foregrounds that ethnicity as a structured set of social relations within the migration legislative, institutional and economic contexts aggravates the situation by further subordinating female status to male status. Thus compounding all the factors named above to not only increase the social vulnerability, insecurity and dependence of women but also the discord amongst women rivalling for male status.

Precisely, I have argued as indicated in the following discussions that, the mechanisms of polygamy in postmodernity dislocations, construct identities within alterity and difference as well as the binaries of legitimacy and illegitimacy in a framework contrastingly dismantling cohesion and social capital while producing social polarisation and discord. This emphasizes the need for a coherent pedagogical focus on intersectional social divisions within the postcolonial family habitus as they relate to diversity, exclusion and inclusion in African societies. Whilst paving a new way forward for family literacy research and community building programs, it also underscores the relevance of structural and cultural similarity perspectives that handle the intersections of legitimacy, illegitimacy, hierarchisation, invisibilisation and marginalisation of women within social cultural systems of background societies and within the institutional and legislative frameworks conditioning female status in international destination communities. It would be useful to study the social construction of women's biographies in the binaries of inclusion and exclusion as they relate to differential access to the labour market or locationality in a context of documented and undocumented migration. To integrate further multidimensionality and intersectionality and to expound on cultural

similarity perspectives, a comparative-international deconstructionist focus is required. Approaches could methodologically and analytically draw on dominant poststructuralist theories that handle alterity paradigms amongst colonizer-subaltern identities to pedagogically deconstruct these dynamics amongst postcolonial subjectivities. Subsequently facilitating workability of research for the affected through analysis of the continuities of subaltern identity formations at the conjunctures of transnationalism and pluralistic geopolitical conditionings (Sections 4.4–4.7 & Chapter 5). This should build the context in which to develop transformatory pedagogy.

Considering the next narration within the context of the above family constellation, it seems likely that as Macro and Micro economic shifts increase pressure on resources, the bread earner (Father) is compelled to optimize their allocation, leading to a choice between the different groups. Implying some will be included and the others excluded. As is clear from the quotations below, this seems to mean that the factors determining the ease or eligibility for inclusion of the favoured groups simultaneously define the social destabilization of groups facing the risk of exclusion. It appears that notions of ability, cultural capital and social value for the selected categories of women and their offspring translate into devastation or dislocation for particular categories who do not meet the implicit criteria for participation and promotion:

“Parents favour children just because they are ... more intelligent or so ... you may not be good in school but may be in some other thing that can be good for the family also (...). My father was always sending my step sisters to school. Their fees was never a problem there and they were always good at school. Even their mother was at home so they could learn better but my mother was sent in the village when my step mother came so I had to work at home, cook, wash clothes, clean the house, all those things.” [Personal support worker in Freiburg aged 45]

“My mother gave birth to only girls so we had to fight on our own.” [Entrepreneur in Stuttgart, aged 34].

To outline the basic considerations on which to base the arguments developed here, Deutsch has also pointed out to the fact that minimization of the awareness of similarities in values combined with increased sensitivity to opposed interests constitute relevant dependent variables for conflict processes (Deutsch 1991:32). This view is important and will once again be brought into perspective to understudy the social-psychological implications of female status and structural constitution of identity.

Moreover, the impact of hierarchisation for subjectivity constellations can be most viewed in terms of their potential to hinder the development of autonomous individuality self-determination, innate worth and self esteem. The mechanisms of alterity and difference appear set in motion whereby individuality increasingly defines itself in terms of its hierarchical position, vulnerability to prejudice and marginalisation in relation to the collectivity. The relevance of these issues for identity construction appears exemplified in the Diaspora where status and class evaluations are particularly well articulated in the migrant social interactions within differential nexus situativity and the tensions and challenges of negotiating intersecting habitus (Chapter 8; Section 9.6). Thus reflecting in part the earlier mentioned ambivalence in female consciousness embodied as a conflict between collective identities and individuality. To integrate multidimensionality, intersectionality and multi level interventions once again, one needs to locate this debate within the institutional, legislative and daily social practices as they relate to the colonial transformation of fluid social relations through fixation and institutional codification of ethnicity. This perspective is central to understanding and deconstructing the growing salient constructions of difference on the basis of ethnicity and class within both background societies and transnational communities (Section 8.6.2).

9.9.3 *Miss-Recognition*

The following interview reveals that within mechanisms of social differentiation and hierarchisation, the materialisation of belonging and the phenomenon of Miss-recognition appear to emerge to further constitute the framing of gendered social identities:

‘You will never do anything that is right in her eyes, ... I was growing up like ... like .. rubbish .. I was rubbish. She kept saying I was stupid ... I was ... I was ... you could never be appreciated ... just like rubbish ... you know, ... uum ... you are good for nothing ... there is nothing good in you at all. One time I brought a good report from school and I had done much better than my brother this time but she still just went on a head and ... ja ... to praise my step brother ... Things like that you know ... So it’s not a good experience to grow up with step mothers really ... you are never appreciated ... only ‘aka’ small .. nobody around.’ [Student in Bremen, aged 27]

In terms of practice theoretical orientation, it is important to investigate the practices of self-making and collective belonging through explication of the objective structural generating contingencies and their (mis)recognition as it

relates to social reflexivity, processes of (de)legitimation, introjection and projection.

9.9.4 *Legitimacy and Illegitimacy: Power and System Reproduction*

As discussed above, I have postulated that the mechanisms of polygamy in postmodernity dislocations appear to construct identities within alterity and difference as well as the binaries of legitimacy and illegitimacy in a framework contrastingly dismantling social cohesion and social capital while producing social polarisation and discord. By drawing on the narratives of women, the question of legitimacy appears crucially implicated in the mediation of power, conflicting notions and exclusionist identities whereby exploring the relationships between siblings and female bonds appears to usefully reflect the intersections between patriarchy, capitalism, identity and agency. Perhaps the most obvious illustration is provided by the following narrative which from participant observation appears to most adequately and broadly depict African social reality:

“Oh you know ... because my mother ... as for my mother’s area because my mother is a ... married couple. She is the ... one living with my ... my father we the children were not having enough problems but .. as I compare it to other children they were really in big problem because some times ... my mother may cook and they are not around. May be we can enjoy the food and they will come later ... there’s no food. Sometimes me I .. I am somebody who ... I’m somebody who doesn’t stay in the house actually. [...] I don’t stay in the house ... I’m somebody who is roaming about a lot. So .. if I come back ... me like this if I .. I may be a step daughter ... then I will be in problem but because my mother is in the house, I will go and come back. I will eat but the other ones they come without food. I mean ... it’s natural your ... your children are your children. Other children are not for you. So you don’t care about ... too much about them.. This is how I was brought up you know?” [Entrepreneur 28, low formal & informal educational background, disembedded socialisation within influences of uncontrolled urbanisation, Section 7.3.1]

First, to enhance a simplified understanding into a complex phenomenon, let us lay emphasis on the statement:

‘My mother is in the house. I will eat but the other ones they come without food.’

This seems to have a variety of implications:

- Not only does it constitute possible indicators of women’s status in the family but also major variables which can be analyzed to unveil factors underpinning women’s social identities, the materialisation of belonging and the reproduction of structure.
- As well it makes transparent hidden frameworks for defining identity, inclusion and power relations in intergroup dynamics.
- It certainly legitimises the unfair allocation/distribution of common resources; structures of privileging (Priviligierungsstrukturen) and hegemonic relationships of dominant and subordinate groups as most reflected through the idea that the interviewee is entitled to food (basic rights) at the same time her ‘step’ siblings will not eat. Hence according to the OECD report (2000), social capital appears organised and used by the different groups against each other which exacerbates social dysfunction.
- It appears to illegitimate others, constructs them within binaries of difference and alterity whilst also dehumanizing them and depriving them of their basic rights – i.e. corrodes the idea of Equality and Fraternity’ at the household level of society. It indicates a rudimentary association of illegitimacy to diversity.³⁵
- As a final implication, it appears to accentuate factors potentially conducive for social strife, competitive interaction and social invisibilisation by enhancing power differences.

As our empirical world emerges, Tajfel (1981:267) not only reminds us that the perceived illegitimacy of an intergroup relationship constitutes the social and psychological lever for social action in intergroup behaviour, but also provides the basis for shared and durable ideologising of arousal, discontent or frustration. Thus, also providing the basis for their translation into widely diffused forms of intergroup behaviour.

As will demonstrate below, these alterity, difference and dichotomous paradigms and mechanisms of social categorization in family networks seem largely reproduced in the social and political systems. Thus, in my opinion, the articulation of exploitative capitalist modes of production within the domestic sphere and the intersections with the simultaneity of patriarchy, gender, class and ethnicity (Section 4.4–4.5 & 5.6.4) in a context of pluralistic cultural shifts and multivariate structural ambivalence constitute some of

35 In sum, both mutually reinforcing each other, social power appears hegemonically appropriated to legitimate the illegitimacy of others while simultaneously illegitimizing their legitimacy.

the hidden factors fundamentally constraining efficacy as it relates to the development of democratic cultures, social cohesion and social capital. Change is possible through a structural analysis of consciousness' liberative pedagogy and responsive social policies.

Note that from participant observation the issues raised in this biography appear representative of an almost blanketing experience for African societies. Though the diverse factors and their complexity cannot be fully discussed here, the different categories of dependent variables emerging in my research have been summarized.

Further psychological and sociological dimensions can be dramatically seen in some recent publications on ritual murders. In this regard, it is significant that though the reconstruction of biographies undertaken in my analysis has emerged separately, it appears to work data if observed from a critical perspective. Attached in the appendix are important news paper articles that shed light to this theme.

It can also be postulated that the absence of local institutions enforcing and setting frameworks for social accountability – justice and security in relation to Co-wife and siblings constellations, which appears in itself an inevitable consequence of modernity, is largely responsible for the aggravation of circumstances. Hence Giddens (1990; 1991; 1992 & 1998) adds that unlike the consistency distinguishing the framework for reflexive monitoring of behaviour in the traditional arena, modernity is characterised through inconsistency, abstract systems and unforeseen risks.³⁶

At this point, it is important to highlight how these identified limitations in institutional formations and organisations appear replicated in social identities as constitutive of the patterns of agency reproduced³⁷. It is significant that even for a researcher from the same background the various discursive practices, gender hierarchies and family relations appeared internalized and negotiated as normative. Hence Morokvasic has identified the implications of socialisation where women are trained to accept subordination as normal (Morokvasic 1983:26–27) and Nyerere (1982) has contested the passive acceptance of social phenomena in African societies.

36 Giddens talks of modernity in terms of post-traditional societies *ibid*.

37 See Giddens structuration theory, 1984.

Hypothesis 3:

Socialisation, Shifts in Internal Referentialities and Social Cohesion

The dichotomous, alterity and exclusionist patterns of socialisation, however, reflect the grave impacts concretised by the shift in the traditional modes of referentiality in a context of fast evolving modernity disembedments coupled with the congruent and contradictory outcomes of double ontology as it relates to adaptive processes in the absence of critical tools.

For scientific purposes, the foregoing analysis illustrates the empirical relevance of integrating multidimensionality and intersectionality fusing cultural similarity perspectives with a structural approach. The objective is to explore pedagogical and transformatory relevance within an international comparative deconstructionist theoretical and community building framework – The framework of dominant poststructuralist theories problematising alterity paradigms amongst colonizer-subaltern identities (Critically, Said 1978), should be broadened to analytically confront hierarchisation and differentiation as they relate to the interrelationships of gender, class and ethnicity amongst postcolonial subjectivities.

Returning to the gender relationships characterising kinship networks and their reproduction in social systems, it becomes less surprising that the salience of dichotomous social categorizations, difference and alterity is traceable at all levels of African societies. To highlight key examples it is possible to explore how such variables appear to influence the social practices in contemporary African politics.

Drawing on participant observation and anecdotal experience, the mechanisms behind the statement, ‘my mother is in the house I will eat but the other ones they come without food’ appear synonymous with the mechanisms behind ‘sharing the national cake’.

It is significant that in both understandings, a dominance of ethnocentric orientation within the dynamics of diversity is articulated, whereby access to social power seems to translate into the vehicle for exclusionist distribution to in-group social categories respectively affiliated in terms of kinship, ethnicity and religion. While excluded categories are conduced to view politics as their *turn to ‘eat also’*. Basing on Uganda’s case as an example, this practice appears directly mirrored in the local phrasings such as indicated in table 9.1 below.

Table 9.1 – Articulating the configuration and reproduction of structure in indigenous languages

Indigenous Expressions	Language	English Translation
Tulide. Omugati guli waffe	Luganda	We have eaten. The bread is on our side.
Twalire	Kinyankole	We have eaten

Hypothesis 4: Macro Micro shifts, Ethnicity & Gendered Agency

Postmodernity disembedments at the household level of society, while generating difference and alterity paradigms appear to produce illegitimizing, marginalising mechanisms which variably invisibilise social categories and produce exclusionist identities in socialisation processes. These whilst intersecting with class, gender, ethnicity and institutional processes fixing fluid social relations and family boundaries become implicated in agency and the reproduction of social systems as generative of diverse forms of social conflict.

This hypothesis is important since it amongst as other things also illustrates the strongest category that emerges to constitute the major independent variable constraining female identity within the analogous processes conditioning women’s biographies in both background and migration contexts: While generating difference at the household level of society, such illegitimizing notions appear to structure the basis for hindering participation and accessibility to basic rights of the illegitimated categories. Transnationalism enters the agenda through definitions of migrant status that categorize participation rights and illegitimate contexts of existence on grounds of structured ethnicity (Section 4.4–4.6) while also statistically invisibilising migrants despite their social economic contributions (Sections 4.8, 10.2.1 & 10.3). Whereas statistical invisibilisation appears to directly constrain policy implementation for migrants, it is significant that invisibilisation at household levels appears to hinder both the critical patriarchal intervention as well as what Giddens has defined above as the reflexive organisation of knowledge and internal referentiality in the wider societies (Figure 9.5 Section 9.9.5, Figure 9.6 & 9.7, Section 9.9 respectively). In international migration whilst a high correlation between illegitimizing process (undocumented-/clandestine migration) and female trafficking and prostitution is drawn, in background societies, the produced trajectories seem implicated in agency and the reproduction of social systems as potentially generative of diverse forms of social *conflict*. Therefore to define the lack of solidarity and self-definition along gender categories (Section 9.1–9.3) is to unveil the dualistic relationship between agency

and structure in both African and destination international communities as the interdependent constitutive relationship between agents, their actions, the structural properties of social systems and their reproduction (Giddens 1976: 1984). My research is framed in the context of nexus analysis and post-colonial situativity.

In the background society, this certainly becomes crucial when the earlier mentioned female reproductive and cultural production roles (transmitters of social values) are enacted in the processes shaping and redefining the content and boundaries of ethnicity and nation (Yuval Davis and Anthias, Chapter 1). To illustrate more strongly we could draw supplementary data from the biography whose verbatim is analyzed at the beginning of this section. Using grounded theory's concept of data slices to compare and contrast data from the same biography at different stages of narration (Glaser 1978), this is particularly useful in concretising the link between the salience of difference, alterity and in-group affiliation in socialisation processes, its enactment in social identity and the social construction of gender and ethnicity:

“I will eat but the other ones they come without food. I mean ... it's natural your ... your children are your children. Other children are not for you. So you don't care about .. too much about them. This is how I was brought up you know ?“ [Entrepreneur 28, low formal & informal educational background, disembodied socialisation within influences of uncontrolled urbanisation, Section 7.3.1]

“My father comes from Ewe ... Ewe side and my mother is Ashanti. But you know ... we look down up on some people ... some tribes in Ghana. Like those from northern part of Ghana. Actually if you are a northerner ... me Ashanti I don't respect you. Even if you are a doctor or even if you go to heaven and come ... I don't respect you. Right and the same thing. I stand ... those who come from Ewe side. Me Ashanti I look down upon Ewes because whether they ... they ... say they are ... they are professors or what ever ... they are ... even if a professor is standing teaching me from Ewe side ... I don't respect him. It's only I am learning from him or her. We actually ... so that thing is already in Ghana before coming here [...] Ja that is ... is the same thing happening in Ghana. So there is a lot of conflict also because of this thing that is going on. This tribal thing .. those thing ... ja. If ... if ... here ... if I meet a northerner here eeh., I have one or two guys I know them. They are from northern part ... I don't even go near them too much. Not that I hate them any way but that thing is there. We ... we degrade them ... that is it. So me I don't take anything. I mean it is the same ... in the whole world. You cannot change it ja.”

[Same Interviewee-Entrepreneur 28, low formal & informal educational background, disembedded socialisation within influences of uncontrolled urbanisation, Section 7.3.1]

The above certainly concretises the empirical relevance of implementing anti-essentialist and anti-pathologist interventionist models (Section 4.2). As well, the need for pedagogical destabilisation of fixation and territorialisation of identities through a critical application of the notion of cultural hybridity (Section 4.6.1 & 4.6.2). In addition, the narrative illustrates empirically the relevance of redressing the limitations of Universalist paradigms by recognising and problematising the variety of positions women occupy in the various categories of difference, locations and class which juxta position oppression amongst women (Anthias, Section 4.2). Above all it highlights once again, the critical need for multidimensional, intersectional and cultural similarity approaches with broadened focus on difference and diversity amongst not only mainstream societies but also (im)migrant communities and background societies. This once again concretises the future direction of applied research within family literacy and community building programmes.

9.9.5 *Invisibilisation*

This represents the actual and potential role of step mothers in materialising belonging by invisibilising the social roles of ‘step’ children as most clearly illustrated in the following narrative:

“Normally when it comes to hard things like digging or carrying heavy things or even doing housework they ... that one they always call you ... that’s when they see you are also there. But when it comes to sharing things like food, like clothes, school fees then you are not entitled you always get the worst although you do the most work. And then she even makes sure she tells your father that you are bad, you are stubborn she is the only one ... we leave her to do all the work by herself.” [Nurse in Stuttgart, aged 32]

From what has already been said in the foregoing analysis, we recognize sharply at this point that migrants embody the interactions between the norms and attitudes of female status in both background and host societies (Lim 1995:32). It is interesting to note that in spite of the differences between the crude relations of capitalism in African societies and the advanced ones operating in international migration contexts, the effects on African migrants’ status appear to stay the same though articulated in somewhat different forms. This again stresses the relevance of combining structural approaches with

cultural similarity perspectives to pedagogically apply international-comparative deconstructionist models (Section 5.3). Within this framework, a cultural similarity perspective would construct external and internal validity through integrating Miles model of theorising difference within international capitalist modes of production as opposed to integrating race as a category of analysis. Considering the above narrative this can further be concretised:

Whereas step children may perform the odd jobs under invisibilisation of their contributions, in destination societies the role of migrants as supplementary labour to fill up vacancies in dirty, arduous and inconvenient work is widely documented (Jackson 1986:76) as well as their statistical and economic invisibilisation as elsewhere mentioned (UN 1995).

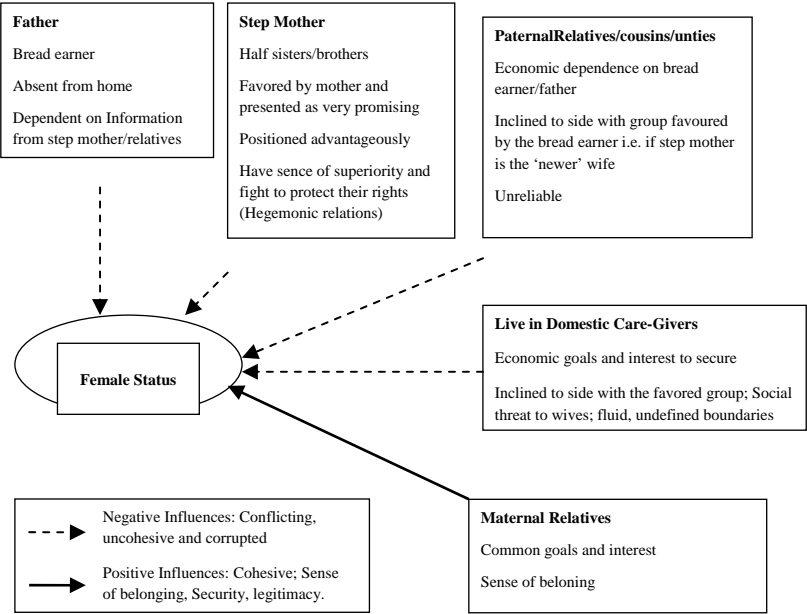


Fig. 9.5 Postmodern Socialisation Contexts, Section 9.9.5

Whilst negative presentation through the step mother shapes the kinship relationships and household interactions, scholars document constraints of cultural deficit approaches (Section 5.2) but also the sensationalist presentation of migrants and refugee conditions often as scapegoats for unemployment

and violence to divert attention from other social political issues at hand (Medel Anonuevo 1997:165). Often they are cynically depicted as outsiders, marginal people and problematic issues in the mass media (See *ibid.*). However, it is clear that the biased presentation to the patriarch in the background society is intended to win the favour (Günst) of the bread earner (See also figure I Section 9.9.5 below). In the migration context it is equally clear that the biased presentation to the public is intended to win the favour of voters (tax payers).

9.10 The Relationship between Status, Identity and Social Capital

Taking these as the conceptual codes between emerging categories, it seems likely that the pluralistic construction of democratisation processes may have a social-psychological dimension that is detrimental to constructing the foundation for social cohesion through identity building.

Following the definition of social cohesion (Jensen, Section 4.11), this can empirically be demonstrated. Whilst figure 9.6 (Section 9.10) below, indicates the five factors conducive for social cohesion, figure 9.7, (Section 9.10) attempts to reconstruct the complex factors conditioning women's biographies in a schematic presentation. It is significant however that these factors conducive for social cohesion appear paradoxically reversed in the socialisation contexts. Indicating the significant absence of the common good. Thus, it is possible to postulate drawing on Giddens (1991) that because of the disembedding of identities and social cultural resources from the local contexts of practice and systems of social control, symbolic relations and internal referentials have been displaced from the family and have been replaced partially by church leaders. Bourdieu's notion of social capital allows for a theorisation of social networks in terms of coping strategies and resources facilitating negotiation of inner tensions and challenges of identity building and crisis management in orientation crisis situations (Bourdieu 1983). Hence, it seems that the importance of the church/spiritual arena is at the heart of identity building which could/should/ would ideally complement the roles of the family and formal education (Section 5.2.6.1). In view of their capacity for mobilising community social economic resources as reflected through activities like setting up magnificent buildings and vehicles for the church leaders, as well as the ignored Christian pedagogy, they possess great potential for constructing the common good and social capital.

To problematise social cohesion, figure 9.6 (Section 9.10) draws on Jensen’s model categorizing cohesive societies according to the levels and efficacy deployed in realizing collective goals through the protection and inclusion of individuals and groups at the risk of exclusion (Jenson, Section 4.11 see also OECD 2001:13).³⁸

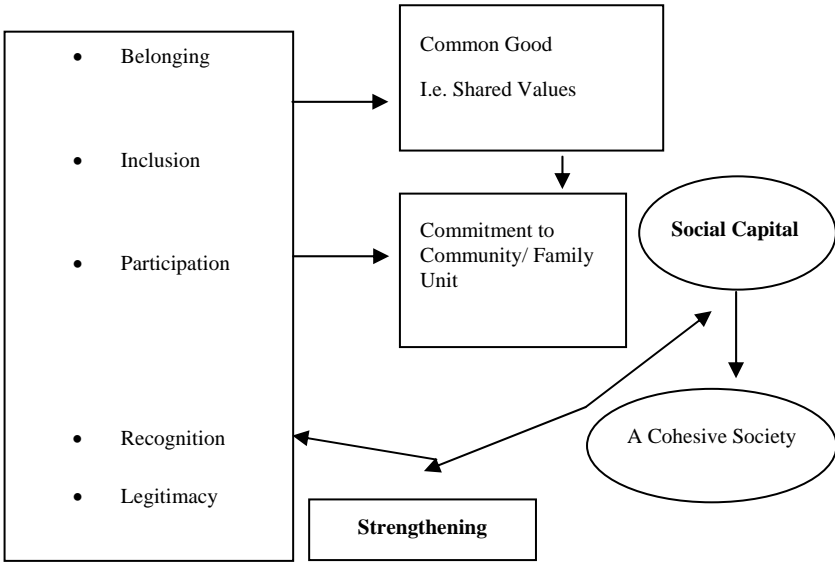


Fig. 9.6 Section 9.10 – A Cohesive Society: Ideal Scenario
(Source: Jenson (1999); Diagram by Norah Barongo-Muweke)

In this chapter, I have consistently demonstrated that structurally disembedded postmodern family systems seem to evolve around the configuration of female status within mechanisms of Difference, Marginalisation, Ilegitimisation, Hierarchisation and Miss-recognition. Figure 9.7 below clearly demonstrates a socialisation void of the common good conceptualised within Jensen’s social cohesion model in terms of the shared benefits from the collective goals, norms and values (OECD 2001). Thus, it has been postulated within this framework that identities appear framed within alterity and difference and an environment of social dysfunction (Section 9.9.4) whereby as the

38 The relevance of the common good for identity construction, which Moore 2000 has also referred to as the belief in a common destiny for all members is further articulated by different authors (Hunt 1980; Tajfel and Turner 1986 Cited in Ibid.).

OECD has drawn on Jenson³⁹ to postulate, social capital appears organised and used by the different groups against each other (OECD 2001:39). This seems to erode the foundation for social cohesion and group identity. At this point, it is remarkable that a significantly high proportion of narratives lament the widespread growing involvement of women in witchcraft activities (see also Appendix).

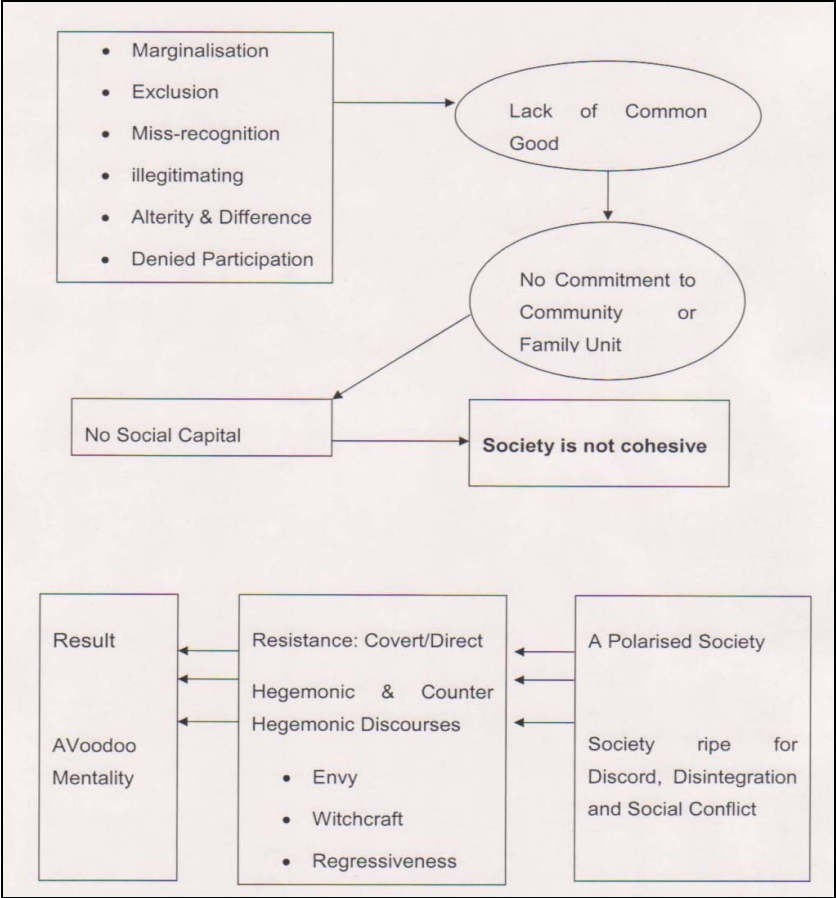


Fig. 9.7 Section 9.10 – The Uncohesive Society: A Regressive Scenario (Diagram by Norah Barongo-Muweke)

39 On Jenson’s social cohesion model, see section 4.11.1.

9.10.1 *Social Ambivalence of Collective Identities: Spiritualism as Analytical Category. The Case of Witchcraft and Religion*

Whilst integrating the notion of shift in macro and micro sociological variables to study the social construction of gender in background societies, we have already indicated the major trends in our data specifically the strong consensus regarding the structural disembodiment of the polygamous family habitus linked to the simultaneity of gender, class and ethnicity under articulations of hegemonic relations, the intersections of international capitalist modes of production, patriarchy, colonialism and abstract systems in the domestic sphere and their complex implications for the constellation of social relations, gender hierarchies and family boundaries (Section 9.8.1). Within this framework, I have drawn on feminist theories and argued that these mechanisms appear to socially construct multivariate gendered structural ambivalence (Section 4.4 & 4.5). Drawing on Habermas; I have argued that gendered ambivalence has evolved to strongly underpin the asymmetry between the public and voluntary sectors (Habermas, Section 5.2.6.1 & 9.8.1). Faced with the constraints of reconciling this ambivalence in the absence of critical adaptive tools and internal referentialities⁴⁰ within postcolonial abstract systems, the family as the primary resource *for identity construction* seems to have collapsed in part under modernity disembodiments, which would imply that women are bound to seek external resources for identity construction.⁴¹ You will recall from the previous conceptualisations of my empirical findings that the gendered ambivalence appears to articulate the rise of gendered religious and spiritual discourses within the public/private divide as reflected in the widespread Gospel Churches (Section 9.8.1). Meaning, that religious identities are likely to be more salient than the family ones, which would explain the strong influence and configuration of religion on one hand and witchcraft on the other in female postcolonial agency.

Whereas for the excluded groups, this agency can be viewed in terms of leverage function fulfilled by the perceived illegitimacy of the outcomes of intergroup comparisons (Tajfel 1981:267), witchcraft involvement can be perceived in terms of both hegemonic and counter hegemonic discourses focused on accessing social power, recovery and reinforcement of legitimacy. Thus, legitimacy appears perceived as the necessary framework for counter-

40 On internal referentialities see Giddens, Section 9.8.1.

41 Basing on Hunt; Tajfel and Turner; Giddens, Moore postulates that in order for groups to consolidate a valid collective identity the identity must also be a personal identity.

ing hierarchisation, marginalisation and insecurity within the tensions and challenges of negotiating diversity, inclusion and exclusion.

But the attempt to subvert the dislocating operations of kinship relations under postmodernity structural dismantlings, through covert means appears to compound the complexity of women's multidimensional and intersecting vulnerability by reconfiguring complex gender hierarchies and subordinating female status further to the power and influences of a new set of gender constellations of witch doctors. Whereas these appear to capitulate on the absence of expert systems for the systematic reflection and reconstructions of the trajectories of self-identities, it is significant that their locationality appears to mostly crystallize as economic beneficiaries of women's fate. Thus, potentially establishing relations based on exploitation. In order to sustain female dependency as a form of economic base, women appear subtly inserted deeper into the mechanisms of social divisions and intrigue rather than liberated from their oppression. Therefore their agency highly reveals the dimensions of gendered subjectivities, multilayeredness, juxta positioning and hierarchisation of identities (Section 4.2) as they relate to feminisation of violence and conflict. A focus on the intersections of ethnicity, gender, class relations, differential claims to resources, power, historical situativity and their precarious outcomes is underscored here (Section 4.4–4.7). As elsewhere mentioned, this paves a new direction for family literacy programs and pedagogical research.

Against this background, multidimensional positionality, intersectional vulnerability and the contradictory outcomes appear to directly impinge on the social practices and negotiation strategies of the women by suppressing the capacity for dialogue, transparency, conflict resolution and management, generating hypocrisy, repression and counter productivity ('Enkwe'). Hence culminating into social-polarisation between individuality and collectivities:

It is significant moreover, that witchcraft and voodoo are increasingly legitimated as indigenous pedagogical, reflexive tools and critical interventionist models.

It is significant, however that, the solely economic and capitalist interests of practitioners in this field have also been highlighted by a Ugandan news paper voicing the criticism of a witch doctor:

'They have no sympathies and do not reason. It is business first and last.' (New Vision, 2002)

To summarise, the foregoing analysis, the relationship between power and agency (Freire 1970 & 1972) and their configuration in consciousness can pedagogically be deconstructed within the intersections of postcolonial subjectivity, gender, class, ethnicity, multivariate structural ambivalence and witchcraft. It is important to review the discussion previously developed in this study which whilst integrating a structural analysis of consciousness argued that the materialisation of belonging, localized space and marginalisation of women from the pooled benefits of the common good within the household, has appeared to inverse the mechanism of social cohesion, in such a way that the social mobility of some prioritised identities and categories gravely destabilises the social security of others. Consequently advancement seems interpreted in terms of social insecurity by the excluded categories within these systems, which in turn appear conduced to block or destroy as the perceived strategy for self protection. Deutsch emphatically recalls that when personal or group attributes may be perceived as incompatible with those of another person or group this conduces the emergence of actions which prevent, obstruct, interfere, injure, diminish or make less effective or less likely any attribute of the other that is valued positively by the other.

By engaging in incompatible actions different parties are defined to actively involve in conflict. This emerges when one or both parties perceive that the existence of the other's attributes threatens or weakens the support of his own valued attributes (Deutsch 1991:30). Hence the broadly applied notion of 'Voodoo Mentality', which in this context specifically refers to processes trapping female consciousness in contra-development attitudes and manifesting social malaise as, appears reflected in the above observations:

"For instance they have Voodoo you know, someone, when they see development they just go to the shrines and witch doctors to go anti-development. To pull you down and well but on top .. they really pretend they are your friends [...]. And Voodoo itself works on principles of pretence. Otherwise if you want to bewitch someone and the witch doctor sent you for a piece of their cloth, how would you get the means or close to that person ? You have to buy yourself, be so close and then you get that [...]: Yes and of course the neighbours .. you find of course strange things. For instance when you are building you find skulls of animals of what ..." [Student in Stuttgart, aged 24]

"The way the witch-doctors talk, you get the feeling many people [...] spend most of their time plotting evil against others. You get the feeling no one is completely safe from the jealous neighbour or envious work mate." (New Vision, 2002)

Whereas the above discussion emphasizes the relevance of multidimensional, intersectional approaches and structural analysis of consciousness, it is important to avoid generalisation which shade a cultural deficit image on African societies. By contrast, some biographical data reflect developments of pacification norms and conflict resolutions through religion.

“We grew up as brothers and sisters. It’s hard for me to call them steps. They are more of real .. brothers and sisters and friends too. Well but that’s ... that’s not what goes on in other families too. These ones I call them my brothers and sisters but the other ones I think ... it’s a harder story [...] It’s probably we are founded also on the principles of Christianity. Where there was love ... where there was respect for everybody the way you are. There was acceptance of people just the way they are. That’s how we overcame this.” [Child and youth Worker in Stuttgart, aged 30]

I have argued elsewhere, however, that despite its central role in identity construction, the development of Christian core values and practical discursive consciousness is constrained by abstract constructions of the ‘Modern Evangelist Pastor’ who similar to the role of the witch doctor crystallises as economic beneficiary of women’s fate inserting them deeper into disparity, materialisation of belonging and social ambivalence (Section 9.7). As the Ugandan case currently illustrates through the shifting focus in the health promotion discourse, this role is being increasingly assumed by the political elites:

To ground my conceptual framework at this point, I once again draw attention to the summary of categories emerging from the biographies and their classifications. However as Glaser has pointed out, the power of theory lies in concepts and not descriptive analysis (Section 3.5.2), which eliminates illustrations of the frequency distribution. In this regard it is further necessary to point out to the fact that the discussion only contains a conservative representation of the social reality at hand, in order to avoid entering into the depth of atrociousness that women have significantly articulated within the biographies.

Whereas many adverse issues have been excluded, apart from minimal divergences there was general consensus about the repressive, coercive tactics and hostile attitudes of Co-wives reflected in the cruel treatment, emotional and physical abuse that children are often subjected to. It has also been established that the role played by step mothers significantly bears limiting influence on the construction of social identities of children specifically as regards the salience of cohesive repertoire. Not to mention the already highlighted mechanisms of exclusion, marginalisation and miss-recognition etc.

In sum, it could be postulated that, the potential to generate hate and mistreat of human beings appears to start from the structurally disembodied nucleus of African community – the postmodern family habitus. Whilst this crystallizes the introjections and subjective manifestations of globalising macro, mezzo mechanisms of difference and abstract epistemologies at the micro levels, we should not forget, the levels at which animosity, hatred, suspicions are articulated in latent violence with explosive implications through the naïve appearing witchcraft and the voodoo phenomenon, which when critically analyzed as in the emergent data, reveals covertly forms of violence. If this were so, then this type of global structural marginalisation as it relates to postmodern socialisation processes, the constraints of double ontology, ambivalent locations and multidimensional oppression could be linked to the brutalisation of subjectivity articulated in the intersections of gender, class ethnicity. In terms of practice theoretical orientation, it is important to identify the different levels of interventionist actions by linking analysis of subjective awareness, practices of self-making and collectivisation to analysis of the underpinnings and structural drivers of a voodoo mentality:

To provide a historical context relating to the reproduction of structure and agency one could indeed highlight Alice Lakwena and Joseph Koni who have extensively participated in atrocious wars in Northern Uganda and have also been intrinsically linked to engagement in witchcraft. The currently intensifying dimensions articulated in the ritual killings of children cannot not be ignored both at a local and international level (New Vision 2008; Monitor 2008) – strategies for evolving social infrastructures of critical indigenous pedagogy ought to integrate this perspective within a context applying a structural analysis of consciousness as the lens for understanding diversity, social cohesion, social capital and social transformation in postcolonial societies (Chapter 6).

Whilst Giddens and Bernstein theorise the reproduction of agency and structure (Section 4.6.1–4.6.2), Anthias and Yuval Davis have conceptualised the role of gender in the biological, social, cultural as well as symbolic figuration and configuration of ethnicity and therefore also the nation (Anthias and Yuval Davis, Chapter 1). Genderised roles within the household division of labour have conferred the process of child rearing (*Erziehung*) almost entirely in the hands of women (Section 4.4–4.5). Which means all the social-psychological problems women experience are impacted on to the children both male and female. However, it is equally clear that gender socialisation is likely to be decisive in determining the dimensions and implications of the

social effects in the biographies and identities of girls and boys. This is due to cultural norms and gender roles which are likely to restrain women more in the household impacting them more with the repercussions of social interaction. Because boys have more freedom, it could be hypothesised that they have a let out. However, the traumatising implications of the social ambivalence inherent in their consciousness would make them prone to external manipulation. At an oversimplified level, gendering violence and psychosociological deprivation at the household level, could be linked amongst other factors to the high vulnerability to infant soldiery and the HIV⁴² epidemic within a structural framework of interlocking social divisions, additive and intersecting marginalisation at local, national and global levels.

Hypothesis 1:

Oppressive Narratives, Double Ontology and Voodoo Mentality

Voodoo mentality manifests social change and the complex subjective embodiments – as a residue of the intersections, introjections and subjective manifestations of postcolonial and postmodernity generating contingencies, it articulates the complex intersections of ethnicity, gender, class and subjectivity in a context of double/triple ontology, materialisation of belonging and cultural space, differential claims to resources and power, historical situativity and their contradictory outcomes for postmodern socialisation (Chapter 4). Whereas this undermines social cohesion and social capital, it can be deconstructed through a structural analysis of consciousness integrating multidimensional and intersectional approaches.

As an exploited group within the social organisation of structurally disembedded kinship- and power hierarchies, women are economically and socially more affiliated to their matrilineal bonds, which have secured loyalty and social membership as a basis for constructing a common good and social cohesion.

9.10.2 Re-Evaluation and Transformatory Perspectives

To begin with, the link identified between family structure, gender, identity and social cohesion has come about as a result of analyzing the social interaction of migrant women. If properly highlighted, understanding female status and identity building from this point of view constitutes a study of the internal constitution of African society and democracies which contributes to new

42 On implications of pluralistic cultural shifts for HIV, compare Dilger, Section 5.2.6.

trends in theorising diversity, exclusion and social capital as they relate to community building, health promotion and social transformation. In view of the multidimensional process of social change and pluralistic cultural shifts as a consequence of modernity structural disembedments, the above issues must be conceptualised first at the household level of analysis in order to understand their subjective embodiments, manifestations and articulation in the reproduction of agency and structure. Whereas my research has facilitated a simplified perspective into a complex phenomenon, special attention has to be paid to the fast evolving modernity disembedding of gender from systematic identity framing contexts and their symbolic relations, in the tensions and contradictions of double and triple ontology constraining adaptive processes. This, appears to substantially impact societies and the internal constitution of democracies through inverting the mechanisms of social cohesion at the nucleus level of society. Since scholars agree that self-identity is defined through individual membership in groups, which in turn also defines their social identities (Tajfel 1982), understanding family identity in African societies, appears to directly unveil hidden factors of significant importance for societal development. Therefore in my opinion, social-psychological oriented structural models and multi level interventions should take one of the leading roles in analysis of subjectivities and pluralistic democratisation structures largely because of their linkage effects.

It has specifically been demonstrated how the fragmentation of society and knowledge through the transformation of public space has taken place relegating central existential issues such as those surrounding social cultural practices of subjectification and collectivisation to the household sphere (Chapter 8) which is dormant to discursive analysis as Arendt puts it (Arendt 1973). While aggravating the impacts of modernity disembedments, this appears to make it almost impossible for any researcher to get a holistic understanding of phenomena, which is further aggravated by the fact that accessibility to knowledge is restricted to the already relatively privileged social categories. And these are often sheltered from the social realities affecting society at large. These factors whilst paving the direction for evolving indigenous pedagogy also underscore the fundamental need for qualitative, independent social research and the extended development of grounded theories as context sensitive strategies.

In terms of practice theoretical orientation, the findings underscore the importance of identifying the different spaces and levels for engaging actions and multiple strategic interventions – building local, translocal and systemic level

communication and outreach strategies to increase public awareness and social reflexivity on ethnicisation, internalised practices of difference by identifying and training natural leaders, pedagogists, health workers, diverse practitioners and self organised groups as multipliers for eliminating ethnicisation and rolling out cohesive messages in the communities in a bid to strengthen community resilience. One way is clarify genealogies, trans-cultural codes and myths that construct, essentialise, legitimise and sediment practices of difference⁴³. The second way is through the vertical and horizontal humanitarisation of formal and informal education. Another pragmatic and bridging action is to develop policies that take action against ethnicisation.

To specify, the strongest category and the major independent variable constraining female identity, focus must turn to the analogous processes conditioning women's biographies in both background and migration contexts. While generating difference at the household level of society, modernity disembedments appear to produce illegitimizing mechanisms which accentuate in-group affiliations. Thus, invisibilising, othering and materialising belonging within gender hierarchies and pluralistic cultural shifts as well as producing exclusionist identities in socialisation processes. Whereas such notions appear to structure the basis for hindering participation and accessibility to basic rights of the illegitimated categories, transnationalism enters the agenda through definitions of migrant status that categorize participation rights and illegitimate contexts of existence on grounds of structured ethnicity, while also statistically invisibilising migrants despite their social economic contributions. Whereas statistical invisibilisation appears to directly constrain policy implementation for migrants, it is significant that invisibilisation and practices of (mis)recognition at household levels appear to hinder both the patriarchal intervention as well as the reflexive organisation of knowledge and internal referentiality in the wider societies.

Therefore to define the lack of solidarity and self-definition along gender categories is to unveil the dualism of agency and structure in postcolonial societies as a fusion of the interrelationships between power, social action, and their reproduction. It is therefore possible to draw from narrative therapy and critical pedagogy specifically the techniques of externalization, to pedagogically theorise and deconstruct tunnel visions, fixation, self defeating views of the self and the world (White 1995, Nichols & Schwartz 2007) or submerged consciousness and structural narratives as they relate to postcolonial subjec-

43 For a deeper analysis on genealogies, myths and transcultural codes see Nitsch (2008).

tivities (Critically, Freire, Section 6.1.5). It is also possible to draw from Becker-Schmidt's social learning model and conceptualise capacity building of postcolonial subjectivities in terms of empowering women to identify and recognise the conflicts in female lives, and how these configure and are reconfigured by the societal organisation and gender relations. In other words building ambivalence tolerance as the ability for deconstructing and critically negotiating the contradictions of social reality (Becker-Schmidt 1987). The pedagogical objective is to integrate a structural analysis of consciousness as the prerequisite for social transformation (Freire, Section 6.1.5). In addition to other intervention models, it is critical to address these issues within family literacy programs.

9.11 Conclusion and Recommendations

Voodoo mentality manifests social change and the dimensions of complex subjective embodiments – as a residue of postcolonial subjectivity, it articulates the complex intersections, introjections and subjective manifestations of multiple social divisions on the grounds of ethnicity, gender, class – a context of double and triple ontology as it relates to the simultaneity of postcolonialism, patriarchy, international capitalism, their articulation within the domestic sphere and their intersecting, additive and precarious outcomes for postmodern socialisation processes (Section Chapter 4 & 9). Whereas these dynamics undermine social cohesion and social capital, (re)construction requires a structural analysis of consciousness integrating multidimensional, intersectional, multi strategic interventions and cultural similarity approaches. Empirically it highlights the need for evolving a social infrastructure of pedagogy including analytical expansion of family literacy models. The structural disembedments of polygamous family systems is linked to complex implications for the transformation of social relations, gender hierarchies and family boundaries. Moreover, the dislocating mechanisms appear to socially construct multivariate gendered structural ambivalence (Section 4.4–4.1), which has evolved to growingly characterise the asymmetry between the public and private spaces (Section 5.2.6.1). Faced with the constraints of reconciling this ambivalence in the absence of critical adaptive tools and internal referentialities within postcolonial abstract systems, the family as the primary resource for identity construction seems to have collapsed in part under modernity disembedments, which would imply that women are bound to seek external resources for constructing their identities. In addition, the gendered structural ambivalence appears to articulate the rise of pluralistic cultural antagonisms conditioning gendered religious and spiritual discourses within the public/

private divide as reflected in the widespread Gospel Churches on one hand and the 'Voodoo' hegemonic and counter hegemonic discourses on the other. Meaning that religious and spiritual identities are likely to be more salient than the family ones, which would explain the strong influence and configuration of religion on one hand and witchcraft on the other in female post-colonial agency and practices of subjectification (Section 9.9.2).

This framework of understanding has also been linked to the structural determinants of basic health systems, structural underpinnings of the Aids epidemic and the framework for integrating verticality and horizontality within multiple interventions aimed at developing responsive social, educational policies and broader transformatory action.

In this regard, a focus on household dynamics, family systems and identity as core subjects and interventions within educational programs and social policy would explicate the internal constitution of democracies and directly strengthen health systems, social action and cohesion.

In the African context, the social cultural background coupled with the migration experience appears to hinder amongst other things the construction of gender identity and sisterhood affiliation amongst women who are set in competition against each other by the structural mechanisms controlling their lives. Lack of solidarity can be described as a social construct and largely a reflection of the impact of micro, mezzo & macro transitions and pluralistic cultural shifts. It is a manifestation of the dialectic between collective identities and individuality constrained by the low status and economic dependence of women as a consequence of the transformation of the gender order through capitalist modes of production and colonial encounters. Evidently, the complex and constantly intersecting and ambivalent (trans)locational positionality within a framework of gender subordination and manifold social differentiation, assumes a dominant role in identity construction. In terms of practices of subjectification and collectivisation, it appears to produce a conflict between gender and social identities constituted in the capacity to simultaneously build and subdue solidarity processes – the 'structural ambivalence' of postcolonial polygamous families which appears internalised as a norm of social practices in the daily encounters of social life. But its maintenance appears structurally constructed by international migration. Therefore the Diaspora can be approached as the unfolding of the social experiences undergone in the original communities in a different arena of destination societies, which at the same time has other added constraints of its own. Within this framework, the interface between the mechanisms of polygamy, patriarchal op-

pression, postcolonial situativity and the structural conditioning of migrant status is made clear. Therefore nexus analysis of difference through a focus on the international capitalist modes of production conditioning the political economy of migrant labour, the convergence of the fourfold vulnerability model within structural and abstract conjunctures of historicity, geopolitical conditionings and postcolonial subjectivity is central to understanding the structural constitution of women's biographies as they relate to diversity, social cohesion and social capital.

Research and transformatory approaches need to critically address processes of self-making and collectivisation through a deconstructionist focus on the growing intra-self ethnisation, territorialisation, fixation, salient constructions of difference and materialisation of belonging on the basis of ethnicity, class and gender within transnational localities. Against this background, deconstruction of difference and construction of social cohesion must problematise the transformation and fixation of fluid social relations through colonial institutional codification (Section 4.6.1).

By subduing female consciousness as the major bearers of socialisation, the interaction of global influences with social cultural practices of subjectification and collectivisation has destabilized the social fabric of African societies breeding social disparity at the grass roots level. Hence, the self destructive mechanisms articulating the 'Voodoo mentality', but which in this particular context traps female consciousness in contra development attitudes and manifests social malaise as described above. At an aggregate level, lack of the common good or common denominators in family units extensively segments the interests of society and crucially undermines the sense of a common destiny as a cohesive factor and major criteria in the construction of self organisation activities in the Diaspora. This raises a question concerning the implications of postmodernity disembedments on the construction of collective identities as well efficacy in terms of building democratic structures and cultures in the countries of origin.

Apparently while disembedding genders from traditional symbolic resources for identity construction, postmodernity has failed to inject reflexivity as a new internal referential and the modern key for transformation. This has collapsed the positive symbiosis between agency and structure. The double effect of which is concretised through the divide between the public and private spheres that have relegated witchcraft and polygamy to the household sector making them dormant to discursive analysis especially within the Church but also in the variety of educational institutions. While lacking the critical tools

for problematising the social contingencies of polygamy, the function of the community Church as the largest provider of adult education, informal socialisation and modern symbolic resource for identity development diminishes. Instead it has consolidated the ground for exploitation and escalation of female status through the modern evangelists and witch doctors.

Hence African countries could be described as acutely lacking the conditions required to build societies along gender categories and social cohesion. The mechanisms of social cohesion have been inversed. Instead of constructing group identity through the principles of Inclusion; Belonging; Participation; Legitimacy and Recognition, structurally disembodied postmodern polygamy appears to socialise women under a range of conflicting circumstances void of the common good. These issues evolve around the configuration of status within mechanisms of Difference, Alterity, Marginalisation, Ilegitimation, Hierarchisation and Miss-recognition.

In conclusion, research underscores the importance of developing critical consciousness through grounded pedagogy, which critically reformulates cultural practices through independent context sensitive and systematising social research. This should promote workability, relevance and social reflexivity. In terms of practice theoretical orientation, the findings underscore the importance of identifying the different spaces and levels for engaging actions and multiple strategic interventions – building local, translocal and systemic level communication and outreach strategies to increase public awareness and social reflexivity on ethnicisation, internalised practices of difference by identifying and training natural leaders, pedagogists, health workers, diverse practitioners and self organised groups as multipliers for eliminating ethnicisation and rolling out cohesive messages in the communities in a bid to strengthen community resilience. One way is clarify genealogies, trans-cultural codes and myths that construct, essentialise, legitimise and sediment practices of difference⁴⁴. The second way is through the vertical and horizontal humanitarisation of formal and informal education. Another pragmatic and bridging action is to develop policies that take action against ethnicisation. Similarly, it is important to enhance multiple strategies through implementing vertical and horizontal programs that work to create awareness of the structural ambivalences of gender at the household levels and aim to promote ambivalence tolerance amongst women through addressing the conflicts and tensions of patriarchy and capitalism. This will require developing family literacy programs and conceptual frameworks amongst other things.

44 For a deeper analysis on genealogies, myths and transcultural codes see Nitsch (2008).

10 Quantitative Findings

10.1 Social Statistical Data and Labour Force Participation Background and Conceptual Framework

In this chapter I don't seek to construct validity of the already grounded empirical observations but instead my major aim is an attempt to statistically compile the quantitative representation of African women in England and Germany as well as present their social demographic characteristics including a comparative analysis of the qualification-, educational- and work profiles. In this regard, it is important to note the large deficiencies in the available data and the related difficulties of accessing it, which will be described below in more detail. Consequently our observations are constrained and are just useful for establishing broad trends. In chapter 6, it has already been in-depth explained that the comparative situation of migrants in both host countries cannot be understood out of the context of historical specificity especially as regards the institutional, social and symbolic processes preconditioning international migration. Most specifically it is important to bear in mind that England's colonial links have shaped the patterns, volume, social-economic profiles and labour participation of African women in unique ways that may not be observed in Germany because of its diminished colonial role (Section 6.1.3).

10.2 Part I England

10.2.1 *Problems and Limitations of Operating Available Statistics*

This analysis attempts to present a general statistical overview of the labour participation of African women in England through a comparison of their activity rates with the activity rates of the total female population. The resulting assessment will set the discussion on the explicitly much lower labour force participation in Germany in the context of broader observations. In this regard, we note that there are important underlying issues to clarify before commencing on to the main establishments drawn from the data analysis:

Closely allied to the impediments in operating statistics are the massive deficits in the statistical inference. In the migration literature, there is general consensus that the role of female migrants on the international labour market

has been greatly underplayed due to a lack of statistics or by the methods of data collection. The United Nation's Secretariat for instance, refers to female migrants as the 'invisible half' (UN 1995). This view derives from the fact that the abundant statistics tend to be gathered for administrative purposes such as those relating to controlling migration (ibid.). It has largely been assumed that international migrants are overwhelmingly men and women have been viewed as dependents, therefore sex as a category has often not been recorded (Critically, UN, Anthias, Morokvasic, Section 4.8). As a consequence of this, data on women's social economic background; educational attainment and their labour force participation has been largely ignored – precisely making the available information to be partial, incomplete or downright biased. Hence Talpinos & Kritz have also asserted that international statistics often mirror national policy rather than data needs (Section 4.8.1).

Even the growing acknowledgement today of the active economic roles of women (Morokvasic 1983) seems to have done little to correct the data deficiencies. This is particularly the case of Germany where collection of statistical data seems to serve the above identified administrative purpose of migration control. Moreover, as a consequence of rating their numbers too small to form separate units of analysis, the data on Black African migrants regarding social economic background, educational level and labour force participation has been lumped together in the category of all aliens (Ausländer) in the key statistical sources (Statisches Bundesamt 2002). This has certainly impeded the comparative analysis with the overall problem of collecting corresponding statistics. In this connection, it is significant that African women constitute numbers that have fallen through the cracks within social policy. This is especially reflected in the new immigration law (Zuwanderungsgesetz) and the new naturalisation policy (Einbürgerungsgesetz).

In sharp contrast, the data available from England are particularly helpful in establishing a clearer image from which broad trends can be assessed. The key statistics have been broken down into various categories such as those affecting the dimensions of sex, age, status (qualification) and ethnicity as they relate to economic participation. Yet, despite this quite informative source, there are still major deficiencies to contend with, which call for applying caution in interpreting the statistics:

- Although certain major indicators of performance can only be traced from dynamic models accounting for changes overtime by comparing patterns of women's activity rates in different years, the available data relies on

- dated figures from census statistics – in this case, census statistics 2001. Thus, only providing a static picture of labour participation.
- Secondly the figures presented ought to be viewed as underestimates in part due to certain gaps in statistics owed to the undocumented informal sector though it appears explicitly large in England. Notable examples here include the economic activities of sole traders, hawkers, Seamstresses, Beauty care, Shoe shine workers etc., etc.
 - Similarly the complexities surrounding the definitions regarding what constitutes an international migrant are not without consequential difficulties in operating statistics (See Nuscheler 1995a:28; Tapinos & Kritz, Section 4.8.2; Hillman 1996: 18 & Lim 1995: 30 with other references). In this research, the official statistical sources on migrants pose limitations in analyzing their economic incorporation since the economic functions of certain categories of women such as those with unregulated migrant status are excluded. Presumably only the situation of migrants with a regular working status is covered here although there is enough evidence of clandestine migrant participation in the hidden economy (See Anthias 2000 & 2001a, for a review).¹ Massey et al. (1994) summarise our observations here well underscoring the under numeration of undocumented migrants.² Authors like Anthias point out to the reproduction of an ethnically and gender differentiated primary labour market, where female entry is marked by a high level of vulnerability – as the major supply of cheap and flexible labour (Anthias 2001). Hence, the missing data would have been relevant in understanding female status and in comprehending some of the causes for the comparatively higher unemployment rates typically observed amongst migrants.

10.2.2 *Data Specification*

The statistical analysis for England is based on micro census data for the year 2001. One major issue of clarification concerns identification and establishment of the relevant samples for comparison between migrant and indigenous labour. The idea of using the ‘native born category’ as the variable appears infeasible in England. This is because the separate elements in the statistics are too heterogeneous having been classified along the lines of ethnicity in

1 Tapinos (1999) elaborates clandestine immigration with special reference to the economic and political issues surrounding undocumented migrant work.
2 See also Brettell and Hollifield (2000) and their review on migration theory.

the British society (SOC 2001). Consequently, the most suitable group for comparison is the ‘all people category’ though this also has some apparent deficits – statistics are here being evaluated in an ambiguity context due to the practice of classifying together migrants with native born in the same categories. Hence blurring the implications of the inherent status differences. But (im)migrants were strongly aware of these status differences. They expressed positive prospects for their children who are born in England (second generation) – meaning that the intergenerational transmission of the condition of inequality³ appears to some extent deconstructed through citizenship attainment. Migrant women also referred to the advantageous position enjoyed by fellow migrants from other EC countries. Similarly, although the economic activity rates of African women may vary considerably by nationality due to cultural and religious factors as well as the macroeconomic conditionalities in the countries of origins, the data has not been broken down on a nationality basis.

To specify the numerical gender composition of the data, the figures in table 10.1 below show the compiled total aggregate of Black Africans in relation to the number of all people living in England. It is significant that the aggregate representation of Black Africans south of the Sahara is much higher than that of North Africans (almost ten times much more). By contrast, in Germany Black Africans and North Africans are almost equally represented. Whereas in the whole people category as well as the Black African representation women slightly outnumber their male counterparts, when it comes to North Africa, men tend to slightly outnumber their female counterparts.

Table 10.1 – Country of birth by sex In England

	ALL PEOPLE	Total Males	Total Females
ALL PEOPLE	49,138,831	23,922,144	25,216,687
Africa	798,218	392,308	405,910
North Africa	67,167	38,305	28,862
Black Africa	731,051	354,003	377,048

Source: Table S-15, CD2, Census 2001, National Statistics England
Excerpt Barongo-Muweke

3 See Maxwell, Section 4.11 for a deeper review.

To specify on the data aspects covered here, female dimensions are analyzed in relation to labour participation rates, occupational & qualification status, occupational and age distribution, sex segregation, etc. Where significant differences between African women and African men were observed, data was broken down to analyze these trends. However, data on income levels is not available, though exploring the earnings differences between migrants and the 'whole people category' would constitute a further major variable in establishing the extents of economic integration based on a comparative analysis of the value awarded to experience and skills on the international labour market.

10.2.3 Occupational Distribution

Apart from one key area which will be demonstrated later in detail, the most striking element reflected by the data on England's labour market is the high similarity between the occupational distribution of African migrants and that of the entire population. As illustrated by Figures 10.1 & 10.2 respectively and as we will also describe in more detail in the subsequent discussion, this is interpreted as symbolic of a relatively high labour integration for African migrants. However, the rates of full-time employment vs. part-time employment demonstrate that, despite the high labour integration (female status), social differentiation on the basis of gender and ethnicity is still apparent between African migrants and the all people category (see page 8, Part-time Statistics).

Alongside the above observations, fig. 10.1 & 10.2 also elaborately demonstrate horizontal segregation and the reproduction of gender specific roles in labour processes. The bulk of women is employed at the intermediate level of the occupational hierarchy (For the standard occupational classification, see SOC 2001). Coincidentally most of the traditionally feminised jobs are represented here.

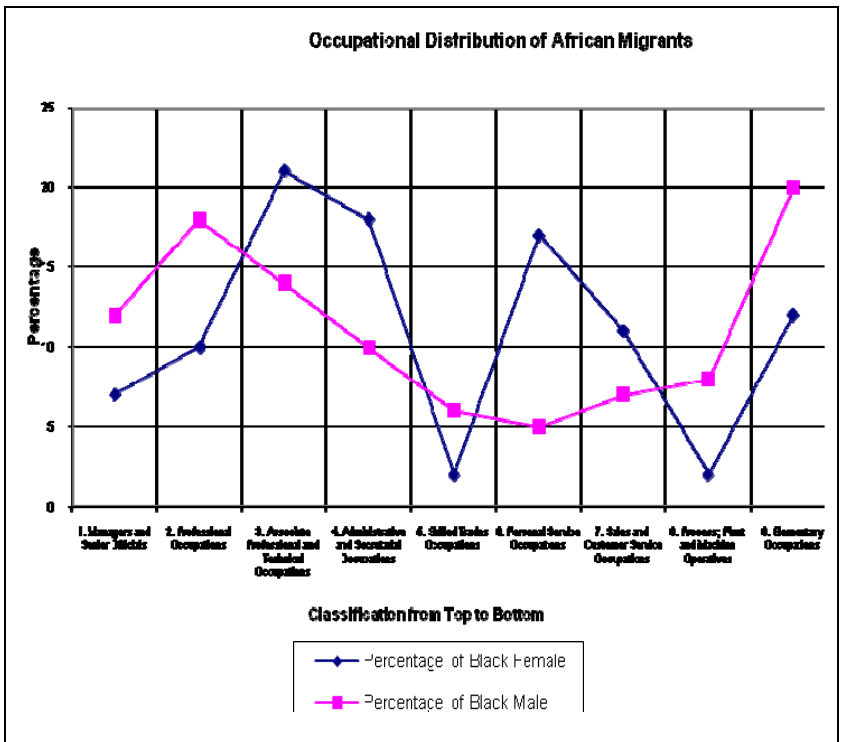


Fig. 10.1 Sex and occupation by ethnic group (black Africans). Source: Table S-109, CD2, Census 2001, National Statistics. Diagram: Barongo-Muweke.

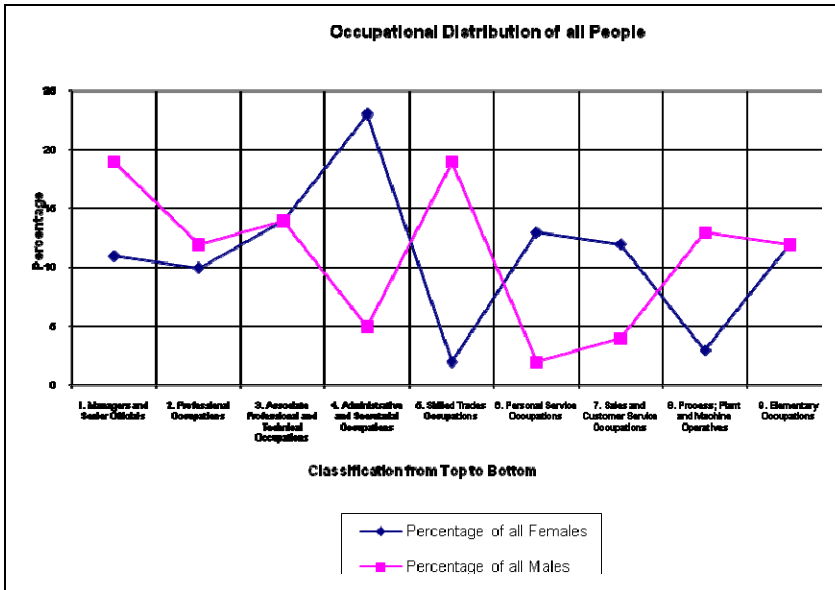


Fig. 10.2 Sex and occupation by ethnic group (all people). Source: Table S-109, CD2, Census 2001, National Statistics. Diagram: Barongo-Muweke)

Since this level mainly constitutes the expanding services sector, this implies that the recent transformation of the economies of highly industrialised countries that have raised the demand for female labour simultaneously inducing large-scale redundancies in the masculinised industrial sectors, thus also favouring the migration of women⁴ have quite specifically impacted on African migrants:

Specifically considering the intermediate sector, once again the evidence reinforces the potential of migrants to perform given adequate labour status conditions (See also UN Secretariat 1995:7). It is important here to note that African women have substantially gained access to the higher end of the

4 Seller (1994:3) & Sassen-Koob (1984: 1161–1162) highlight in more detail the implications of the above market dynamics for female migration. Such transformations include the general shift to a service economy merged with the down grading of manufacturing i.e. ship building, mining and steel industry the increased demand for low waged labour, the tendency to move jobs to the informal sector of the economy. All of which have boosted the demand for traditionally feminised occupations such as domestic service, nursing, teaching etc., at a simultaneous time when the demand for male labour is decreasing (Section 5.6.5).

occupational scale, sometimes doing even better than the all women category. It is significant here that, their occupational distribution is denser in the higher ranks than in the lower ranks. A surprising 17,682 black African women work at level 3 in the fields of associate professional and technical occupations. This represents 58% of all black Africans at this level as compared to 47% females for the all people category here. At level four (administrative and secretarial occupations) 15,104 black African women are employed here as compared to 8,670 male counterparts. Level six engages 14,470 black African women and only 4,844 of their male counterparts.

In view of the current labour market transitions, the segregation observed above that sediments female activity in the expanding tertiary sector of production has major implications. These regard the need for a re-classification of female occupational status in order to more adequately reflect the immeasurable value and central role increasingly assumed by female labour. This has caught the eye of many researchers adopting a Marxist oriented role conflict model and social constructionist approach to contest the low level of recognition accorded the skill, qualifications and professional experience of migrants as a result of the tendency to feminize the obscurities in the private and public spheres – Female occupations are often undervalued on a reductionist basis as an extension of the domestic and caring roles (Lenz; Becker-Schmidt; Axeli-Knapp; Meillassoux, Section 4.4 & 4.5): Thus, scholars also define gender as a structural category constituting stratification criteria and relations of social inequality (Section 5.4.2).

10.2.4 Gender, Ethnicity and Occupational Segregation

When focus is broadened to study the overall trends in the occupational scale, significant differences are observed at level 2 for the two female categories. These differences can be analytically explained in terms of the transformation of the gender order, specifically the destabilisation of gender hierarchies and the resulting status changes achieved by women of the majority through contesting gender stereotypes and breaking through the occupational barriers which hinder participation in the traditionally masculinised fields⁵. Whereas the ratios of women from the whole people category at the level of 'Professional Occupations' closely match their male counterparts falling just slightly below, the gender gap between African migrants is substantial.

5 On the transformation of the gender order, see also critically Oechsle & Wetterau, Section 5.4.2.

This variation could also be attributed to differences in the social and cultural models gendering the acquisition of specific knowledges, skills and competencies in the different country contexts. It is possible to argue in Pfau-Effinger's terms regarding the objective social structures and the subjective relationships of individuals to these structures, specifically the extent to which different beliefs and normative models about the 'ideal' nature of men and women's place in society can determine social action (i.e. the pattern of educational- and working biographies). Hence highlighting the notion of 'gender culture' to illustrate the duality between culture and social systems, as the framework for understanding aspects of manifold connections and interweavings, tensions, breakings and time lags in the relationship of cultural ideals and societal practice (Pfau-Effinger 1996; also Nicky Le Feuvre & Muriel Andrioci 2003). Consequently the divergent modes of participation in the above data can further be interpreted as reflecting the differentiating impacts of various 'gender cultural models' in conditioning female labour market participation, whereby women from industrialised countries have reaped economic returns from a faster evolution of social structures and norms which affect the genderisation of roles. Meaning as others have also argued, that it is the degree of *historical variations in national models* particularly under the *impact of feminist reflexivity* on the emancipation of women from dominant masculine social representations that has significantly accounted for difference here.⁶ It is possible to postulate, therefore that configurations of gender, class and ethnicity have differentially empowered women and constituted the core mechanisms of sectorial marginalisation.

Vertical segregation continues to structure the occupational hierarchy. However the distribution of African women as the minority in the higher occupational ranks could nonetheless be described as relatively high in view of the multiple constraints of female migrant status. And there are strong indices to show that as women's status evolves, highly skilled female workers will not only extend their occupation of the horizontal labour space but they will also

6 Whilst feminist rooted in Marxist theory have critiqued the unequal incorporation of the domestic sphere into capitalistic modes production (Section, 4.4.4), Claude Martin 1997 argues for a more sophisticated definition of mechanisms which govern the perpetual definition and redefinition of the articulation between private means of protection (by family members) and public means of protection (by state/or local authorities). According to him, the issues have more to do with the local, infra-national and above all, historical variations that exist within and between national models than with identifying national variations (Nicky Le Feuvre & Muriel Andriocci 2003).

increasingly gain access to the higher ranks.⁷ (*This could be illustrated at level three*).

10.2.5 *The Shifting Meaning of Female Labour Participation/Status*

While men demonstrate less sectorial concentration, it must be recognised that the highest levels and the lowest ranks of the occupational hierarchy are both male dominated: For instance level 1 of managers and senior officials engages 10,425 black African men as compared to only 6,390 black African women. Level 2 (professional occupations) represents the fields of science and technology, health, professional teaching & research, business & public services. Here 15,743 African men are occupied as compared to 8,874 black women. At levels 8 and 9 on the bottom of the hierarchy 7,306 African men are employed as compared to 1,349 African women and 17,367 black African males and 10,245 black African females respectively.

However, since on the average in the overall participation rates, African women are more represented at the intermediate level but underrepresented in the lowest occupational rungs and low skilled areas with presumably also lower wages, this indicates a relatively high level of entry into the labour market. The high entry level further implies that women have better occupational bridging and career building opportunities.

This seems to mark a shift in the gender hierarchies and patriarchal bread winner model in a context eroding the traditional image of women as dependants of migrant male wage earners (See critically, Section 4.8). Women (im)-migrants appear to be turning into new bread earners and are certainly assuming a crucial role in the class formations amongst ethnic groups (Chapter 8). Though the emanating new gender dynamics with their complex implications cannot be fully investigated here,⁸ their importance is underscored.

The implications of migrant women's changing status are further grounded by the patterns of integration in the educational system where female activity rates not only reflect the trend in the all people category but also strongly challenge their male counterparts. Considering the student enrolment ratios in the 'all people category', women form a slight majority over men. As is

7 Others like Houston; Kramer and Barrett identify migrant women's economic activities as increasingly occupying both the highly skilled and unskilled labour market sectors (UN 1995).

8 What are the implications of these shifts as they relate to the dynamics of family structure, social stability and children's socialisation but also; to male dependency and female exploitation, etc.?

consistent with the sex distribution in the ‘under 24 category’ amongst African migrants. What illustrates the changing roles and statuses even more strongly is the figures represented in the ‘25 and above category’. These depict the number of African women as being only slightly less than that of men whereas the constraints of motherhood would have been expected to drastically reduce female representation here.

Table 10.2 – Sex, age and economic activity by ethnic group (full-time students)

	Black African (Male)	Black African (Female)
Aged 16 to 24 years		
Full-time Student	7,190	8,354
Aged 25 years and over		
Full-time student	6,777	6,264

Source: Table S-108, CD2, Census 2001, National Statistics England. Excerpt: Barongo-Muweke.

The relevance of female status for African migrants in modern labour participation can again be illustrated: Within segmented labour markets many of the fields in which men dominate are also the shrinking sectors of the new economy.

This is for example well demonstrated in the three occupational categories. The plant & machine operatives, managers and senior officials as well as the skilled trades occupations which includes printing, skilled metal & electrical trades, skilled construction & building, etc.

Secondly as opposed to their female counterparts male economic activity concentrates at both extremes of the occupational hierarchy which are characterised by less labour mobility – The demands of highly specialised skills on the one hand and the constraints and limitations of skills deficiency on the other. Moreover this skills polarisation within male labour further implies that the economic and social disparities on the labour market between men are widening while the social gap between working women is narrowing. And this trend is likely to persist.

10.2.6 *Part-time Labour as Emergent Indicator of Female Social Status*

Part-time employment assumes vital relevance in any analysis of female labour participation. Indeed the high activity rates observed for women in most labour statistics are linked to the availability of part-time employment (See Global Employment Trends 2004). While this is characteristic of the all people category, it is not as strongly reflected in the employment statistics of African women. By contrast, figure 3 demonstrates an overwhelmingly high percentage of migrant concentration in full-time employment rather than part-time work. On the other hand, the rates of unemployment amongst migrants are higher than the all people category. Both trends are important and will relevantly be used to analyze the vulnerable status of migrants with regard to the constraints imposed through the double burden of combining employment and reproductive roles. However because data regarding the transitions from part-time work to full-time work are not contained in the census source, it is necessary to treat our data yields with a relevant degree of caution.

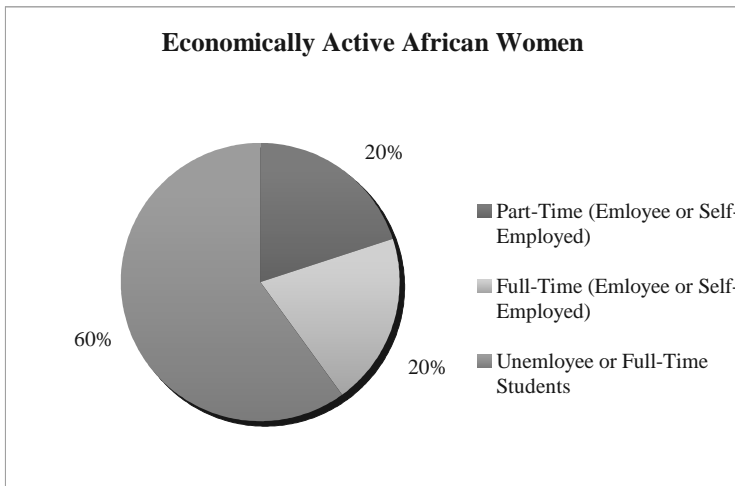


Fig. 10.3 Sex, age and economic activity by ethnic group (economically active African women). Source: Table S-108, CD2, Census 2001, National Statistics England. Diagram: Barongo-Muweke

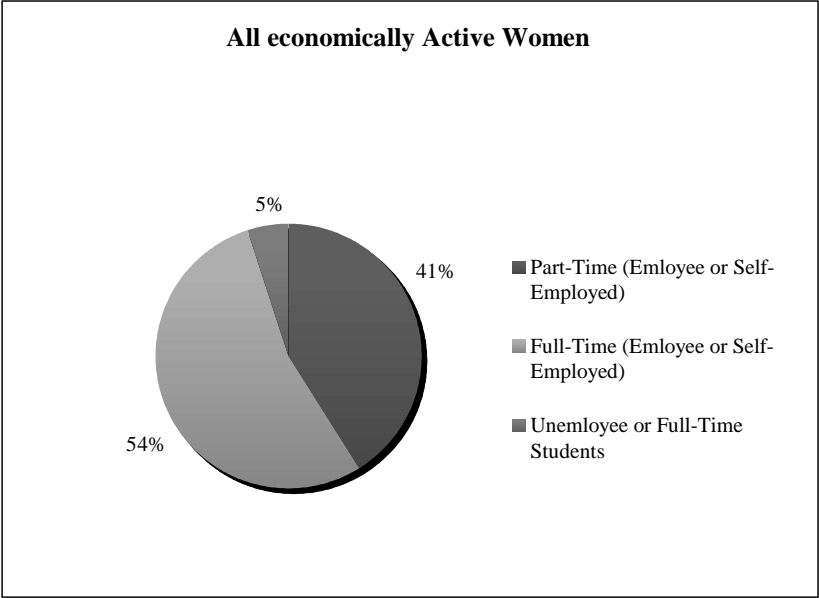


Fig. 10.4 Sex, age and economic activity by ethnic group (all economically active women). Source: Table S-108, CD2, Census 2001, National Statistics England. Diagram: Barongo Muweke

What distinguishes part-time employment making it attractive for female participation is commonly identified as the flexibility of work arrangements which facilitates the combined roles of labour and domestic responsibilities. Because participation rates of African women in part-time work are comparatively lower than the all female category, it can be deduced that the domestic sector of migrants has been disadvantaged. This is inclined to articulate differences in social status at the same occupational level: While native women can afford to forego full-time employment for the benefit of their families, migrant women are compelled to fall back onto unconventional means. Meaning as afore mentioned in the beginning sections that in spite of the high labour integration (female status), social differentiation on the basis of gender and ethnicity is still apparent between African migrants and the all people category:

Consistent with participant observation of the situation of African women in England, the high reliance on kinship networks or live-in caregivers could be

postulated. This may allow the women to participate in full-time employment, however it appears to incorporate significant disadvantages. Not only does it appear to increase the burdens of social dependencies but also in most cases the live-in caregivers are semi-literate and seem hardly capacitated to cope with the academic and social fostering of the children. Moreover, there are also social discrepancies and language barriers to contend with. Meaning that this often leaves the children on their own in a metropolitan environment characterised by the social influences and social risks of poor neighbourhoods.

For those women without the reliability of kinship support networks, the complementarity of family and professional life is most likely to virtually diminish under the arising conflicts. This is possibly one of the factors conditioning the weaker position of migrant women and their higher vulnerability to unemployment indicated in the charts above.

Specifically considering the data for the part-timers as illustrated in figure 10.5 below, it is evident that part-time work is a gendered phenomenon. In the all people category aged 25 and above, 3,871,781 people are part-time employees, of these people 3,388,756 are women. For the Sub-Saharan Africans 22,652 people are part-time employees and 16,318 of them are female.

Table 10.3 – Sex, age and economic activity by ethnic group (part-time activity rates)

	Black African (All)	Black African (Male)	Black African (Female)	ALL PEOPLE	All People (Male)	All People (Female)
Aged 16 to 24 years	69,276	33,082	36,194	5,361,556	2,699,692	2,661,864
Self-employed – Part-time	89	51	38	16,698	8,971	7,727
Self-employed – Full-time	214	159	55	70,899	57,624	13,275
Aged 25 years and over	259,807	122,191	137,616	30,170,535	14,790,285	15,380,250
Self-employed – Part-time	3,059	1,864	1,195	677,335	302,987	374,348
Self-employed – Full-time	11,003	8,594	2,409	2,190,056	1,789,650	400,406

Source: Table S-108, CD2, Census 2001, National Statistics England. Diagram: Barongo-Muweke.

If we take into account the current transformations on the labour market, the gendered dimensions and implications of part-time cannot be taken on a light shoulder. Focusing on the emergent themes at the centre of contemporary debates, it is significant that the definition of part-time employment is only marginally distinguished from the framings of full-time employment. According to census 2001, it is defined as working 30 hours or less a week, while full-time employment is described as working 31 hours or more a week. Since the employment arrangements are not necessarily synonymous with variations in working hours, this has created grounds for researchers to argue that as women's work force grows, female exploitation and status deterioration will also increase – the pressure to minimize production costs, has raised the demand for increased flexibility in employment. To ensure maximum labour input at minimum costs, subcontracting of production to temporary work agencies by user companies is a prominent feature that has emerged. But through this, deregulation of the labour market has occurred whereby marketisation of employment relations has significantly deteriorated the contractual and legal environment. Hence, increasing workers risks and insecurity especially as reflected through the extensive dismantling of sheltered employment that provides job security through fixed term contracts, workers' benefits, internal job training and career progression.⁹ Since working class solidarity is undermined by the high levels of structural employment making it difficult for unions to effectively resist work place changes that disadvantage workers (Rubin, qtd. in: Ezzy 2001), this intensifies the implications of the above mentioned processes. Studies analyzing the social consequences of work organisation have demonstrated that the language, norms and values of the engineered cultures at work places have the effect of dominating employee's subjectivities (Ezzy 2001). This can be most clearly demonstrated through empirical observations of women's lived labour force experiences in the production line:

In this regard, the interviews have clearly illustrated a dismantling of solidarity processes (team work), increased internal conflicts and competition which appear to articulate the contradictory outcomes of the policies of company management reacting to the labour market transitions discussed here. In terms of compound vulnerability emerging from intersecting social divisions, this

⁹ See for example Mehta's (1993) detailed report on the consequences of globalisation on women; Gottschalk Karin (2000) on marketization of employment relations, the break down of social contracts and institutional arrangements, Oorshot a.o. (1999) illumination of the evolution of social protection in the Netherlands.

can be conceptualised as an extension of the dismantling of gender identity, social cohesion and social capital accrued to the marginalisation experiences in the polygamous habitus of background societies (Chapter 9). Furthermore they place enormous pressure on women by intensifying workloads at reduced remuneration, often not providing regularized working hours while also diminishing workers autonomy.¹⁰ Hence temporary work agencies have represented a widespread tool of exploitation, where the status and lived experiences of migrant women appear increasingly constructed in terms which Potts has conceptualised as subsystems of the world labour market that facilitate reduction of production costs by providing cheap flexible manpower (Potts 1998).¹¹ In consistence with our observations regarding exploitation of migrants, Heisler in her sociological review draws attention to the ethnic enclave economy which confines migrant labour force participation in the secondary labour market of dual systems. In spite of the variety of disadvantages encountered, its importance is emphasized as an alternative strategy which facilitates the incorporation of those categories of migrants lacking professional skills and language proficiencies (Portes & Bach, qtd. in: Heisler 2000; Brettell & Hollifield 2000).

10.2.7 *Unemployment*

The unemployment rates of male migrants vs. female migrants match the respective patterns for the whole people category in England. Considering the average percentage in the economic activity rates, it can be established that female engagement in paid labour is substantially high. This collaborates the consensus in literature regarding the increased labour force growth of women¹². Noteworthy is, when it comes to the invisible sector to include the services of home making and reproductive roles which form the pillar of society, women appear to take the lion's share of these duties. Whereas, in the age group of 25 and over, a total of 2,1116,610 people are involved here, 1,965,397 of them are women. The same tendency is reflected amongst Black women and men whereby out of the 27,759 Africans involved, 19,742 are women as compared to only 2,077 black African men. Subsequently, gendered invisibilisation and exploitation still remains.

10 See also Baker and Graham, qtd. in: Ezzy (2001).

11 See also Meillassoux (1981); Sassen (1988).

12 On women's increased participation in labour migration (See Castles & Miller; OECD; Potts; Hondagneu-Sotelo; Anthias; Morokvasic, Section 1.1).

10.2.8 *Sex, Age and Economic Activity by Ethnic Group*

On the basis of data from both the whole people category and African migrants, it can be postulated that self-employment is a gendered economic activity in England, which tends to exclude women. For example of the 70,899 full-time self-employed in the 16–24 age group of the ‘all people category’, only 13, 275 are women. Here the number of African men almost triples the number of African women engaged. The tendency becomes even clearer in the ‘25 and above’ age group.

10.2.9 *Age, Qualification and Ethnicity*

On the basis of the census data, it is difficult to establish the reasons for the high labour integration observed in the participation rates on the one hand and the factors affecting the higher unemployment rates amongst migrants on the other. But it is worth noting the simultaneity of ethnicity, gender, class and their complex intersections with institutional and legislative structures that differentially empower migrants.

Once again, the historical context acquires meaning in comparative analysis of labour participation (Section 6.1.3). The impact of historical ties, which established similarities in educational systems and language skills, seems to decisively play a role in determining occupational status. With a varying degree of caution and with the exception of certain special fields like medicine (see *HSMP* 2008) and law, the British system could be interpreted as readily facilitating recognition of professional experience and educational credentials. African migrants appear to have an advantageous position and to escape the constraints of de-qualification and the associated fragmentation of work biographies characteristically shaping (im)migrant experiences observed in Germany and Canada (Sections 4.6.5).

10.2.10 *Language, Cultural Assimilation and Identity*

The issue of language in relation to international migration is not without major difficulties in spite of the advantaged position of anglophone evolution of the analyzed African countries.

In this regard I have observed labour market selectivity on the basis of social status and its interlocking with gender, class and ethnicity as a particularly important factor in structuring social difference amongst migrants. The interviews have demonstrated that women with tertiary education face substantial barriers on the labour market whilst those with higher educational attainment

(i.e. university education) showed no awareness of impediments related to language ability.

With reference to labour integration, the subject also raises significant questions regarding subjectification practices, collectivisation and identity issues. By contrast to other migrants, women with tertiary education appeared to experience an identity crisis linked to the challenges and tensions of adapting to a class based habitus.¹³ According to participant observation, this category of women reflected higher tendencies for assimilation as a coping strategy both at an individual level and collectively in their social networks and organisations. Moreover assimilation at this status level seemed to have the contradictory effects of making them more susceptible to the influences of dialect English, which appeared less readily transferable on the labour market. Thus, this appeared to configure and reinforce the vicious cycle of occupational stagnation. However unlike the occupational stagnation within the production sector for their German counterparts lacking adequate language skills, the affected women in England had managed to access the associate professional levels (i.e. nursing and administrative services).

Perhaps even more important to ponder about is the long term effect of assimilation, particularly the loss of identity embedded in migrant's cultural norms, values and knowledge. Hence, many of the African churches visited in London adapted English language and American forms of worship. By contrast, migrants living in Germany typically conduct multi lingual services incorporating German, English and sometimes also French, Lingala and Twi translations combined with African forms of worship.

To explore broader factors enhancing labour integration, the relatively high qualificational status of migrants is particularly noteworthy. As figures 10.5 & 10.6 below vividly illustrate, migrants' qualificational levels are not only higher than the all people category but they also more sharply contrast with declines in the percentages for no qualification during the highest peaks of the labour active years (25–49).

13 On habitus see Bourdieu, Section 4.61 & 4.6.2.

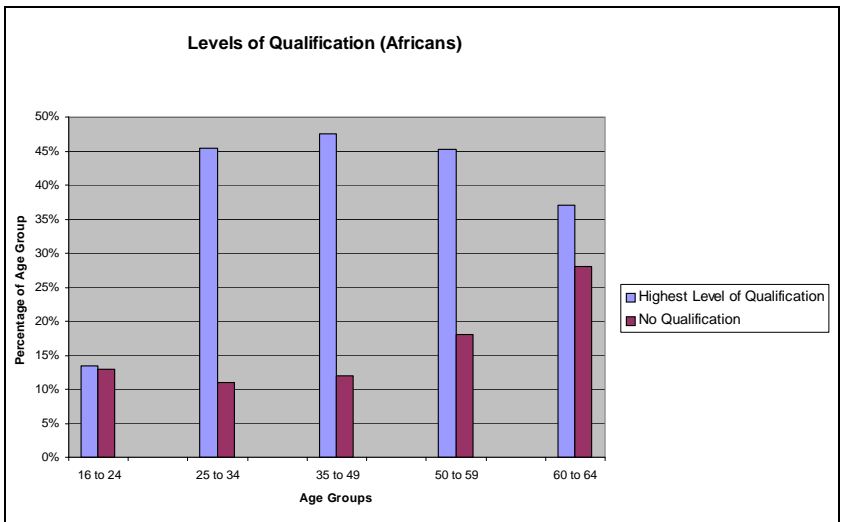


Fig. 10.5 Age and highest level of qualification by ethnic group (all black Africans). Source: Table S-117, CD2, Census 2001, National Statistics England. Diagram: Barongo-Muweke

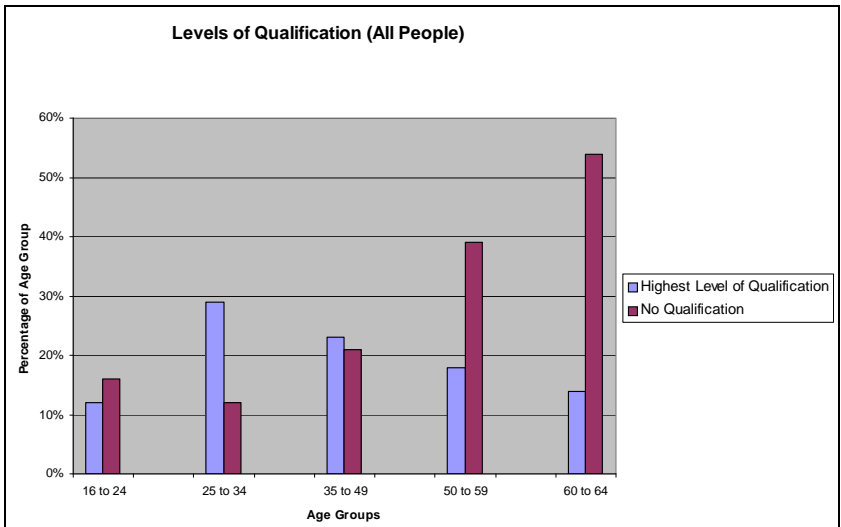


Fig. 10.6 Age and highest level of qualification by ethnic group (all people). Source: Table S-117, CD2, Census 2001, National Statistics England; Diagram: Barongo-Muweke

While the qualificational levels for the 50–65 age groups fall for both categories, the level for migrants remains substantially higher than the all people category. Similarly, the number of people without qualification in the same age groups rises much higher in the all people category.

Though professional skills can substantially be upgraded in England's flexible system of education [i.e. Bachelors and Master programmes, vocational training like nursing], a dramatic rise in the level of qualification is realised in the 25 to 34 years group. Consistent with the qualitative findings, most migrants with an African background appear to arrive between the ages 23 to 34 years (See figure 10.6). This probably indicates that the high skilled migration observed in the official data is partially an outsourced input and that women's societies of origin play a decisive role not just in the cultural and social construction of gender but also as a prime factor in skills development of migrants: Not only are women endowed with skills that facilitate entry into the labour market, but also receiving countries benefit from migration by saving on the investment costs of reproducing labour. Critically, Castells 1975; Meillassoux 1981; Sassen-Koob 1980; Potts 1988). On one hand, this may indicate the brain drain phenomena in England (HSMP 2008; critically Bundeszentrale für Politische Bildung [BpB] & Hamburgisches Weltwirtschaftsinstitut [HWWI], Section 6.1.4). On the other hand, migrants' key performance in the international circulation of resources and development becomes eminent through their remittances to the countries of origin.¹⁴ As well, through their social economic functions contributing to the stabilisation of the social political and economic systems in the destination communities (See Section 4.7.5 for a detailed review).

Whilst their economic and social roles in society increasingly gain acknowledgment, the multidimensional and intersectional vulnerability as migrant workers, compounded by the limitations structured by femaleness as the position of women in society (Section 4.4–4.7),¹⁵ continues to present major obstacles to emancipation. At this point, the interviews have indicated that the transition from migrant status to British citizenship or other forms of regular status guaranteeing labour participation apparently has a gestation period of about five to ten years. In spite of their relatively high qualificational profiles and the advantages in professional recognition, women appear to

14 There is a broad consensus about the emerging role played by remittances as one of the most stable sources of external development finance (Section 4.7.4).

15 Migration researchers refer to models describing the threefold/ fourfold oppression of women (Section 4.4–4.6).

spend a substantial number of years overcoming the migration barriers and hindrances. This certainly implies a reduction in the years of active labour participation which further means that the development potential and capacities of migrants have not been trapped adequately.

In my opinion, where market opportunities have been available, barriers to labour participation are self defeating in the long term. It is an insurmountable loss in terms of taxes and general income dispensable in the destination country's domestic economies as well as development finance to the communities of origin within an increasingly interdependent world. Accordingly, the task of attaining an optimum utilisation of this available resource (migrant labour) seems to demand more strategic and sensitised factor based handling from the governments and migration policy makers. The question of adapting a strategy mix that amongst other things seeks to trap the initial stages and most active years of migrant settlement is underlined here. The pillar for such a strategy is of course strengthened by the human agent perspective,¹⁶ which has emphasized the active role of migrants in enhancing personal development, social security, community building, diversity and cultural transformation (Section 4.3).

10.3 Comparative Evaluation: England vs. Germany

10.3.1 The Role of Historical Variations

In the preceding section, we have borrowed on Pffifinger (1999) to highlight the importance of understanding historical variations in national models especially their role in configuring gender, class and ethnicity to underpin differences in the empowerment of female migrants.¹⁷ The implications of this framework are drawn out more fully in the following analysis between England and Germany as countries of destination socially constructing gender,

16 Human agency as a sociological concept is used to refer to the transformative capacity of human beings as social actors (Giddens 1984). It has gained vast importance in international migration as the opposing terminology to earlier concepts which viewed migrant women as passive victims of structures. In the same light, the UN Secretariat (1995: 9) increasingly recognises the roles of women as too valuable a resource to waste. Thus, in their context the very act of migrating demonstrates agency and willingness to undertake risks in order to effect socio-economic improvement. Ochse (1999: 100) quite substantiates the meaning of agency in international migration through her more detailed review of the works of different authors.

17 Gutiérrez Rodríguez underlines the necessity of rethinking the simultaneity of gender, ethnicity and class and their configuration not only within gender hierarchies but also specific geo-political conditionings (Chapter 1).

subjectivity, and ethnicity within a context of postcolonialism, globalisation, and international labour migration. Dealing with these issues against the background of social historical and political conditioning, we observe that the different patterns and structures of migration that have evolved in both contexts have also significantly impacted on key areas of difference such as the development of statistics and sociological visibility; labour and social economic integration; language proficiency and identity construction; sex selectivity and citizenship legislation, community building vs. isolation.

10.3.2 Data Specifications

My statistical base as it relates to migrants in Germany is supplied by census data of the Statistisches Bundesamt (2002)¹⁸ on the ‘Ausländische Bevölkerung nach Staatsangehörigkeit (Foreign population by citizenship/nationality). The figures in table 10.4 below illustrate the aggregate representation of migrants with an African background according to selected countries of origin. As we have already established in the preceding section, the aggregate representation of Africans south of the Sahara almost equals that from North Africans in Germany. By contrast, the number of Sub-Saharan Africans in England is almost ten score that of Africans north of the Sahara. Secondly on the aggregate, women tend to slightly outnumber men in England whereas this is reversed in Germany where men tend to overwhelmingly outnumber women. This verifies the assumptions that the restructuring of the labour market towards a feminised service economy has less favoured African female migrants in Germany. When it comes to other areas of data concern like the occupational characteristics by qualification status, age distribution and sex segregation, which have been covered in England’s statistics, Germany falls under the classical examples for data deficiencies critiqued in literature (Section 4.8 & 10.2.1 & 10.2.2).

Table 10.4 – Country of Birth and Sex in Germany

	All people	Total males	Total females
Africa	299,255	194,196	105,059
North Africa	143,159	94,706	48,453
Black Africa	156,096	99,490	56,606

Source: Table – V II B – 176 – Statistisches Bundesamt (31.12.2002); Excerpt: Barongo-Muweke

18 Bundesamt Statistisches Amt (2002) on the ‘Ausländische Bevölkerung nach Staatsangehörigkeit (Foreign population by citizenship/nationality).

Table 10.5 – Country of birth and sex in England

	All people	Total males	Total females
Africa	798,218	392,308	405,910
North Africa	67,167	38,305	28,862
Black Africa	731,051	354,003	377,048

Source: Table S-15, CD2, Census 2001, National Statistics England, Excerpt: Barongo-Muweke

From the statistics in table 10.10 (V II B – 176) attached at the end of this section, 4 major characteristics have further been identified in relation to the sex selectivity of migrants from the relevant African countries. These include:

Countries known to have sent ‘Gastarbeiter’ (Guest workers) during the years of the ‘Wirtschaftswünder’ (economic miracle) specifically the 1950s to the 1970s. Therefore this could imply some forms of labour migration. Highlighted here are people from countries such as Egypt, Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia. Here the sex composition is clearly male dominated, whereby the number of male almost doubles that of female migrants with 89,008 as compared to 46,858 women. This shows that the sex composition of migrants from these 4 countries is 66% men compared to 34% women. These trends collaborate the findings in literature regarding the dominant patriarchal bread winner model and its role in invisibilising female migration in early international migration research which based on the gendered image of a migrant as a male worker (Section 4.8).

Table 10.6 – Sex Composition of Countries linked with ‘Gastarbeiter’

Staatsangehörigkeit	Insgesamt	Männlich	Weiblich
Ägypten	14,025	10,483	3,542
Algerien	16,798	13,500	3,298
Marokko	80,266	48,696	31,570
Tunesien	24,136	16,011	8,125
Total	135,866	89,008	46,858

Source: Table – V II B – 176 – Statistisches Bundesamt (31.12.2002); Excerpt: Barongo-Muweke

The second group is characterised by countries plagued by economic and political instability. Highlighted here are migrants from countries such as Benin, Burkina Faso, Gambia, Ghana, Cameroon, Nigeria, Senegal and Togo. People from these countries have migrated for one reason or the other in search of better opportunities and lives. Information on the levels of formal qualifications is missing. Some of the countries here like Togo and Cameroon also have colonial ties with Germany. Whereas migrants from here could con-

stitute the second most represented numbers in this category, it is significant to note here that the colonial variable has seemed to play a minor role. The sex composition of people from the rest of the countries is characterised just as the former group, by a male dominance. Taking the four most represented countries in this category, i.e. Cameroon, Ghana, Nigeria and Togo, the male ratio is 66% as compared to 34% women. However on a country specific basis, Ghana's trends in sex ratios diverge with the number of women almost matching their male counterparts.

Table 10.7 – Countries plagued by political and economic instability

Nationality	Total	Male	Female
Cameroon	9,311	6,328	2,983
Ghana	22,847	12,784	10,063
Nigeria	15,390	12,030	3,360
Togo	11,666	8,208	3,458
Total	59,214	39,350	19,864

Source: Table – V II B – 176 – Statistisches Bundesamt (31.12.2002); Excerpt: Barongo-Muweke

The 3rd group is characterised by people from countries bedevilled by fully fledged or outright war situations particularly in the period of 1980s to 1990s. These could be characterised as constituting mainly refugee flows. Highlighted here are countries like Angola, Burundi, Democratic Republic of Congo, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Liberia, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Somalia and Uganda. Taking the four countries most represented in this category i.e. Angola, Ethiopia, Dem. Rep. of Congo and Somalia, the figures indicate that the sex composition of people from these countries is characterised by a more equal though still quite gendered representation with men composing 58% as compared to 42% women.

Table 10.8 – Countries affected by outright war

Nationality	Total	Men	Women
Angola	7,565	4,747	2,818
Ethiopia	15,305	8,507	6,798
Dem. Rep. Congo	14,892	8,680	6,212
Somalia	8,016	4,592	3,424
Total	45,778	26,526	19,252

Source: Table – V II B – 176 – Statistisches Bundesamt (2002). Excerpt: Barongo-Muweke

The fourth group is characterised by countries that were blessed with relative political and economic stability. These have a relatively well developed tourism infrastructure. Highlighted in this group are people from countries such as Kenya, Madagascar, Mauritius, Namibia, Seychelles and South Africa. The striking difference here is the sex composition of people from these countries. It is characterised by female dominance whereby the ratios of women almost doubles that of men with 63% as compared to 37%. This suggests tourism and marriage as a possible variable.

Table 10.9 – Countries associated with tourism

Nationality	Total	Male	Female
Kenya	4,727	1,610	3,117
Madagascar	668	286	382
Mauritius	862	229	633
South Africa	5,234	2,162	3,072
Total	11,491	4,287	7,204

Source: Table – V II B – 176 – Statistisches Bundesamt (2002); Excerpt: Barongo-Muweke

Given the above trends, it can statistically be demonstrated that Germany as compared to England hindered female labour migration from Sub-Saharan African countries. It is significant that the only case where female ratios outnumber their male counterparts; these countries have been linked to tourism, which implies that migration is mainly through marriage (Table 10.9, Section 10.3.2). This suggests that migration takes place in a context of relationship orientation and may have strong implications for the relationship oriented and selective way the interviewed African women in Germany appear to view German society (Table 10.9, Section 10.3.2). It also partially explains their blindness to structural barriers by contrast to women in England who articulated the hard and selective mechanisms experienced on the labour market (Section 8.1 & 8.11). It is significant that where the numbers almost equal the male counterparts, this is linked to countries likely shaped by refugee movements. Both variables combined together collaborate scientific findings regarding the factors shaping the feminisation of migration (Section Chapter 1 & 5.6.5). However looking at the North African countries, these could exceptionally be linked to labour migration because of the historical Gastarbeiter framework. But the sex selectivity here has seemed to perpetuate the old dominant image of a migrant as a worker, with women as followers. Since the category worker denotes engagement in manufacturing production (Chapter 1), this certainly underscores the irrelevance of the educational characteristics in collecting statistics (Section 10.2.1).

Table 10.10 – Foreign born population by nationality am 31.12.2000 in Deutschland

Nationality	Aggregate Total	Male	Female
Africa	299 255	194 196	105 059
Egypt	14 025	10 483	3 542
Equatorial Guinea	97	48	49
Ethiopia	15 305	8 507	6 798
Algeria	16 798	13 500	3 298
Angola	7 565	4 747	2 818
Benin	1 146	870	276
Botswana	95	42	53
Burkina Faso	2 099	1 905	194
Burundi	444	284	160
Cote d'Ivoire	2 848	2 089	759
Djibouti	74	47	27
Eritrea	4 121	1 816	2 305
Gabon	249	180	69
Gambia	2 704	2 342	362
Ghana	22 847	12 784	10 063
Guinea	2 062	1 685	377
Guinea-Bissau	501	442	59
Cameroon	9 311	6 328	2 983
Cape Verde	518	345	173
Kenya	4 727	1 610	3 117
Comoros	52	34	18
Congo, Dem. Rep. ²⁾	14 892	8 680	6 212
Congo, Rep.	1 383	843	540
Lesotho	105	63	42
Liberia	3 223	2 747	476
Libya	2 791	1 961	830
Madagascar	668	286	382
Malawi	125	83	42
Mali	837	672	165
Morocco	80 266	48 696	31 570
Mauritania	547	463	84
Mauritius	862	229	633
Mozambique	2 667	2 273	394
Namibia	345	155	190
Niger	842	752	90
Nigeria	15 390	12 030	3 360
Rwanda	903	527	376

Zambia	394	232	162
Sao Tome and Principe	49	28	21
Senegal	2 660	2 216	444
Seychelles	219	79	140
Sierra Leone	5 403	4 544	859
Zimbabwe	569	276	293
Somalia	8 016	4 592	3 424
Sudan	4 289	3 325	964
South Africa	5 234	2 162	3 072
Swaziland	62	27	35
Tanzania	1 031	590	441
Togo	11 666	8 208	3 458
Chad	307	267	40
Tunisia	24 136	16 011	8 125
Uganda	1 332	730	602
Central African Rep.	115	81	34
Rest of Africa	339	280	59
Africa 1	164 030	105 506	58 524

Source: Statistisches Bundesamt – V II B – 176

Statistics, Sociological Visibility, Policy Making and Social Differentiation

In terms of statistical evaluation, what links both contexts is an underestimation of migrants' economic roles observed in the official data (Section 4.8). However, in spite of the limitations, the data in England can be described as relatively reliable in establishing the analytical dimensions of the economic participation of African women, since the documented evidence explicitly matches empirical observations regarding the relatively booming state of migrants in relation to activity rates, occupational status, skills profiles, and educational levels. By contrast as afore mentioned, Germany is marked by striking invisibilisation of African labour participation in the official statistics. While the presence of large African communities in England may be intrinsically linked to their relatively high sociological visibility, the number of migrants with an African background in Germany is considered too low to form separate units of analysis in the data sources, though their presence as a variable for migration control is registered. This is for example evidenced in the recordings of binational marriages, 'das Wohnamt', 'Ausländerbehörde', 'Anwohnermelde Amt' etc. Whereas this collaborates the above findings that statistics are recorded for administrative purposes rather than data needs

(Section 4.8), this has strong implications: Firstly, it reinforces sociological invisibilisation since the official statistics are not reliable for a specific analysis of women's social economic participation. Despite their social economic contribution, their migration context in Germany is framed by an extension of the invisibilisation, misrecognition and marginalisation escaped in the structurally disembedded polygamous habitus of background societies (Chapter 9). Irrespective of the heterogeneity of social cultural background, ethnicity and migrant status, the sociological presence of African women in Germany can only be assessed in form of representative studies under generalised categories such as women of colour, foreign women etc., which although provide useful insight into the general situation of migrant women, hinder a specific and accurate analysis of the status of African women in international migration (Chapter 1).

In this study for example, we are forced to fall back almost entirely on the empirical observations. Viewed in terms of policy formulation, this certainly fosters structural inequality amongst (im)migrant groups. Since the Turkish background constitutes the dominant stereotype applied to explain the sociological context of all minority groups (See Ochse 1993, for a review), this suggests that policies affecting status improvements have favoured the dominant groups of migrants. Whilst ignoring, the assets and needs of marginalised groups as they relate to the institutional, civil, social and political integration, the statistical invisibilisation has led to African women falling through the cracks within policy making. For example while the famous 1998 amendments for citizenship legislation (*das neue Staatsangehörigkeitsrecht*) denote a profound status improvement for migrants, it crystallizes in practice as a differentiating selections instrument (See also Kriechhammer-Yagmur 2001). Considering the regulations for the territorial principle ('*ius soli*') that was introduced to replace the dysentery principle ('*ius sanguinis*')¹⁹ this can be well demonstrated. Whereas the legal requirements for citizenship entitlement are status dependent, the underlying principle for facilitating these constitutional changes appears to mostly concern issues regarding endowments of voting rights (political citizenship). Hence various categories of migrants with the insecure status as it relates to social citizenship and basic survival needs such as labour participation and right of stay or remain are excluded. By favouring an already relatively privileged migrant group (with full social

19 Review Ausländerbeauftragte der Bundesregierung (2001).

citizenship rights such as labour participation and right of stay),²⁰ the territorial principle as an instrument for naturalization appears to have failed to adequately harmonise the social reality articulated in the demographic demands of the host society with the humanitarian needs of migrants and the national political-legal affiliations. In the process structural inequality or class formation amongst migrants appears to be socially constructed. To concretise most crucially for example, children born in Germany with parents holding the status of ‘Auffenthaltbewilligung’, ‘Auffenthaltbefugnis’, ‘Auffenthaltsgestattung’ and ‘Duldung’ are excluded from the entitlement to citizenship and full participation irrespective of their length of stay, whilst their counterparts with at least one parent in the permanent residency category or German decency attain automatic constitutional entitlement to citizenship at birth. In this connection, Marshall & Heisler on citizenship policy in European societies perceive social citizenship rights as major determinants of social inequality and cohesion and interlink a more sensitized or balanced praxis to the instrumental tools fostering economic, social and eventual political integration (Heisler 2000).

10.3.3 *Discrepancies between Labour, Social Integration and Habitus*

A common feature substantially distinguishing the two destination societies regards the discrepancy between labour participation and social integration, exhibited by differential barrier points. While a negative correlation between the high labour integration (one could talk about assimilation in some sectors) and the low social integration is observed in England, in Germany a reversed trend emerges – there is a high level of social integration negatively matched by a low level of labour market integration. As we have demonstrated above, this is strikingly elaborated by the statistical presentation of migrants in the official data sources. It is once again important to note that these differences have emerged alongside major social historical factors:

While England’s historical colonial role has largely moulded the international migration of African women from the variety of postcolonial social contexts, Germany by contrast seems to hinder African migration due to its diminished

20 Whereas Hammer (1990) views partial membership as a distinct mode of incorporation and applies the concept citizenship to describe the substantial social, civic, and even political rights accorded to long-term non-citizen residents in the majority of advanced industrial democracies as a possible alternative to full membership in a state., Brubaker (1989) identifies partial membership as characteristic of the German case. See also Schmitter Heisler (2000).

colonial role. Entrance has been mainly selective through marriage (Table 10.9, Section 10.3.2) or high social status in the country of origin (i.e. university students (Section 6.1.3–6.1.4)). This has implications for the selective and relationship oriented way in which the interviewed African women view German society – through a strong focus on social dimensions which is coupled by a remarkable blindness to the structural barriers. By contrast women in England appear more acquainted with the structural barriers on the labour market (Section 8.1, 8.11). Distinguishing England, are the social enclaves due to the obvious influences of social segregation in settlement patterns, large presence of migrants and the strong cultural visibility. This is well illustrated in the congregational structure of the Afro self organised evangelical churches. Here we have an astounding absence of other British nationals. Despite the relatively low presence of African migrants in Germany, self organised evangelical Churches tend to variably constitute mixed congregations including for example binational families, their extended networks and other German nationals. Meloti (1997) has documented the differences in migration policies in the two societies, which are particularly relevant for exemplifying the social trends discussed here. Britain has traditionally facilitated uneven pluralism reflected through the tolerance of cultural differences and the formation of minority ethnic communities on one hand, and the contradiction articulated in the lack of commitment for equality of membership in a national community. Whereas Germany traditionally institutionally resolves the phenomenon of ethnic, cultural and religious diversity through defining categories outside the roots of German ethnic origin on the basis of migrant status for example guest worker (see also Brubaker 1992).²¹ Hence according to Meloti Germany institutionalises precariousness (Meloti 1997).

My empirical findings suggest that the above is an overlay simplistic and unidimensional perspective. Approaches integrating multidimensionality and intersectionality are required to provide a more complete picture which integrates other interacting variables like the habitus in which migrants are structurally and socially embedded (Bourdieu, Section 4.6.1 & 4.6.2; Chapter 8 & Chapter 9). As elsewhere mentioned, the German egalitarian social democratic habitus that conditions the various social institutions, social relations and prevailing consciousness appears to mitigate the risks of structural marginalisation linked to migrant status. Also the relatively egalitarian remuneration and value of labour in Germany, means that for those women in the low

21 A number of scholars document the processes of citizenship in terms of the inclusion and exclusion of migrants. See Schmitter Heisler (1991), for a review.

ranks of segmented labour markets, experiences with exclusion may bear quite different meanings (Section 6.1.7). Within England's class habitus, the remuneration and conditions of work for migrant women located in the low labour market ranks appeared disastrous compared to the situation in Germany. In partial disapproval of Meloti's argument above (1997), I argue for a broader focus on the institutionalisation of precariousness to integrate the different forms of articulation, for example in a class habitus like England but also increasingly Canada (Chapter 1 & Section 4.6.5). As well, the egalitarian habitus in countries like Germany. Subsequently, the variables quality of life and subjective wellbeing are needed to comparatively study, comprehend and deconstruct social differentiation on the international labour markets (Section 6.1.7 & 9.7.2). However by establishing pertinent structures of economic, social, and educational relations with institutional similarities to the countries of origin etc., England's historical specificity has facilitated the structural labour integration market of migrant women. Hence the observations here also indicate the implications of migration systems in producing class, gender and ethnicity on the international labour market through, as Modood²² argues differences in local and national political cultures which shape and award varied institutional expression to the concept of multiculturalism (Modood 1997).²³ In the subsequent subsections, we will arrive again to these issues to reflect in more detail their differential impacts on identity formation.

10.3.4 Ethnicity, Status and Social Integration

With regard to the factors affecting the broader social integration, however, it is significant that status appears to play a decisive role. Given the above mentioned heterogeneity and embedment within the prevalent settlement pattern in Germany, the observation here demonstrates that ethnicity fails to act as the primary influence and that social status as it relates to occupational field, professional skills, social interests, subjectivity, core values and other social categories crystallize as the drawing factors for mutual relations within an egalitarian habitus. As elsewhere mentioned, this appears to stand in line with Hecter's conceptualisation of ethnicity in terms of an interactive group formation that is constituted out of similarities and overlapping networks. By contrast, England's tendency appears to illustrate the reactive group formation in which ethnic groups reassert historically grounded distinctions from

22 See also Meloti and Modood cited in Beckett and Macey (2001) on the intersections of Race, Gender, Sexuality and the oppression of Multiculturalism in Britain.

23 See also Meloti and Modood cited in Beckett and Macey (2001).

other groups within a common national polity (Hector 1978; See also Hector, qtd. in: Gumperz & Gumperz 1982). The German situation, however, while facilitating integration in the dominant society as well as in the various minority categories with different backgrounds, appears to place constraining limits through the labour market status. Interviews illustrate that, within market economies or monetised societies whereby social interaction is to a large extent monetary mediated through capital and material exchange, subjectification practices and collective belonging are materialised in such a way that contradictorily reconstructs difference. Where basic requirements such as participating in sport activities is privatised or social functions are monetised, the labour market status plays a central role in sustaining the articulation of social relationships. This has apparently marginalised migrants who are deprived of working rights (Section 9.5). From the perspective of a collective cultural background in which identity seems centrally constructed through the meaning derived by subjectivities from their social contribution to community (Ubuntu concept), this seems to bear grave implications for African migrants in relation to social accountability, subjectification practices and identity (Section 8.3 & 8.5.1).

10.3.5 Variations in National Models and Structural Integration

Institutional similarities in language and educational systems appear to have strongly facilitated the economic integration of African migrants in England unlike their counterparts in Germany. They are endowed with advantages of readily recognition of their foreign educational credentials, professional experience, and wide opportunities for vocational training while women with German as a totally foreign language must face and negotiate the challenges and tensions stemming from implications of the stratification hypothesis, specifically the de-qualification and fragmentation of work biographies (Section 4.9). Constraints faced include for example, the long time periods spent in language acquisition compounded by the burdens of private sponsorship and the dissimilarity in educational systems. These challenge migrants with the structural and dualising constraints of rebounding previously acquired knowledge and experience in a limiting context structured by a relatively restrictive access to the labour market. To illustrate the bachelors as a key example which is a full professional qualification in England, the German labour market has for long undermined this level of expertise – as not fully furnished with competitive skills necessary for effective translation into the highly specialised labour market. At the university level, only until recently was it introduced and fully recognised to the grade of a university degree.

With regard to economic integration, section 10.2.3 elaborately demonstrates occupational segregation and the gendering of roles reproduced on England's labour market – the concentration of women at the intermediate level of the occupational hierarchy and the high level of similarity between the occupational distribution of migrants and that of the entire population has been concretised. This phenomenon as it were, cannot be statistically observed for African women on the German labour market. But basing on the information from the interviews, one could highlight a fundamental divergence in trends underscored by a relatively high vulnerability of migrants to the double labour market segregation on the basis of gender and ethnicity. Here a substantial proportion of the women are typically concentrated at the bottom of the occupational hierarchy, specifically in the unskilled manual sector. Whereas their counterparts in England gain access to the highest ends of the occupational hierarchy at the intermediate level, it is significant that certain feminised occupations such as the secretarial sector and the sales and customer services which typically provide occupational bridging for many migrant women, are almost entirely out of reach for African women in Germany. With regard to the health and administrative sectors, one needs to foreground analysis of differential structural embedment in the underpinnings of language barriers and the highly competitive environment accrued to the large and highly skilled labour force in Germany by contrast to the brain drain phenomena²⁴ observed in England as will be discussed in the commencing section. A proportion of women in Germany have managed to break through into the caring personal services occupations and the associate professional health services such as 'Altenpflege' and nursing. In addition age selectivity has seemed to play a decisive role in hindering admissions into competitive branches of training such as nursing. Given England's recent need for importing nurses, differences in societal models can be emphasized as factors determining mobility.

Coming back to the debate on the egalitarian social democratic habitus as it relates to structural egalitarianism and greater equality of condition rooted in the labour market in Germany (Section 6.1.6), it is significant that the quality of life for women at the low ranks with a regular work status appeared comparatively higher than their counterparts in England performing at the higher ranks of the labour market.

24 On brain drain see sections 6.1.4 & 10.2.10.

10.3.6 *Highly Skilled Migrants, Brain Drain vs. Surplus*

Taking African professionals qualifying from German universities as a reference group with higher education and the competitive skills that necessarily allow for entry into the labour market, legal barriers appear to relegate this category mainly into the low productivity spheres of unskilled part-time labour. Unlike their counterparts in England who have managed to translate their training and experience into the labour market, migrants with a higher social status in Germany not only experience status loss on the international labour market but also acutely lack professional experience. This indicates the shadow effects of the egalitarian habitus. By contrast to the brain drain phenomenon in England's class habitus (Section 6.1.4 & 10.2.10), African professionals in Germany appear embedded as a surplus in a huge, highly skilled and competitive labour force of an egalitarian social democratic habitus. Compounded by the lengthy 'Diplom' university systems Vs BA/MA, this has major implications for the professional integration in the international labour market including the developing societies of origin. If we look at the situation of the German nationals at the same occupational level, it is significant that accessibility to vocational training for the acquisition of marketable skills is legally not accessible for migrants with an international student status. However, these skills are accurately needed for the development of the background societies where they are expected to return after accomplishing their education. On the other hand, the increasing global market demands for bilingual-, multilingual skills and international experience implicate that African professionals in Germany have the potential to be comparatively highly marketable. Recent transformations accrued to demographic changes and the market demand for IT professionals have brought some slight changes for African professionals articulated in the IT Green Card Integration Program.

Needless to say that Germany's professional migrants have substantial potential for participation if given the enabling legal, institutional and structural frameworks. This may be justified by some examples in the interviews. Two out of the fifteen interviewed women acquired the occupational status of university lecturer as a direct outcome of policy intervention facilitated within some liberal federal states. These policy changes are essentially pursued to accommodate the requirements of highly skilled migrants. However, the regulations for working remain very restrictive in most states. This is much more so for the case of the majority of women. Accompanying the IT Green Card Integration Program introduced in 2001 to facilitate the integration of IT

experts, one interviewee gained regular labour market status as a Computer Consultant/IT Industrial Marketing. It is of some importance to know that within this line of action, the emphasis laid on very high income as a criterion to qualify for work permit failed to reflect the realities of the labour market. This rendered the program useless for most migrants. Since the Green Card Debate was a highly politicized issue, one can define the stringent eligibility criteria in terms of the subtle discrimination operating as Boyd has also argued through a combination of rules and regulations (Boyd 1995). On the other hand, taking into account observations from England's data, it is predictable that the sex specific educational biographies produced in the countries of origin, would likely act to marginalize female opportunities for status improvement through the stipulated criteria for highly skilled migration. Thus, in view of the changing demands of the labour market, a major issue at stake seems to concern the trends and dimensions of institutionalisation characterising international migration specifically the implications for accelerating gender inequality and female dependency on spouses for migrant status.

Since the most overriding constraint regards problems of legal differentiation and invisibilisation within policy making (Section 10.3.3), the status of African women as it relates to structural integration in Germany demands monumental attention. The corollary of strategy should focus on facilitating access to the labour market, education and skills acquisition as well as recognition of migrants' roles and competencies. Programs providing Co-op education and easier accessibility to training in trades would alleviate some of the mentioned disadvantages. As partially mentioned above, new policy transformations regarding migrant status have currently been implemented [though not adequately]. The new changes have come about as a result of the demographic needs of the ageing population.

10.3.7 Marriage and Feminisation of Labour Migration

Indeed structural barriers in Germany appear most pronounced for African professionals. Whereas a relatively high qualificational status distinguishes the labour participation for migrants in England, entry status to the German labour market for most of the interviewed women was realized on the basis of marriage. For professional migrants, their relatively high social status implies that, women are less likely to seek matrimonial alliance to acquire a more secure legal status in order to fully participate economically. Hence some observed women tend to share long partnerships with their German spouses

before contracting legal marriage.²⁵ By contrast to the observed independent female status in Britain, the legal subordination of female status to male status in Germany appears to still play a significant role.

10.3.8 *Income and Earnings Differences*

It is difficult to measure earnings differences, not only because the data on income levels is missing for both host countries but also due to the difficulties of assessing real income accruing to differences in costs and standard of living. If we take asset holdings as a benchmark here, once again England's sovereignty over German migrants becomes apparent. One major issue of relevance concerns the level to which a range of migrants have managed to mortgage buildings and private homes in England. Since mortgaging does not constitute a central defining feature of the German society as compared to England, quality of neighbourhoods in an egalitarian vs. class habitus could provide a more adequate variable for comparative analysis. On the other hand, if the data on remittances were available, the flow for England's migrants would likely depict stronger integration in the international circulation of economic resources.

Following these observations, it can be seen that social economic disparities amongst migrants are aggravated by the migration policies that categorize status and condition different social economic integration. It could be stated at an international comparative level that the labour market status of African migrants in Germany constitutes the category most subdued by the manifold operations of class, gender and ethnicity. In terms of the additiveness, intersectionality of social divisions and their precarious outcomes, this articulates an extension of the exclusion experienced as a result of gender hierarchies within the structurally disembedded polygamous habitus of background societies (Chapter 9).

10.3.9 *Dual Incorporation, Status and Occupational Identities*

Whereas the inequalities of occupational segregation are located primarily in market employment with interlinking impacts that penetrate all social aspects of life,²⁶ occupational identity within the growing inequalities surrounding the social relations of labour as they relate to the dynamics of class, ethnicity

25 Structured ethnicity may bear social psychological dimensions affecting subjectivity constitution which may have substantial implications for the economic and social experience of migrants.

26 See Blackburn & Jarman (1997).

and gender apparently constitute central themes of relevance for female migrants. It is important to highlight Beeren's concept of market secondary patriarchy and the way in which gender inequality is incorporated in commodity production through the under remuneration of female roles and the household sphere of production despite women's dominant function in sustaining the reproduction of labour (Beeren 1999). Looking at the role conflict model, others have theorised the notion of gendered ambivalent subjectivities in relation to the multiple consciousnesses and orientation of women linked to the complex challenges of negotiating the public-private divide on the labour market (See Becker-Schmidt & Axeli-Knapp, Section 4.4 & 4.5). Hence the structural constraints of the dual incorporation of female labour into market hierarchies that are horizontally segmented with genderised roles (Karin Gottschall 1995). As England's data has concretised, this can empirically be demonstrated through the bulk of female performance in the jobs of care giving. Whereas these roles relate to strong issues of noble and humanistic concerns, female responsibility for large transitions of extensive amounts of capital in England's sales department should also not escape recognition. With specific regard to the implications for subjectifications practices, it is significant that in spite of their unprecedented contribution, the occupational status of care for the aged (personal support worker) is shunned and surrounded with a lot of social contempt in England's class habitus – women occupying this position exhibited low self esteem. In Germany on the other hand, where egalitarian relations tend to dominate on the labour market, care for the aged is approached as a respectable humanistic profession. To this extent, it appears that migrants tend to internalise the habitus in which they are embedded in. In Germany, African women appeared to reclaim the traditional African habitus and deconstruct post-colonial residues (Chapter 8 & 9).²⁷

10.4 Transnational Networks

This regards processes that have emerged as consequence of the social deficits in urban England, in connection with the growing concern of migrants for a clean social and academic environment for their children. This has been reciprocated by a new market potential for transnational schooling. 'Elite' international schools targeting migrant needs are springing up in the home countries. But, migrants with the skills and potential to break through the

27 Lim (1995) whilst drawing on Radcliff nicely formulates that migrants embody the norms and attitudes of female status in sending and receiving countries, howbeit, in dynamic ways.

ghetto environment demonstrated great ambition and aspirations for mortgaging homes in better neighbourhoods as a major social economic goal. It is important to recognise, however, that market opportunities appear to also have attracted women from the variety of non-English speaking European- and Scandinavian communities specifically Sweden and Germany to participate in England's transnational social economic processes. There may be some importance in highlighting the emergence of virtual communities constituting internet bulletin boards²⁸ which have mainly evolved as forums for discussions and social interaction networking global migrants with their local sending communities and their self defined communities within international migration. The extent to which class, subjectivity and ethnicity dynamics may be (trans)located here suggests complex underpinnings of nexus identity formations within modern abstract systems (Section Chapter 4; 5; 8 & 9). Another factor concerns the tendency for re-traditionalising gender roles observed in England, whereas in Germany women appeared to assume more egalitarian relationships with their partners (Section 8.5.2).

10.5 Community Building

Whereas the implications of kinship networks for labour participation are already outlined above, relatively high levels of ethnic enterprise (middle man minorities), the visibility of cultural space, and the ability to engage in aesthetic production are some of the explicit advantages distinguishing the situation of migrants in England vs. Germany. Bonacich (1973 & 1980) links the rise of middleman minorities to the systematic exclusion from mainstream production on one hand and the social cultural and demographic characteristics of the groups themselves in relation to entrepreneurial heritage, skills, social values and attitudes.²⁹ Similarly, African entrepreneurs appear to largely emerge out of specific consumer patterns and supplementary demand for alternative exotic goods like ethnic staple foods, wear and body care products as well as cultural commodities like music and art. To this extent, Papastagiardes identifies the impact of deterritorialisation on the emergence of new cultural links that have provided additional markets for Greek film companies and Hindi music industry (Papastagiardes 2000).

28 Research from a number of sources theoretically analyses the implications of virtual computer environments for identity construction. See Rheingold (1993), Cherny (1995); Turkle (1996); Curtis, Pavel/Nicholas David (1993)

29 See also Heisler 2000, for a detailed review.

I will turn to this argument later, it is important at this point to emphasize the peculiarity of the German situation particularly as regards the absence of African culture in the dominant textual production and femininity construction of the cultural industry. This has contributed to the aesthetic exclusion of African women. Oguntoye (1992) observes that the African concept of beauty does not exist in the German ideal. Skeggs has documented the importance of space and taste for the production of gender identities. Skeggs bases on Fraser to demonstrate the symbolic value of capital inherent in bodily expositions as invariably class based dependent on access to capitals and other forms of plausibility (Skeggs 2001a). Drawing on Bourdieu's theory of praxis, it could be postulated that while African women appear socially excluded in the sphere of aesthetic production, their situation is undoubtedly made more acute by the symbolic devaluation that occurs through negative presentation in literature and the media. If symbolic value may be improved through access to capital as suggested by Fraser (Skeggs 2001a), then subordinate conditioning in terms of labour rights has disempowering implications for migrant women. Low numerical presence which is not sufficient enough to allow for an impact of their culture in the host society diminishes further their social visibility (Section 6.1.4). Expanding the debate on intersectionality to move beyond the social divisions of ethnicity, gender, class and include habitus, symbolic capital and symbolic devaluation (Bourdieu 1977; 1984 & 1992) is crucial to theorising difference in Germany by contrast to narrowly integrating race as analytical category (Section 4.6). Such a framework whilst complicating the materialisation of belonging must also usefully analyze the complex convergence of the above dynamics within the nexus of international capitalist modes of production conditioning the political economy of migrant labour, complex discursive conjunctures and pluralistic geopolitical conditionings (Section 4.6).

10.6 Summary and Reflection

The comparative situation of migrants in both host countries cannot be grasped out of the context of historical variations in national models particularly as they relate to the colonial evolution and its intersections with institutional, social and symbolic processes configuring gender, class and ethnicity to underpin differences in the social economic integration of migrants within nexus locationality. It is not surprising therefore that England's colonial links have shaped the patterns, volume and social economic profiles of African

migration and labour participation in unique ways that may not be observed in Germany because of its diminished colonial role:

In England, there were more African women than men. The labour market participation rates of African women were often higher than the overall participation rates of women of the majority. This suggests that women are migrating as breadwinners, which suggests a gendered shift in the traditional breadwinner paradigm. Women appear to be turning into new bread earners and are certainly assuming a crucial role in the class formations amongst ethnicized groups. The above also corroborates the findings on the small credit approach (Klein Kredit) that has underscored the productive role of women.

In Germany, by contrast there were more African men than women. The labour market participation rates of African women were much lower in Germany. In countries linked to tourism the number of migrant women was higher than their male counterparts in Germany. This suggests that migration takes place in a context of relationship orientation, which may have strong implications for the relationship oriented and selective way the interviewed African women appeared to view German society. Women in Germany focused more on the social dimensions of labour participation. However, they appeared blind to the structural barriers on the labour market. By contrast, women in England appeared acquainted with the hard, selective and concurrence mechanisms on the labour market.

It is significant that high integration on the labour market within a class conscious society has facilitated economic emancipation but in some ways fragmented social capital. Intersections of class, gender and ethnicity appear conducive to more salient constructions of ethnicity and difference than amongst migrants in Germany despite their more extensive experiences with structural marginalisation. Whereas in England (im)migrants tended to self organise around perceived class as a fixed and essentialised notion, (im)migrants in Germany appeared more status conscious. It is significant that status appeared conceived as a fluid construct. Communities appeared to organise around status drawing different migrants with different status together, whilst eligibility to perform accountable accounts was linked to migrant status. In Germany, women appeared to extensively internalise the values of human worth and human dignity. Whilst this suggests that (im)migrants internalise the habitus within destination communities, it also shows that an egalitarian habitus facilitates reclaiming of the traditional Ubuntu African habitus. It is also able to deconstruct colonial residues as they relate to ethnicisation, hierarchisation, prioritisation, legitimisation, fixation and pathology of identities.

Cultural configurations of class and symbolic capital appear to play a strong role as subjectification practices and socially differentiating factors in both destination communities whereby African women's symbolic capital appears legitimated within England's class habitus: Whilst cultural space is extensively visibilized, women and men appear to play a leading role in the games of aesthetic judgements. Women in Germany appeared to experience exclusion in complex ways that may not be necessary linked to racism – exclusion from the labour market appears to translate into a lack of symbolic capital and therefore also deligitimation of aesthetics as in Bourdieun terms. Exclusion from the labour market appears to constrain social integration within a less spatially segregated society. In addition, the dominance of the Eurocentric image of women appears to exclude the image of the African women. At the same time, ability and disability emerge strongly as under surfaced mechanisms of complex differentiation, constituting cracks within the German performative egalitarian habitus. Therefore deconstructionist approaches to difference, as well as sociological perspectives and transformatory pedagogy within Germany must attend to these dimensions, rather than focus on race alone.

Although the relationship oriented and selective perspective of African women in Germany may not represent the realities in the whole German society, it is pedagogically relevant – Whilst articulating the need for strengthening the social market economy in Germany as an evidence-based framework for constructing greater equality of condition structurally rooted in the labour market, it also highlights the social dimensions rooted in the values of human worth and human dignity as an evidence based framework for post-colonial institutional building.

Migration to Germany also takes place through a high social status linked to research purposes or university education. This has extensively hindered the entry of African migrants into the trades, although these hands-on skills are required to bridge the existing gaps inherited in colonial abstract educational systems.

By contrast to England, women in Germany appeared extensively invisibilised.

As mentioned above, England demonstrates a high level of labour integration and economic empowerment with migrant employment patterns matching and sometimes doing better than the general population trends apart from one major area possibly affected by differences in gender models existing in the countries of origin and the host society. This regards the relatively wide gen-

der gap existing between African women and their male counterparts at level 2 of the traditionally masculinised professional occupations. By contrast, the gender gap in the all people category appears relatively narrower. This implies that in comparison to the all people category, African women have apparently not yet successfully accessed the gains from the transformation of the gender order in the highly industrialised world. According to qualitative observations in Germany, while African women may be hindered to break through gender hierarchies particularly in the highly skilled IT occupations, this may reinforce gender inequality and female dependency on spouses within the new Green Card Integration Program. But in a much broader sense, outcomes for occupational feminisation and gender segregation on England's labour market appear similar for both African women and the mainstream destination society (intermediate level). Whereas if data were available, a relatively high degree of structural inequality between (im)migrants and the mainstream destination population can be observed in Germany specifically in relation to labour force participation. Whereas recent transformations of the industrialised economies specifically the rise in demand for female labour have quite significantly impacted on African migrants in England, Germany's migrants appear to be left behind.

To provide a more complete picture and to analytically account for the differential structural integration of migrants in both countries, one needs to ground the above empirical findings within the prevailing national models: Apart from the current need for IT professionals and the changing demographic structure, Germany has in the past had a comparatively huge, highly skilled and extensively trained labour force which appears to have limited its dependency on foreign trained highly skilled labour. Within the egalitarian habitus and the social democratic paradigm, Germany has in the past shunned the brain drain phenomena. By contrast, England has displayed a consistent need for importing nurses, medical doctors, highly skilled professionals from different fields including currently economists (MBA). Within this framework, language differences and compatibility of systems of education as a consequence of colonial interlinkages appear to foster structural integration in England by contrast to Germany. In considering nursing as an attractive training field for those migrant women with a labour market status in Germany, age selectivity appears to compound the challenges of language acquisition in constraining the entry of migrant women into the healthcare professions.

In England, stronger industrial relations assumed by (im)migrants as a result of the long established presence of large Black communities appear to consti-

tute some of the hidden variables at play facilitating the structural integration of migrants. In Germany, the possibility for building strong industrial relations for African (im)migrants is diminished due to the relatively early migration and the lack of a large 'Black' community. In addition, African women are so few that they cannot form separate statistical units. As the new integration policy reforms illustrate, African women constitute groups which have fallen through the cracks within policy making. Nevertheless, England's case is a successful example that illustrates the agency, capacity and diverse roles of migrants on the international labour market.

As mentioned in the above introduction, by contrast to Germany there is strong social visibility and industrial legitimisation of the 'Afro-Black community's cultural capital specifically in the sphere of aesthetic production. In terms of style, fashion and the related commodity production, their major position cannot escape the naked eye. In spite of this however, African women's subjectivities appear strongly framed within a context of colonial continuities and cultural assimilation of England's class values, tastes and dispositions as the dominant referents. By contrast, postcolonial deconstruction appears to characterise migration experiences in Germany – here in the egalitarian habitus, African women appear to reclaim the traditional African Ubuntu habitus. Whereas the habitus has emerged as an important category of analysis, within England's class system, the economic, cultural and symbolic configurations of class appear to have assumed significant importance in the articulation of daily life in ways that seem to span deeper and wider dimensions than in Germany. In considering the implications for subjectification practices, the dialectics of social inclusion and exclusion embedded within class dynamics as multiple inequitable relations of power and axes of subordination appear not only inherently configured within migrants' subjectivities but also constitutive of the central organizing principles of self organisation. Here salient constructions, fixation and territorialisation of difference on the basis of ethnicity and its intertwining with gender, class and subjectivity are observed. From the empirical findings, it is clear that the forms of social differentiation generated within the class habitus and the egalitarian habitus are different and may bear different social meanings and implications for the affected. In Germany, despite experiences with social differentiation, (im)migrant women appear to extensively internalize the values of social justice, social equality and innate worth. Therefore, much less differentiation on the basis of ethnicity, specifically as it relates to intra-self ethnisation is observed. As complex interlockings of gender, class and subjectivity in England's class system appear to reproduce the dominant habitus and also reconstruct multi-

ple consciousness in migrant's communities, the children and youth with an African background appear to struggle with self esteem issues in England (and in Canada) by significant contrast to Germany. As elsewhere already mentioned, African women appear to reclaim the traditional African Ubuntu habitus in German's egalitarian habitus.

What appears relevant to study in Germany is the social construction of post-colonial subjectivity and agency in the intersections of the international capitalist modes of production conditioning the political economy of migrant labour and the convergence of the fourfold vulnerability model within an egalitarian but performative oriented habitus. This underscores the scientific relevance of integrating ability and ability as categories of analysis. Within international comparative research, centre of focus should integrate the dimensions quality of life, subjective wellbeing of the affected and the inter-generational transmission of the condition of inequality in order to capture the multidimensionality, intersectionality of social phenomena and the aggregate impacts. This should bring into relevance mitigating factors, for example, the hitherto more equitable remuneration of labour within segmented social labour market economies. Whilst comparing the situation of (im)migrant women in England and Germany, I have argued that experiences of exclusion on England's labour market bear entirely different structural implications for women in the lowest ranks of the labour market due to class relations extensively defining the remuneration of labour.

In addition to the characteristic assimilation observed, England appears marked by a sharp distinction between the dimensions of social and economic integration as clearly reflected through the relatively high geographical segregation in settlement patterns and the high structural integration on the labour market. By contrast much higher social integration contradicted by much less labour market integration is observed in Germany. In Germany's liberal states under view, (im)migrant women appear embedded within the middle class milieu of the dominant habitus. Similarly, middle class women's social activism has been vital in bringing to light the plight of (im)migrants and promoting their cause.

Despite the recognition for diversity and the attempts to negotiate it in both countries, monolithicism appears to still strongly emerge, howbeit in different and sometimes more hidden forms of appearance. In England, monolithicism is perhaps reflected in class essentialism and the implications of psychic class hierarchies and assimilation. How this plays out on the labour market and in the intersectionality of difference, demands more scientific exploration. In

Canada a classic settlement country, one comes across structural monolithicism, played out in the notions 'lack of Canadian experience. This is compounded by the subjectification of the labour market through cultural hiring practices. These unified factors normalise ungainful voluntary work and subordinate (im)migrants to exploitation as the prerequisites for entering into the labour market. Thus, the broadly documented racialisation of poverty with implications for identity crisis amongst (im)migrant youth, the disintegration of (im)migrant families and communities. In Germany, monolithicism is observed in the Church. In the mainstream stream society, this appears to contradictorily articulate exclusion and inclusion on the basis of multiplistic axes of ability and disability within the framework of the social democratic egalitarian and performative habitus. It appears that, to do German one must practice mental, physical ability and performativity. In praxis, such a context assumes homogenous categories and obscures the complex intersections of location, (trans)location and multiplistic identities. For children with an (im)migration background, there is much at stake in how structural ethnicity and the language problematic converge to condition performativity and translate difference and social injustice within schooling processes. The structural dislocation of (im)migrants through policy and legislation and the prioritisation of ability whilst contradicting the notions of egalitarianism, articulate some of the cracks within the social market economy. On the other hand, it might be of some importance to point out here that, monolithicism and homogeneity in the German habitus also appear to extensively assume transparency, hard work, truth, egalitarianism, social justice, innate worth, order, punctuality, reliability, environmental protection, etc. The unique historical evolution and the solid deconstructionist social infrastructure of pedagogy seems to have provided a workable theoretical, analytical, empirical and praxis framework for developing and reinforcing social justice. Neo-liberalism suggests strongly that this robust educationist framework for constructing identities, subjectification and collectivisation practices is currently at stake and must be strengthened within the context of sustainable democracy, conscientisation and institutional building.

Whereas the social democratic paradigm appears useful in destabilizing symbolism, sloganism and reductionism in diversity, the habitus and variations in national models provide a framework for analyzing exclusion as a structural process through a focus on: a) the historical, spatial, locational and ontological constructions of gender, class, ethnicity and subjectivity within the intersectionality and multidimensionality of pluralistic, shifting social structures and the diverse and changing positionalities assumed by women within them;

b) the implications of institutional processes, daily social practices and the discursive consciousness of mainstream and minority subjectivities and collectivities.

Germany is distinguished by a sharp contrast between the structural impediments on the labour market (which are much more enormous than as observed in England) and the enabling social integrationist framework. As a direct expression of variations in the migration policies of both countries, the economic integration observed in England is unparalleled by the German situation. In international comparative terms, the labour market status of African migrants in Germany appears to constitute the category most subdued by the manifold operations of the interlockings of status, gender and ethnicity. By contrast to England however, there are indirect social mitigating factors which seem to enhance social empowerment in terms of endowment with practical discursive consciousness, promoting social integration, the dismantling of subaltern identities and development of African authentic cultural identity within diversity. To this extent assimilation seems quite absent in the German context. Indeed in the social spaces where cultural monolithicism has surfaced, this has seemed to translate into critical contestation, pluralistic cultural incorporation or both as opposed to the assimilation tendency observed in England. This is particularly so in the area of aesthetic production but also respectively within the church where historical specificity declined Germany's involvement in colonial processes hence not only alienating German cultural forms of worship (social cultural institutions) from the African social context, but also delaying the transition from monocultural practices. There is a major point to draw out here regarding the observed cultural exclusion in the Church and this concerns the plurality of space largely constructed through the German institutionalised Churches in recognition of the importance of destabilizing assimilation and promoting the individual within diversity through upholding the ethno-cultural expressions of minority groups. This logic appears to have fundamentally assisted the development of Afro churches on culturally egalitarian but pluralistic levels. Whereas minority needs seem to be often marginalised within the dominant institutionalised German Churches, at pluralistic levels there is a lot of cooperation, support, recognition and interaction. This concretises in part the types of indirect mitigating factors encountered in the Germany context. It is significant that the fragmented cultural biographies of African migrants appear re-interwoven and this seems to deconstruct colonial residues and subaltern identities while cultivating self esteem and cultural awareness amongst Africans. What should be emphasized here concerns the distinguishing levels at which African cul-

tures constantly enter into egalitarian dialogue not only within the Church but also the mainstream society. By contrast to the cultural deficit theories perpetuated in literature and mass media, in the empirical world most (im)migrants identify a process that confronts them with a new need to investigate their own traditions due to the demand and pressure for translation within the host society and the variety of its contexts such as historical knowledge, folklore, traditional cultural practices, performative dances, music and drums, food, literature (also children literature and fairy tales), etc.

The problem of low social reflexivity should be seen as a major impediment which affects those categories of (im)migrants in secluded faith based communities and self organised projects. Although self ethnisation and community seclusion appears still the exception and not the norm, it is growing and represents the major form of community mobilisation. In Germany this highlights perhaps the relatively isolated areas in which postcolonial continuity is reflected. Due to the status problematic where access to labour participation is mainly realized through marriage, it appears that economic power is mostly favoured in the hands of socially vulnerable groups with low educational levels. This implies that social power also almost entirely lies in their hands (indicated by the social structure of the majority of community organisations). Hence the function of social impacting and role modelling of the highly skilled and formally educated migrants is constrained within their respective migrant communities. Thus, reflecting the dominant dynamics in many African countries today.

The findings emphasize the significant importance of social cohesion as a core variable in connection with the need for a pedagogical confrontation of self ethnisation processes in community development at both national levels and within the international North South/South North dialogue.

Although cultural centrism does not shape only mainstream society but also appears to emerge strongly in the interlockings of gender, class, ethnicity and abstract epistemic practices, positive cultural difference models whilst idealizing the cultures of minorities have worked to raise attention on race and difference through exclusively focussing deconstructionist strategies on the subjectification and collectivising practices of women of the majority without taking into consideration the ethnocentric constructions of difference and the structural disembedments of postcolonial subjectivity. This has polarized locally, translocally and globally the resources for social cohesion, identity and social. The absence of a cultural similarity perspective problematising migrant's multilayered identities within dominant discourses is particularly

critical given the disalienation of postcolonial subjectivities, the abstract post-colonial systems of education and the lack of critical deconstruction tools.

Now that research has addressed the historical framework and current national models in which these structurally marginalising policies have evolved, one must emphasize the critical need for facilitating the structural integration of African women through access to the labour market, social visibility and social representation: a) enabling labour market policy frameworks, rules and regulations; b) vocational training and co-op education; c) better access to healthcare professions, banking and the broader administrative services sectors; d) participatory professional advocacy and political lobby work; e) civic participation and increased discursive consciousness; f) inclusionary educational system that supports the unique needs of children with an (im)migration background. These factors, will in turn, promote institutional networking.

As the case in England has demonstrated the structural integration of African migrants is a win-win situation: Migrants contribute strongly to the economy through labour market participation. By not structurally integrating African women, Germany misses out on building economic, social and cultural ties with African economies in an increasingly globalised and competitive world. Since Germany through its social democratic paradigm parallels the traditional Ubuntu African habitus it provides an historical context for deconstructing difference – which postcolonial societies and subjectivities could draw on as models for social transformation and evolution of social infrastructures of critical pedagogy. By contrast, monumental efforts are required in England to promote the social integration of migrant women. Whereas there is an urgent need for confronting the growing cultural centrism and differentiation on the basis of gender, class and ethnicity within both migrant communities in England and Germany, *very strong* emphasis is needed in England and Canada.

11 Key Findings

11.1 Scientific Workability, Relevance and Validity: Theorising Gender, Social Cohesion and Social Capital

Empirical examples illustrating the social construction of gender within dichotomous socialisation patterns and its implications for status and subjectivity exhibit high correlation with the generation of ‘*social capital*’ and social cohesion. While highlighting the impacts of modernity disembedments, the hypothesis generated regards the extents to which polygamy as a patriarchal framework for identity building operates under dislocating macro, mezzo and micro forces to articulate multivariate structural ambivalence in female consciousness which is embodied as a conflict between gender and social identities. This is illustrative primarily through a further hypothesis that lends support to analysis of household-/family interactions through Marxian approaches theorising class relations, gender hierarchies, capitalist modes of production and their articulation in the domestic sphere¹ of postcolonial societies which, while generating difference, rigid boundaries² and cultural shifts appear to produce illegitimizing mechanisms³ and alterity paradigms that fragmentize and genderise social categories whilst also materialising belonging and producing exclusionist identities in socialisation processes within the simultaneity of complex and ambivalent power locations. These mechanisms appear introjected in subjectivities and implicated in agency and the reproduction of social systems⁴ – as generative of diverse forms of social conflict, hegemonic notions and counter hegemonic notions in modes of collective referentialities as well as shaping the relationship between the public and private spaces through structural gendered ambivalence and pluralistic cultural antagonisms inextricably linked to the social determinants of health and basis health systems.

It is through an understanding of this frame that much which is left hidden about the dilemma of a society with apparently collective social cultural sys-

1 Section 4.6.1 & 4.6.2.

2 On family boundaries see Minuchin 1974.

3 See Said (1978).

4 On agency and structure see Giddens & Bernstein, Section 4.6.1 & 4.6.2.

tems, however, with contradicting inner fragmentation can be made more explicit. It is within this framework of theorisation that the internal constitution of democracies can be explicated, comprehended and transformed. Hence it seems likely that the pluralistic construction of democratisation processes and the HIV epidemic may have a social-psychological dimension that is fundamental to constructing social cohesion and basis health systems by virtue of consolidating gender identity.

To integrate the dimension of transnationalism, a multi-disciplinary intersection handling an international-comparative perspective of gender, class, ethnicity in light of multivariate intersectional vulnerability and structural embedment within complex locations and dislocations is necessary: The empirical investigation of the social construction of gender in the nexus of postcolonial subjectivity, double/threefold ontology and shifting discursive conjunctures has revealed that a focus on the intersections of ethnicity, gender and class as they relate to differential claims to resources and power within a framework of historical situativity, geopolitical conditioning and their contradictory outcomes is inevitable. Such a context provides the adequate framework for theorising the dynamics of diversity, exclusion and social capital:

The categories and the hypothesis empirically generated point out to the need for investigating practices of subjectification and collectivisation through a coherent focus on intra-self ethnisation, essentialisation and legitimisation of difference, bipolarisation and cultural centrism amongst Diasporic identities through a structural approach problematising the colonial legacies and residues as they relate to the institutional, legislative fixation and codification of social relations, ethnicity, class, social identities and gender hierarchies. Whilst integrating nexus situativity as a category of analysis for deconstructing postcolonial subjectivity, the empirical findings highlight the need for incorporating deconstructive approaches to investigate subaltern consciousness not only through a focus on the genealogies of postcolonial legacies and residues but also modes of perpetuations and disruptions within contexts of international migration – by contrast to Germany’s egalitarian habitus, England’s class habitus appears to reinforce relatively more salient constructions, fixation, essentialism and territorialisation of difference on the basis of ethnicity, class and gender amongst (im)migrant communities and their self definitions. By contrast to England, (im)migrant women in Germany appear to extensively internalize the values of social justice, social equality and innate human worth despite experiences with structural marginalisation. Therefore, rela-

tively less differentiation on the basis of ethnicity, gender and class specifically as they relate to intra-self ethnisation amongst (im)migrants is observed. Within the egalitarian habitus, they appear to reclaim the traditional Ubuntu African habitus.

From the empirical findings, it is also clear that the forms of social differentiation generated within the class habitus and the egalitarian habitus are different and bear different social meanings and implications for the (im)migrant women.

Since the egalitarian habitus appears to reinforce social cohesion and deconstruct subaltern identity formations, this means that Germany provides an orientation model for the postcolonial institutional and community building of African societies. This is especially true, since its social democratic paradigms parallel the traditional egalitarian and collective oriented African societies.

In view of the foregoing analysis, social cohesion and gender identity must be conceptualised first at the household level of analysis in order to understand their implications for subjective awareness and self-making as well as their articulation and relevance at the broader national, global and (trans)-locational societal levels.

Whilst enhancing empirically grounded theory building and hypothesis generation for ongoing research (Glaser 1978), my study aspires a responsive contribution to social cohesion, the development of guidelines for social policy and capacity building for postcolonial societies as well as promoting international development.

While integrating sociological perspectives, postcolonial, feminist discourses and a social networks perspective, my research seeks to explore identity framing in a modernity context of fast evolving tensions, challenges and contradictions of time and space and their implications for constraining collectivisation practices and adaptive processes. As a central area of theoretical reflection and empirical focus, I analyze the discursive practices, complex conjunctures and their social structural manifestations within hegemonic and counter hegemonic practices articulating the materialisation of belonging, cultural space, alterity paradigms and dichotomies at the nucleus, national and transnational societal levels. Aim is the need to develop grounded pedagogy in order to fundamentally address the cognitive and structural mechanisms conditioning identity construction as well as boosting the affected's own role in the postcolonial transformation process. Basing on existing theo-

retical models, specifically Bourdieu's theorisation of habitus, social capital, cultural configurations of class and symbolic capital, implications to the broader discourses on symbolic interaction and internal referentiality in social-networks are addressed with special reference to the tying in of gender in social cohesion, basic health systems and human development in an increasingly feminised migration and the inter-dependencies within the global society.

As units of analysis I have primarily drawn from available empirical data and sources observing female migrants from Anglophone African countries in Germany and have accomplished to survey in-depth and explorative qualitative case studies. I have adequately incorporated the methods of grounded theory to generate context sensitivity, multiple strategies and interventions – I have analyzed the main problems and processes in the substantive area via identification of the independent and dependent variables, building multivariate categories, generating hypothesis, concepts and middle range theorisation that integrate relevant variables from other theories as well. What research has also achieved regards the transcendent integration of the concepts into theory building to facilitate not only a high level of conceptualisation but also an achievement of workability and empirical relevance for the affected (Strauss & Glaser 1967: Glaser 1978).

With further regard to empirical relevance and workability, I have applied theory building to address existing scientific gaps by destabilizing the atheoretical nature of research on African women. Drawing on grounded theory, as a methodological approach, I have contributed to current research not only through conceptualising but also generating a theoretical framework for subjecting to scientific analysis previously untheorised dimensions of postcolonial subjectivity within an analytical context extending the framework of knowledge to explicate the practises of subjectification and collectivisation through a focus on the role of gender in constructing social cohesion, identity, the internal constitution of democracies and conflict prevention. By so doing, I have integrated trans-disciplinary insights to concretise the empirical relevance of conscientisation pedagogy (Bewußtseinsbildung) – as a direct tool of integrating verticality and horizontality in community and social policy development.

The workability of my findings is mirrored in the current social political evolution of African countries – Given the fragile social political state plagued by violent interethnic conflicts and societal disintegration as well as increased fragmentation of (im)migrant communities along the lines of ethnicity and the rising witchcraft engagement as reflected in ritual murders and child sac-

rifices (Section 8.6.2; Appendix), it is needless to say that existing abstract systems of education are not adequately furnished to address this complexity (Section 4.61 & 4.6.2). Without delineate strategic objectives and pedagogical implementation linking the historicity of nexus identities to both the macro structural shifts and micro sociological issues, the desirable transformations will remain unachieved for most countries. The task for attaining the targets of collective advancement seem to require monumental efforts from researchers to provide systematically generated, evidence-based and empirically grounded knowledge for guiding sociologists, educationists and health promotion practitioners in order to understand and effectively diagnose social phenomena and develop the necessary multi level and multi strategic oriented tools for an appropriate social advancement.

Feminist scholars have applied and implied intersectional analysis and multi-dimensionality through a focus on the social construction of gender within manifold differentiating mechanisms as they relate to the interlockings of class, ethnicity, consciousness and their simultaneous interplay. I have broadened this perspective through analytically combining the poststructuralist notion of double ontology with the feminist notion of gendered ambivalence, the interplay with stratification hypothesis on the international labour market, weak industrial relations, social networks and systems of social closure in order to articulate the multiple ontology of postcolonial gendered subjectivities – a further complex dimensions of nexus situativity in the contradictory relationship of time, space and their dichotomising outcomes. In considering these variables and their convergence within the political economy of migrant labour and the intersections with Habitus, symbolic interaction, corporeality and the materialisation of belonging within the cultural configurations of class, my work has rejected the notion of race as analytical category. With the argument that the notion of race promotes linear interventions and obscures the different spaces and levels for engaging actions and multiple strategic interventions, I explicate the structural constitution of ethnicity as a valid analytical category. This approach facilitates the incorporation of cultural similarity approaches:

Although cultural centrism does not shape only mainstream society but also appears to emerge strongly in the interlockings of gender, class, ethnicity and abstract epistemic practices (Section 4.4–4.7), positive cultural difference models whilst idealizing the cultures of minorities have worked to raise attention on race and difference through exclusively focussing deconstructionist strategies on the subjectification and collectivising practices of women of the

majority without taking into consideration the ethnocentric constructions of difference and the structural disembedments of postcolonial subjectivity. This has polarised (trans)locally and globally the resources for social cohesion, identity and social capital. Subsequently, this has led to the construction of weaker communities amongst (im)migrants and their background societies. This charts the need and dimensions for incorporating cultural similarity perspectives and multiple interventions for a postmodern destabilization of difference amongst both minority communities and women of the majority.

With further regard to the relevance of combining intersectionality models with multiple interventions, it is significant that although religious education constitutes key theoretical, analytical and empirical resources for individual, community resilience and identity building within the background societies, it is sometimes eroded in destination countries due to the dichotomisation of household and public space (schools). In terms of subjectification practices, this does not only suggest a dismantling of migrants' consciousness, fragmentation of social cultural biographies and tools for constructing resilience but also a general weakening of migrant communities. Hence it also illustrates empirically, the stratified ways in which legislation conditions the relationship between the public and private spaces with implications for constraining social reflexivity and social capital.

11.2 Question Emerging from Research

Given the empirical framework, the question that arises regards the pedagogical concern for researchers to identify the legitimate contexts for addressing gender, ethnicity, class and subjectivity issues within a framework of intersectional analysis, cultural similarity perspectives and multiple transformative interventions aimed at capacity development for the reflexive moulding of social cohesion. Corporate globalisation, the subjective internationalization and subjective manifestations of multidimensional inequalities, social change and precariousness driven by capitalist modes of production, legitimise the need for grounding transformative processes in multi level and multi strategic interventions – international, local and translocal structural interventionist models that combine responsive global social policy development with improvements in the legal positions of migrant women in destination countries and the building of humanistic civil societies in the South. This is, however, empirically contradicted through fortress Europe. In Germany for example, scholars criticise the defensive dryad approach constituting integration, fortification and funded reintegration into destination non EU coun-

tries in connection with the failure to evolve a responsive migration policy in the institutional practices of a restrictive alien's policy (Compare Ochse 1999 with further references). Whilst this has led to the marginalisation and discrimination of migrant women, their children and grand children born and living for decades in Germany, in classical (im)migration countries with modern migration policies like Canada, stratification hypotheses, straight line assimilation, unidimensional, cultural deficit approaches and systemic barriers on the labour market have not only ethnicised poverty, unemployment and crime but have also socially polarised society.

This dilemma charts the future direction for intersectional analysis whilst also raising questions regarding the need for creating international forums; international comparative analysis and; critical interventionist models for addressing and deconstructing configurations of difference in varying contexts and forms of appearance.

To concretise the implications of intersectional vulnerability within the context of the foregoing analysis and within the context of enhanced labour market segmentation, scientist have problematised the implications of the new gender order for deteriorating the status of (im)migrant women whilst improving the position of women of the majority on international labour market. Scholars have looked at not only the commodification of care but also de-qualification mechanism, cultural deficit approaches and genderised cultural hiring practices as constituting additional aggravating variables with strong implications for eroding the status of immigrant women (Section 4.9, 5.2 & 5.3). In countries like Canada, this is exacerbated through the combination of the volunteer habitus, non recognition of *foreign experience* and foreign credentials. Meaning that since new comers must first volunteer their unpaid labour in order to gain Canadian experience and eligibility to access the labour market, valuable resources are extracted from highly skilled (im)migrants to facilitate the social mobility of privileged Canadian women on the labour market.

The theoretical and empirical findings on postcolonial subjectivities, self-making and collectivising practices articulate the critical lack of a social infrastructure of pedagogy in the postcolonial societies. The major questions here regard the introduction, implementation and prioritisation of this critical resource within the context of competitive differential claims to resources characterising the modern economies of gender, class and ethnicity.

The structural confinements of double/threefold orientation and the challenges of doing gender and intersecting constructed identities as they relate to the binarisation of modes of skills acquisition as well as the dissociation of profession and family life has meant that (im)migrant postcolonial women extensively lack critical awareness of the role of structural determinants, institutional processes and systemic barriers. In terms of intersectionality and multiple interventions, this highlights the need for working towards promoting awareness of structuration and change perspectives. This further requires building capacity for critical social political engagement and civic participation. In addition, this charts central areas of intervention through grounded pedagogy, and structural social work for postcolonial societies. Within the public/public divide, multivariate gendered ambivalence is linked to the rise of abstract, exploitative mechanisms and the materialisation of belonging within self organisation processes as articulated through modern constructions of the evangelical Gospel Churches. The question that arises regards the difficulty of implementing liberative pedagogy and collaborative frameworks to facilitate critical insertion of oppressed categories into the contingents and realities structuring their social world in a context magnifying and exploiting the duality of the oppressed as contradictory, divided beings internalising oppression, afraid of the risks of liberation and hence preferring conformity, gregarious leadership to authentic comradeship⁵. This Dilemma is exacerbated through current shifts in dynamics whereby the power elites are increasingly penetrating this construct for instrumentalist purposes, which will eventually reproduce subaltern identities and self-making practices that are adhesive to postcolonial residues and legacies – thereby deteriorating the situation of the masses.

The empirical findings have destabilised the validity of race as analytical category. Instead, they point out to the need for deconstructing difference along the lines of ethnicity as a structural category through a focus on Miles theoretical approach to the political economy of migrant labour as it relates to analysis of nexus identity formations within international capitalist modes of production. As well, the fusion of Bourdieu's theory of praxis, Giddens' structuration theory and feminist theories problematising the threefold/fourfold vulnerability model and postcolonial theorisation of subalternism and double ontology. This raises major questions for researchers and practitioners regarding the need for tracing commonalities in the subjectivity construc-

5 On the duality of the oppressed, see Freire 1972.

tions, practices of subjectification and collectivisation within the North and South, specifically the possible contributions of dominant sociological models, feminist, pedagogical discourses and evidence based knowledge in the theoretical and applied deconstruction of difference along multidimensional categories.

11.3 Recommendations

The study argues that effective policy development and critical pedagogical interventionist models have to be chosen on the basis of the above background of real factors which are barriers and determinants of social cohesion, social capital, the benefits of social transformation and collective empowerment. In terms of practice theoretical orientation, the findings underscore the importance of identifying the different spaces and levels for engaging actions and multiple strategic interventions – building local, translocal and systemic level communication and outreach strategies to increase public awareness and social reflexivity on ethnicisation, internalised practices of difference by identifying and training natural leaders, pedagogists, health workers, diverse practitioners and self organised groups as multipliers for eliminating ethnicisation and rolling out cohesive messages in the communities in a bid to strengthen community resilience. One way is clarify genealogies, trans-cultural codes and myths that construct, essentialise, legitimise and sediment practices of difference⁶. The second way is through the vertical and horizontal humanitarisation of formal and informal education. Another pragmatic and bridging action is to develop policies that take action against ethnicisation.

In view of the pervasive nature of abstract educational systems under absence of indigenous contextualised pedagogy, the need for evolving a social infrastructure of independent research, grounded theory and critical pedagogy is paramount to change. Postcolonial educational systems need re-orientation. They should gradually, though critically shift from heavy dependence on de-contextualised contents inherent in abstract systems towards evolving a dual system constituting indigenous pedagogy, modern educational systems and evidence based knowledge referenced to the social realities and pragmatic demands of social transformation and community development. Within broadly conceived educational systems, structural social work praxis, community building, health promotion and international development, the priority of

6 For a deeper analysis on genealogies, myths and transcultural codes see Nitsch (2008).

Conscientising Social Cohesion and *Social Capital* should prevail. Building international networks is necessary in order to enhance verticality and horizontality through collaborative scientific inquiry and problem solving by bringing together multiple stakeholders within the framework of international cooperation and international dialogue with the tasks of:

- Facilitating the structural integration of African women in Germany through improved labour market status to facilitate better access to the labour market, vocational training, co-op education, teaching, healthcare professions and the broader administrative sector whilst also facilitating the social integration of African women in England through promoting intercultural dialogues, social programs and more diversity in settlement schemes.
- Improving the social visibility and social representation of African women within social policy in Germany through voice creation, civic participation, social political advocacy and scientific research. As well, constructing inclusionary educational policies, multi level strategic practices and multiple interventions to support the unique educational needs of children with a migration background. It is possible to argue that an over-emphasis on racism as the paradigm for explaining differences in school achievement has promoted linear interventions and obscured the different spaces and levels for engaging actions and multiple strategic interventions. It follows that more often than not, factors like the social economic status (which includes the literacy levels) of the family and their impacts on school achievement have escaped attention. These factors need to be empirically investigated and established. For a long time, African communities have been considered too small to form separate units in national statistics: Whereas the Turkish migration background has been drawn on and stereotyped to explain the sociological situation of minority women, African women have consistently fallen through the cracks within social policy changes. As the new *Einbürgerungsgesetz* illustrates, this has led to a polarisation of social conditions amongst women and families with a migration background in Germany.
- Mainstreaming intersectional analysis, cultural similarity perspectives and grounded theories to problematise and redress the lack of attention to the subjectification practices as they relate to the introjections and subjective manifestations of the dynamics of diversity and exclusion – essentialism, fixation, territorialisation of ethnicity, materialisation of belonging and their implications for social cohesion in the South and the North.

- Using evidence-based dominant theories, specifically sociological approaches, feminist and intercultural pedagogical transformatory models to promote the above unified goals.
- Developing effective sensitization frameworks, adult educational programs and the social scientific interrogation of social cohesion through analysis of family models, the intersections with abstract epistemic systems, macro mezzo and micro sociological dislocations and gender.
- Building and strengthening scientific, intercultural dialogue and international development with Germany as an orientation model for the post-colonial institutional and community building of African societies, since the egalitarian social democratic or social market economy by contrast to the class habitus appears to reinforce social cohesion and deconstruct sub-altern identity formations. Whereas this represents postcolonial reconstructionist approaches, the egalitarian habitus and the social democratic paradigms appear to parallel the traditional collective systems of African countries.
- Rethinking the intersections of gender, class and ethnicity by broadening multidimensional, intersectional and (trans)locational analysis through a coherent attention to the variety of social divisions relating to habitus, corporeal capital, symbolic interaction, cultural and social-psychological configurations of class, symbolic devaluation and their convergence within the political economy of migrant labour. As well, integrating a focus on political correctness as the new evolving mechanism that masks and reinforces multidimensional discrimination and compound vulnerability through lowering grounds, erosion of identity, weakening of (im)migrant communities and dismantling freedom of expression for example articulated in the prohibition of religious education in public schools and the Merry Christmas greetings in the public space during the Christmas season as the Canadian example clearly demonstrates.
- Investigating prescriptive models and cultural deficit approaches as they relate to perpetuations of colonial residues, legacies and reconfigurations of subaltern identities articulated in the increasingly hierarchical political-legal integration and the implications for undermining minority group's self-determination and autonomy, for example cultural construction of gender relations.
- Promoting critical religious dialogue and intercultural competencies through proactive policy intervention that promotes critical self-other reflections,

living and practicing tolerance in shared spaces as opposed to leaving the responsibility of modelling children's inner construction and internal referentiality in the hands of manipulative entities and religious extremists increasingly characterising the private sphere.

- Bridging the public, private divide and voluntary sectors through critical confrontation and destabilization of gendered structural ambivalence; capacity building; social justice awareness; critical self organisation, civic and social political engagement and empowerment. In addition, there is need for broadening the framework of family literacy programs to deconstruct the social construction of difference within modern disembedded family structures.

11.4 Conclusions

This analysis has illuminated the dimensions and implications of system intrinsic contradictions in terms of migrants' position of disadvantage arising and reinforced by multiple exclusions from the positions of power. It expands the margins and centres of difference through unveiling and problematising the cumulative factors that compound vulnerability. It reassesses the intersectionality and simultaneity of ethnicity, class and gender and brings to light myriad hidden and interconnecting mechanisms structuring difference. These mechanisms cannot be captured within the analytical confinements of a race oriented paradigm. The study implies and applies structural ethnicity as analytical category and usefully combines this with Bourdieu's sociological theory of practice. It fuses analysis of the materialisation of cultural space, body and belonging with analysis of structural location, ethnicity and historicity in order to facilitate a full comprehension of social differentiation. It identifies the problematic interaction of asymmetrical relationships within the economisation and politicisation of settlement and integration. These are interpreted as aggravating mechanisms and interactive dimensions of difference that compound migrants' vulnerability. Thus, the analysis reassess the framework of intersectionality and multi-level strategic interventions. These issues will constitute further themes of focus and elaboration in this section.

As signifiers of salient constructions of difference on the basis of class, ethnicity and gender, the empirical findings underscore the centrality of social cohesion as a core category and underline the pedagogical and sociological relevance of problematising subjectivities through a coherent focus on the social construction of gender, ethnicity and class in increasingly complex change

processes driven in the intersections of (trans)locational, transnational and globalising mechanisms. Within the context of diversity, health promotion and community building, a coherent focus on social differentiation along the multiple axes of ethnicity, gender and class is legitimated empirically by the fact that these present hidden explosive dynamics. However, there is an acute lack of the necessary critical attention or concerted societal efforts to deconstruct them:

Basing on the example of African societies, it is possible to postulate that scholars have mainly focused on macro factors to explain social development in the peripheral regions. These are adequately analyzed at a theoretical level in terms conceptualising the binary frameworks of historical evolution and the associated impacts through colonialism, capitalism and globalisation. Whilst the micro sociological context as it relates to subjectification and collectivising practices is broadly ignored, my scientific project applies the notion of shift in micro sociological, mezzo and macro structural variables whose constant interplay appear to condition the salience of gender identities and becomes a decisive factor in the formation of social cohesion. For purposes of conceptualisation and theory building, I have integrated Feminist-Marxian theories, Bourdieu's theory of praxis and Giddens structuration theory to confront the articulation, simultaneity and introjections of international capitalist modes of production, patriarchy, gender hierarchies and abstract systems within the African polygamous family habitus. Against this background I analyze the objective contingencies and empirically demonstrate their implications for dismantling gender identity, social cohesion, basic health and the internal constitution of democracies in a dynamic context of double/threefold ontology.

This study fuses intersectional analysis with the sociology of the labour market, family structure and international migration in a framework allowing for theoretical and empirical reflection on complex structural transformations, subjective and collective introjections and subjective manifestations, their (mis)recognition as it relates to social reflexivity, processes of (de)legitimation, contestation and practices of collective belonging. These mechanisms are explicated through a transdisciplinary analysis of the social biographies of (im)migrant women in England and Germany. This transdisciplinary lens whilst empirically emerging through the application of grounded theory sets my framework of analysis apart from traditional intersectional approaches through the integration of a postcolonial perspective and a critical transformatory approach. To do this, the study moves a cognition focused framework from the margins to the centre to facilitate explication of the micro mental

models of subjectivities, diversities, collectivities and the internal structures of multi-cultural democracies through a concerted inquiry into the normative implications and constitution of consciousness in the nexus of multiplistic abstract discourses; contradictory systems of representation; genealogies and legacies of structural disembedding; pluralistic patriarchies, gender hierarchies and systems of structural ambivalence. Therefore, it aspires to comprehend the social construction of gendered nexus identities through a focus on the complex interweavings of historicity, macro structural, microsociological and mezzo processes as well as social conditioning at the conjunctures of transnationalism, postcolonialism and postmodernity. The aim is to unveil not only social reflexivity at the level of feminist activism but also the social production, internalization, (dis)articulation, and reproduction of social meaning and diverse identity configurations amongst transnational subjectivities.

The study constitutes a triangulation of the social habitus. A focus on the social construction of gendered and ethnicised identities within the tensions and contradictions of laissez-faire labour markets on the one hand and on the other, the interventionist labour markets is vital to understanding class as it complicates difference, manifold dislocations and subjectification practices. In terms of international comparative studies, the findings show that no society offers complete solutions but building blocks can be found in each society. As England's case demonstrates, it is significant that high integration on the labour market within a class conscious society has facilitated economic emancipation but in some ways fragmented social capital – the class habitus appears to essentialise and fix difference and hierarchisation. By contrast, Germany constrains economic and structural integration but offers building blocks for dismantling subalternism and postcolonial residues. Within its egalitarian habitus, African women appear to reclaim the African Ubuntu habitus. Canada provides an orientation model and evidence based framework for deconstructing and negotiating (dis)ability through legislation, institutional processes and daily social practices prioritising inclusive communities and spaces for people with disabilities. African traditional systems have humanistic values that can be drawn on to re-theorise approaches and reconfigure subjectivities within the framings of human worth, human dignity, social solidarity and social equality.

International comparative studies must be conceptualised within the variations of historical differences. Due to the colonial links, England has shaped labour migration and structural integration in ways that are not observable in Germany. In England, there were more African women than men. The labour

market participation rates of African women were often higher than the overall participation rates of women of the majority. This suggests that women are migrating as breadwinners, which highlights a gendered shift in the traditional breadwinner paradigm – women appear to be turning into new bread earners and are certainly assuming a crucial role in the class formations amongst ethnicized groups. The above also collaborates the findings on the small credit approach (Klein Kredit) that has underscored the productive role of women. In Germany, by contrast there were more African men than women. The labour market participation rates of African women were much lower. In countries linked to tourism the number of migrant women was higher than their male counterparts in Germany. This suggests that migration takes place in a context of relationship orientation, which may have strong implications for the relationship oriented and selective way the interviewed African women appeared to view German society. Women in Germany focused more on the social dimensions of labour participation. However, they appeared blind to the structural barriers on the labour market. By contrast, women in England appeared acquainted with the hard, selective and concurrence mechanisms on the labour market.

Cultural centrism and difference orientation do not shape only mainstream society but also appear to shape migrant communities within the complex interlockings of gender, class, ethnicity and abstract epistemic practices. However, positive cultural difference models whilst idealizing the cultures of minorities have worked to raise attention on race and difference through exclusively focussing deconstructionist strategies on the subjectification and collectivising practices of women of the majority without taking into consideration the ethnocentric constructions of difference and the structural disembedments of postcolonial subjectivity. This appears to have polarized locally, translocally and globally the resources for social cohesion, identity and social

Drawing on postcolonial theories, I have argued for a systematic analysis and coherent focus on the transformation and rigid fixation of fluid social relations, specifically ethnicity and family boundaries as they relate to the binarisation of identity and the configuration of alterity paradigms within primary socialisation systems. Therefore, the notion of cultural hybridity is fundamental to deconstructing essentialism, territorialisation, pathologisation and fixation of ethnicity, class and gender. This approach can be integrated in educational, social-policy and community building processes.

Basing on grounded theory as constitutive of independent social research, context sensitive approaches and multi level strategic interventions, I have argued that understanding gender identity as it relates to social cohesion and social capital is fundamental for the democratisation of postcolonial societies, conflict prevention and for postcolonial institutional building.

The social democratic paradigms and social market economy underpinned by the core values of innate human worth and dignity, social justice, social equality and social solidarity ought to constitute themes of central relevance and building blocks within universal education and school curricular at all levels of formal and informal education, starting with quality early childhood education.

By integrating a structural analysis of consciousness within this framework, I have located and theorised spiritualism in relation to materialisation of belonging, the genealogies of complex discursive conjunctures, nexus identity formations, ambivalent locations, power inequalities, daily social practices and their dynamic interplay. Voodoo mentality manifests social change and the complex subjective embodiments – as a residue of the intersections, introjections and subjective manifestations of postcolonial and postmodernity generating contingencies, it articulates the complex intersections of ethnicity, gender, class and subjectivity in a context of double/triple ontology, materialisation of belonging and cultural space, differential claims to resources and power, historical situativity and their contradictory outcomes for postmodern socialisation (Chapter 4).

The position I take is that, since witchcraft constituted a strong research category, it is possible to pedagogically deconstruct the rising ritual killings within the empirically emerging framework with the overriding aim of fusing ambivalence tolerance strategies with liberative praxis.

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Appendix I

Based on the requirements of grounded theory, hypotheses are context sensitive and they are therefore rooted in data. This means that they are subject oriented and empirically grounded to promote social relevance and workability of research findings for the affected. The following hypothesis are not pre-conceived, Rather, they emerged in the iterative process of data collection, analysis and interpretation (Strauss & Glaser 1967; Glaser 1978).

Hypothesis Drawn from Chapter 4

Hypothesis I – Section 4.6.5.1

Intersectional Analysis is Fundamental to Reconceptualising Diversity

Intersectional analysis, multidimensionality, structural approaches and multiple interventions have largely been ignored in the theoretical and practical social integration of (im)migrants. This has had implications for reducing the concept of diversity to sloganism and symbolism. This, in turn, operates as complex exclusionary mechanisms. If combined with the marginalisation that arises from the economisation and politicisation of the settlement and integration sector, such system intrinsic contradictions emphasise migrants' position of disadvantage arising and reinforced by multiple exclusions from the positions of power. As the Canadian situation exemplifies, the absence of a structural and systematising approaches has had strong implications for the crisis of identities, racialisation of poverty and disintegration of immigrant communities. As part of responsive policies within the framework of reconstruction pedagogy, context sensitive sociology and structural social work, a broader definition of diversity that rethinks the margins, intersections and simultaneity of gender, ethnicity and class is paramount to effecting social transformation.

Political correctness as a new mainstreaming paradigm and single axis approach requires deconstruction in order to make explicit its inherently oppressive and exclusionary dimensions that reinforce multidimensional discrimination, intersectional vulnerability and institutionalised precariousness.

The above factors demonstrate the need for democratic representation of immigrants as equal stakeholder in settlement and integration work.

Hypothesis II – Section 4.6.5.1

Social Democratic Paradigm and Egalitarian Habitus as Empirical Models

Within the framework of international-comparative analysis, Germany provides a model of orientation based on the values of the social democratic paradigm which are rooted in more egalitarian relations and equitable distribution of resources, value and remuneration of labour (Section 6.1.6). However, these are currently being dismantled under the introduction of neo-liberalistic paradigms. Thus, the need for Germany to strengthen liberal-humanistic paradigms rooted in greater conditions of equality on the labour as evidence-based community building tools.

Hypothesis III – Section 4.6.5.2.1

Theorising Ethnicity, Multidimensionality and Miles Theoretical Model

Drawing on a fusion of Miles theoretical model, feminist threefold/fourfold approaches, Bourdieu's theory of practice and Giddens theory of structuration (Section 4.5.2), the structural constitution of ethnicity can be debatable in terms of a dichotomisation of society instantiated through the social construction of inequality within the relations of production, time and space as they relate to a series of broad intersecting factors beyond ethnicity, gender and class to include spatial skills construction, stratification hypothesis, industrial relations and systems of social closure. These appear reinforced through the 'Habitus' with fundamental implications for spatial segregation, the quality of network formation and regressive labour market incorporation. Under these mechanisms migrants build weaker communities and parallel societies. Under these circumstance, the materialisation of belonging as a subjectification and collectivising practice exacerbates psychic hierarchies and difference.

Hypothesis IV – Section 4.7.3

Institutional Networking is Fundamental to Social Integration

In considering the implications of the differences in quality of networks as structurally determined through structural location at national, local, international and (trans)locational levels as well as the dynamics of time and space, it is significant that institutional networking for (im)migrants and minorities emerges as fundamental to empowerment and social integration. This constitutes important criterion in policy intervention: This seems inevitably required in view of the major systemic barriers faced by (im)migrants in a context where most institutions are already networked. Strategic objectives for policy development should empower settlement agencies to develop pro-

grams for institutional networking and operate based on an investigation of the empirical reality through university community research partnerships and needs assessment. Special institutional bridging support for new (im)migrants who need to acquire professional experience, education, training and system orientation would automatically promote integration.

Hypothesis Drawn from Chapter 5

Hypothesis I – Section 5.2.5.3

Positive Cultural Difference is a Cultural Similarity Perspective

Drawing on my empirical findings, it could be postulated that interpretation of the positive cultural difference as a sociological concept demands a more sophisticated analysis and pedagogical inquiry incorporating multidimensional, intersectional focus and multi level strategic interventions. It appears that exoticisation has a double side to it with not only negative but also strong positive implications which need to be addressed in order to avoid contradictory outcomes. Where it does not intersect with sexism, exoticisation appears to inherently deconstruct colonial residues, subalternism, cultural ambivalence and by so doing reclaim the marred traditional African habitus. As well, it appears to deconstruct tradition-modernity dichotomies. By reconstructing the ‘traditional as opposed to exclusively recasting modern identities’, it appears to promote cultural authenticity. Since cultural authenticity is a characteristic of non colonised societies, this means that what has hitherto been termed as positive cultural difference might to an extent constitute the practical translation of the cultural similarity perspective. The downfall of the positive cultural difference lies in the lack of critical knowledge of minority cultures, so that the uncritical cultural hypotheticals become reinvented by minority groups and marketed to Western audiences with contradictory outcomes for minority subjectification practices and communities.

Hypothesis Drawn from Chapter 8

Hypothesis I – Section 8.5.3

Class Habitus Reinforces Essentialism, Difference and Fixation

In terms of subjectification and collectivising practices, essentialism and salient constructions of difference appear to emerge strongly within the simultaneity of gender, class and ethnicity – articulated as subjective manifestations and reflection of the multivariate ambivalent locations, compound, intersec-

tional vulnerability and status shifts experienced within migration, nexus situativity and the complex adaptive strategies in the absence of critical tools due to the postcolonial abstract epistemic practices (Section 4.6). Drawing from critical pedagogy and narrative therapy, specifically the techniques of externalization, one can pedagogically and sociologically discuss and deconstruct tunnel visions, structural narratives, fixation and self defeating conceptualisations of the self and the world. This requires a destabilization of colonial residues (See critically Fanon, Freire, Said, Spivak, Foucault, White, Freedman & Combs, Section 6.1.5). The major objective is to build stronger (im)migrant communities.

Hypothesis III – Section 8.8

Pedagogical & Sociological Contexts for addressing Intersectionality

Due to the habitus of the egalitarian social market economy/ social democratic paradigm¹ (See critically Mueller-Armac; Eucken; Watrin; Peacock & Willgerodt, Section 6.1.6), which is paralleled to the traditional Ubuntu, egalitarian and collective African habitus (See Dilger with further references, Section 6.1.6), Germany provides a historical context and empirical model for developing cornerstones for critical intervention, grounded pedagogy sociological and structural social work promoting identity building, collective empowerment and sustainable transformation of postcolonial societies.

Hypothesis Drawn from Chapter 9

Hypothesis I – Section 9.5

Structural Incorporation and Symbolic Devaluation

Unequal locationality within international capitalist relations of production conditioning the political economy of migrant labour (Miles, Section 4.5.2) may translate into symbolic devaluation linked to the low perceived cultural capital of migrants as it relates to gender, femininity constructions, the materialisation of subjectification and practices of collective belonging. Subsequently, this constitutes under surfaced mechanisms which intersect with ethnicity to complicate difference and social discrimination experienced by African women. This does not necessarily valorise the experiences of African women as a group but it selectively impacts individual women based on the

1 On a categorization of social democratic paradigms see Mullay with further references, section 6.1.6.

degree of congruency and contradiction with the mainstream schematic. This perspective whilst implying and applying structural ethnicity as analytical category, facilitates a sophisticated complication of difference that remains untheorised within the analytical confinements of a race oriented paradigm.

Hypothesis II – Section 9.5

Intersections of Language, Status and Difference

Language acquisition is status determined. One may assume that migrants with a low unsecure status who are not in a position to access language tools and resources are most likely to fall out of the habitus schema here and are most prone to social discrimination.

Hypothesis III – Section 9.6

Habitus – Political Economy of Migrant Labour vs. Race as Analytical Category

In the German egalitarian habitus, the political economy of migrant labour as it relates to the international capitalist relations of production and the unequal structural incorporation of migrants appears to constitute some of the strongest determinants of differentiation. Therefore migrants whose legal status is low, insecure or undefined are more prone to face social discrimination attributable to the structuration of ethnicity, the materialisation of subjectification, belonging and other causes rather than racism. Deconstruction must broaden the analytical scope within a structural and multiple interventionist approach.

Hypothesis IV – Section 9.9.2

Structural Disembedding of Polygamy and Gender Identity

Polygamy as a culturally and structurally disembedded postmodern construct constitutes patriarchal oppression within capitalist modes of production and complex gender hierarchies whereby male status is transformed into the major determinant for female status. Due to its subordinate position, female status within this constellation is constructed as potential rival and therefore social threat for other females. In the absence of working class consciousness and internal referentiality linked to the emergence of abstract systems, this undermines gender identity and social cohesion.

Hypothesis V – Section, 9.9.4

Socialisation, Shifts in Internal Referentialities and Social Cohesion

The dichotomous, alterity and exclusionist patterns of socialisation, however, reflect the grave impacts concretised by the shift in the traditional modes of referentiality in a context of fast evolving modernity disembedments coupled with the congruent and contradictory outcomes of double ontology as it relates to adaptive processes in the absence of critical tools.

Hypothesis VI – Section 9.9.4

Socialisation, Shifts in Internal Referentialities and Social Cohesion

The dichotomous, alterity and exclusionist patterns of socialisation, however, reflect the grave impacts concretised by the shift in the traditional modes of referentiality in a context of fast evolving modernity disembedments coupled with the congruent and contradictory outcomes of double ontology as it relates to adaptive processes in the absence of critical tools.

Hypothesis VII – Section 9.9.4

Macro, Mezzo & Micro Shifts, Ethnicity & Gendered Agency

Postmodernity disembedments at the household level of society, while generating difference and alterity paradigms appear to produce illegitimizing, marginalising mechanisms which variably invisibilise social categories and produce exclusionist identities in socialisation processes. These whilst intersecting with class, gender, ethnicity and institutional processes fixing fluid social relations and family boundaries become implicated in agency and the reproduction of social systems as generative of diverse forms of social conflict.

Hypothesis VIII – Section 9.10.1

Oppressive Narratives, Double Ontology and Voodoo Mentality

Voodoo mentality manifests social change and the complex subjective embodiments – as a residue of the intersections, introjections and subjective manifestations of postcolonial and postmodernity generating contingencies, it articulates the complex intersections of ethnicity, gender, class and subjectivity in a context of double/triple ontology, materialisation of belonging and cultural space, differential claims to resources and power, historical situativity and their contradictory outcomes for postmodern socialisation (Chapter 4). Whereas this undermines social cohesion and social capital, it can be deconstructed through a structural analysis of consciousness integrating multi-dimensional and intersectional approaches.

Appendix II

Gendered Structural Ambivalence, Spiritualism and Violence: Interlockings of postmodern Evangelical discursive Practices, Voodoo and Gender Hierarchies

ARTICLE: Children are Targets of Nigerian Witch Hunt

Evangelical pastors are helping to create a terrible new campaign of violence against young Nigerians. Children and babies branded as evil are being abused, abandoned and even murdered while the preachers make money out of the fear of their parents and their communities.

The rainy season is over and the Niger Delta is lush and humid. This southern edge of West Africa, where Nigeria's wealth pumps out of oil and gas fields to bypass millions of its poorest people, is a restless place. In the small delta state of Akwa Ibom, the tension and the poverty has delivered an opportunity for a new and terrible phenomenon that is leading to the abuse and the murder of hundreds, perhaps thousands, of children. And it is being done in the name of Christianity.

Almost everyone goes to church here. Driving through the town of Esit Eket, the rust-streaked signs, tarpaulins hung between trees and posters on boulders, advertise a church for every third or fourth house along the road. Such names as New Testament Assembly, Church of God Mission, Mount Zion Gospel, Glory of God, Brotherhood of the Cross, Redeemed, Apostolic. Behind the smartly painted doors pastors make a living by 'deliverances' – exorcisms – for people beset by witchcraft, something seen to cause anything from divorce, disease, accidents or job losses. With so many churches it's a competitive market, but by local standards a lucrative one.

But an exploitative situation has now grown into something much more sinister as preachers are turning their attentions to children – naming them as witches. In a maddened state of terror, parents and whole villages turn on the child. They are burnt, poisoned, slashed, chained to trees, buried alive or simply beaten and chased off into the bush.

Some parents scrape together sums needed to pay for a deliverance – sometimes as much as three or four months' salary for the average working man – although the pastor will explain that the witch might return and a second

deliverance will be needed. Even if the parent wants to keep the child, their neighbours may attack it in the street.

This is not just a few cases. This is becoming commonplace. In Esit Eket, up a nameless, puddled-and-potholed path is a concrete shack stuffed to its fetid rafters with roughly made bunk beds. Here, three to a bed like battery chickens, sleep victims of the besuited Christian pastors and their hours-long, late-night services. Ostracised and abandoned, these are the children a whole community believes fervently are witches.

Sam Ikpe-Itauma is one of the few people in this area who does not believe what the evangelical ‘prophets’ are preaching. He opened his house to a few homeless waifs he came across, and now he tries his best to look after 131.

The neighbors were not happy with me and tell me “you are supporting witches”. This project was an accident, I saw children being abandoned and it was very worrying. I started with three children, then every day it increased up to 15, so we had to open this new place, he says. ‘For every maybe five children we see on the streets, we believe one has been killed, although it could be more as neighbors turn a blind eye when a witch child disappears.

It is good we have this shelter, but it is under constant attack.’ As he speaks two villagers walk past, at the end of the yard, pulling scarfs across their eyes to hide the ‘witches’ from their sight.

Ikpe-Itauma's wife, Elizabeth, acts as nurse to the injured children and they have called this place the Child Rights and Rehabilitation Network, a big name for a small refuge. It has found support from a charity running a school in the area, Stepping Stones Nigeria, which is trying to help with money to feed the children, but the numbers turning up here are a huge challenge.

Mary Sudnad, 10, grimaces as her hair is pulled into corn rows by Agnes, 11, but the scalp just above her forehead is bald and blistered. Mary tells her story fast, in staccato, staring fixedly at the ground.

‘My youngest brother died. The pastor told my mother it was because I was a witch. Three men came to my house. I didn’t know these men. My mother left the house. Left these men. They beat me.’ She pushes her fists under her chin to show how her father lay, stretched out on his stomach on the floor of their hut, watching. After the beating there was a trip to the church for ‘a deliverance’.

A day later there was a walk in the bush with her mother. They picked poisonous ‘asiri’ berries that were made into a draught and forced down Mary’s

throat. If that didn't kill her, her mother warned her, then it would be a barbed-wire hanging. Finally her mother threw boiling water and caustic soda over her head and body, and her father dumped his screaming daughter in a field. Drifting in and out of consciousness, she stayed near the house for a long time before finally slinking off into the bush. Mary was seven. She says she still doesn't feel safe. She says: 'My mother doesn't love me.' And, finally, a tear streaks down her beautiful face.

Gerry was picked out by a 'prophetess' at a prayer night and named as a witch. His mother cursed him, his father siphoned petrol from his motorbike tank and spat it over his eight-year-old face. Gerry's facial blistering is as visible as the trauma in his dull eyes. He asks every adult he sees if they will take him home to his parents: 'It's not them, it's the prophetess, I am scared of her.'

Nwaeka is about 16. She sits by herself in the mud, her eyes rolling, scratching at her stick-thin arms. The other children are surprisingly patient with her. The wound on her head where a nail was driven in looks to be healing well. Nine-year-old Etido had nails, too, five of them across the crown of his downy head. It's hard to tell what damage has been done. Udo, now 12, was beaten and abandoned by his mother. He nearly lost his arm after villagers, finding him foraging for food by the roadside, saw him as a witch and hacked at him with machetes.

Magrose is seven. Her mother dug a pit in the wood and tried to bury her alive. Michael was found by a farmer clearing a ditch, starving and unable to stand on legs that had been flogged raw.

Ekemini Abia has the look of someone in a deep state of shock. Both ankles are circled with gruesome wounds and she moves at a painful hobble. Named as a witch, her father and elders from the church tied her to a tree, the rope cutting her to the bone, and left the 13-year-old there alone for more than a week.

There are sibling groups such as Prince, four, and Rita, nine. Rita told her mum she had dreamt of a lovely party where there was lots to eat and to drink. The belief is that a witch flies away to the coven at night while the body sleeps, so Rita's sweet dream was proof enough: she was a witch and because she had shared food with her sibling – the way witchcraft is spread – both were abandoned. Victoria, cheeky and funny, aged four, and her seven-year-old sister Helen, a serene little girl. Left by their parents in the shell of

an old shack, the girls didn't dare move from where they had been abandoned and ate leaves and grass.

The youngest here is a baby. The older girls take it in turn to sling her on their skinny hips and Ikpe-Itauma has named her Amelia, after his grandmother. He estimates around 5,000 children have been abandoned in this area since 1998 and says many bodies have turned up in the rivers or in the forest. Many more are never found. 'The more children the pastor declares witches, the more famous he gets and the more money he can make,' he says. 'The parents are asked for so much money that they will pay in instalments or perhaps sell their property. This is not what churches should be doing.'

Although old tribal beliefs in witch doctors are not so deeply buried in people's memories, and although there had been indigenous Christians in Nigeria since the 19th century, it is American and Scottish Pentecostal and evangelical missionaries of the past 50 years who have shaped these fanatical beliefs. Evil spirits, satanic possessions and miracles can be found aplenty in the Bible, references to killing witches turn up in Exodus, Deuteronomy and Galatians, and literal interpretation of scriptures is a popular crowd-pleaser.

Pastor Joe Ita is the preacher at Liberty Gospel Church in nearby Eket. 'We base our faith on the Bible, we are led by the holy spirit and we have a programme of exposing false religion and sorcery.' Soft of voice and in his smart suit and tie, his church is being painted and he apologises for having to sit outside near his shiny new Audi to talk. There are nearly 60 branches of Liberty Gospel across the Niger Delta. It was started by a local woman, mother-of-two Helen Ukpabio, whose luxurious house and expensive white Humvee are much admired in the city of Calabar where she now lives. Many people in this area credit the popular evangelical DVDs she produces and stars in with helping to spread the child witch belief.

Ita denies charging for exorcisms but acknowledges his congregation is poor and has to work hard to scrape up the donations the church expects. 'To give more than you can afford is blessed. We are the only ones who really know the secrets of witches. Parents don't come here with the intention of abandoning their children, but when a child is a witch then you have to say "what is that there? Not your child." The parents come to us when they see manifestations. But the secret is that, even if you abandon your child, the curse is still upon you, even if you kill your child the curse stays. So you have to come here to be delivered afterwards as well,' he explains patiently.

‘We know how they operate. A witch will put a spell on its mother’s bra and the mother will get breast cancer. But we cannot attribute all things to witches, they work on inclinations too, so they don’t create HIV, but if you are promiscuous then the witch will give you HIV.’

As the light fades, he presents a pile of Ukpabio’s DVDs. Mistakenly thinking they are a gift, I am firmly put right.

Later that night, in another part of town, the hands of the clock edge towards midnight. The humidity of the day is sealed into the windowless church and drums pound along with the screeching of the sweat-drenched preacher. ‘No witches, oh Lord,’ he screams into the microphone. ‘As this hour approaches, save us, oh Lord!’

His congregation is dancing, palms aloft, women writhe and yell in tongues. A group moves forward shepherding five children, one a baby, and kneel on the concrete floor and the pastor comes among them, pressing his hands down on each child’s head in turn, as they try to hide in the skirts of the woman. This is deliverance night at the Church of the True Redeemer, and while the service will carry on for some hours, the main event – for which the parents will have paid cash – is over.

Walking out into the night, the drums and singing from other churches ring out as such scenes are being repeated across the village.

It is hard to find people to speak out against the brutality. Chief Victor Ikot is one. He not only speaks out against the ‘tinpot’ churches, but has also done the unthinkable and taken in a witch to his own home. The chief’s niece, Mbet, was declared a witch when she was eight. Her mother, Ekaete, made her drink olive oil, then poison berries, then invited local men to beat her with sticks. The pastor padlocked her to a tree but unlocked her when her mother could not find the money for a deliverance. Mbet fled. Mbet, now 11, says she has not seen the woman since, adding: ‘My mother is a wicked mother.’

The Observer tracked down Mbet’s mother to her roadside clothing stall where she nervously fiddled with her mobile phone and told us how her daughter had given her what sounded very much like all the symptoms of malaria. ‘I had internal heat,’ she says, indicating her stomach. ‘It was my daughter who had caused this, she drew all the water from my body. I could do nothing. She was stubborn, very stubborn.’ And if her daughter had died in the bush? She shrugged: ‘That is God’s will. It is in God’s hands.’

Chief Victor has no time for his sister-in-law. 'Nowadays when a child becomes stubborn, then everyone calls them witches. But it is usually from the age of 10 down, I have never seen anyone try to throw a macho adult into the street. This child becomes a nuisance, so they give a dog a bad name and they can hang it.

'It is alarming because no household is untouched. But it is the greed of the pastors, driving around in Mercedes, that makes them choose the vulnerable.'

In a nearby village The Observer came across five-year-old twins, Itohowo and Kufre. They are still hanging around close to their mother's shack, but are obviously malnourished and in filthy rags. Approaching the boys brings a crowd of villagers who stand around and shout: 'Take them away from us, they are witches.' 'Take them away before they kill us all.' 'Witches'.

The woman who gave birth to these sorry scraps of humanity stands slightly apart from the crowd, arms crossed. Iambong Etim Otoyoy has no intention of taking any responsibility for her sons. 'They are witches,' she says firmly and walks away.

And by nightfall there are 133 children in the chicken coop concrete house at Esit Eket.

Source: Tracy McVeigh (December 2007). Children are targets of Nigerian witch hunt. The Observer, Guardian News and Media Limited 2009. Retrieved 20, January 2009 from the Observer, Guardian UK. Web site:

<http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2007/dec/09/tracymcveigh.theobserver/print>

Appendix III

Spiritualism and Witchcraft

ARTICLE: We need Joint Effort to Stop Child Sacrifice

There has been a resurgence of child sacrifice and ritual murders in Uganda for the last two years and it does not seem to be receding. Cases of children missing or murdered in ritual sacrifices by primitive criminals are increasing with several suspects now under police custody.

The main culprits in this heinous crime are usually witchdoctors and people who are seeking success and wealth under the illusion of supernatural powers. But at the centre of this crime are witchdoctors. They often personally carry out the murders in their shrines. Even the people who sacrifice children seeking riches usually do so upon advice of witchdoctors and sometimes from the latter's shrines.

Police are doing a good job in arresting suspects but there is need for a broader and concerted strategy to curb the incidence of the crime.

Source: Editorial (December, 2008): We need Joint Effort to Stop Child Sacrifice DAILY MONITOR, OPINIONS, Retrieved 18 January 2009, From The New Vision Web site: http://www.monitor.co.ug/artman/publish/opinions/We_need_joint_effort_to_stop_child_sacrifice_76253.shtml

Appendix IV

Spiritualism, Gendered Violence and Child Sacrifice – Thematises escalation of witchcraft – children ritual murders

ARTICLE: Child Kidnap on the Rise

Pele Ondoga of Naguru, whose son, Hassan Ondoga (inset) was kidnapped and burnt recently. Looking on are Hassan's playmates

Little Hassan is no more. The five-year old boy last Saturday left his home to play with his friends in Naguru Kasenke, a suburb in Kampala. The following day, the Police found his body burnt and dumped at Kololo Golf Course, a few kilometres away.

The boy's father, Pele Ondoga, was in a nearby church when his wife phoned to say his son had gone missing. "The news hit me hard. I could not believe it," says Ondoga, an evangelist at Lembanyoma Full Gospel Church.

He had heard about children being kidnapped for sacrifice but it had never occurred to him that his son, who had been circumcised, could fall victim. Those who bring children to witchdoctors do not take circumcised boys, he had been told.

After a frantic door-to-door search in the crowded neighbourhood, Ondoga rushed to the Police to report the disappearance. On Sunday, he was informed that his son's body had been found.

"I, immediately, went to Jinja Road Police Station. The body had been taken to the mortuary but the sandals I found at the Police station were his," he recalls.

The man is inconsolable. "I loved my boy so much", he mutters, his face resting on his palm. "He was jolly and friendly. He was not only my child but also my friend."

The motive of the kidnappers is still not known but Ondoga, a pastor who converted from Islam, believes his son was a victim of child sacrifice.

Hassan's kidnap is not an isolated case. The Police are investigating several child disappearances that have taken place in and around Kampala in recent months.

Last week, seven-year-old Salim Abdu, a primary one pupil at Old Kampala Primary School, went missing. He was not at school when the house help, Abel Bwambale, went to pick him at mid-day. The Police are still looking for him.

Another lady, Alice Businge lost her baby a week ago to an unknown visitor who convinced the house maid that he was Businge's brother.

The Police are also still searching for three-year old Imran Lubega who went missing in Gazaland Plaza, a Kampala shopping mall, on Monday.

And in February, nine-year-old Jimmy Turyagyenda survived being sold at sh3m to a witchdoctor by his father. Entebbe Police saved the boy after a tip off and arrested the father, who had lied to the boy's mother that he was sending him for studies.

According to the 2007 crime report released recently by the Inspector General of General of Police, a total of 54 children were kidnapped, stolen or went missing last year.

Of those, seven were rescued and three were confirmed killed. The whereabouts of 40 others are still unknown.

Although the figures went down compared to 2006, Police sources say they have seen a recent increase in the number of children reported missing.

A Police source told Saturday Vision that currently, about 10 cases of disappearances are reported to different Police stations in Kampala weekly. "The majority of children have not been recovered," the source said.

While some children might have run away from home, the Police suspect that others, especially the very young ones, are being used for sacrifice by witch-doctors who promise their clients wealth in return.

"We are now working with the traditional healers through their chairperson to stamp out this practice," says Edward Ochom, Kampala Extra Region Police commander.

Others, according to Ochom, might be victims of child trafficking to other countries. "Child trafficking is a complicated issue because there is sometimes consent between the minor and the trafficker. The latter lures the victim with promises of high pay but ends up exploiting him or her."

In a bid to curb the vice, the Police are carrying out sensitisation programmes on radio stations and in schools for both parents and children. “The issue of child safety is the responsibility of every Ugandan”, says Ochom. “If you see a child of a tender age moving alone, you should be concerned and ask the child where he or she is going.”

Ochom advises that parents should alert their children to be suspicious of strangers, and avoid sending them to shops at night. “Parents should know the playmates of their children and their homes and they should have meals with their children every evening so that they can easily detect when a child is missing.”

Parents are also advised to drop and pick their children from school or take turn with other trusted parents or caretakers.

Until concrete action is taken to arrest this new wave of child abductions, it remains a major cause of anxiety to the public.

Source: Kiwalo, C. (May 2008): Child Kidnapp on the Rise. New Vision, News PP. 1). Retrieved 02 May 2010, From the New Vision Web site:

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Abstract

Drawing on the professional, educational and social biographies of Anglophone (im)migrant women in Germany and England, this thesis investigates the genderization, subjectification and ethnization of international migration labor markets in a context of globalization, post colonialism and trans-nationalism. Focus of attention is on hierarchization, differentiation and marginalization on the basis of overlapping, structural exclusionary mechanisms that operate at the complex intersections of gender relations, historical, institutional, legislative processes and daily social practices. As part of the methodological approach, theoretical, empirical reflection and transformative praxis, the study draws on grounded theory, critical pedagogy, post-colonial and feminist approaches to analyze the simultaneity and structural articulation of ethnicity, gender and class in the daily life constructions of (im)migrant women. Intersectionality as a dimension and perspective of difference and gender research is broadened through Miles Marxian political economy model, Bourdieu's conceptualization of habitus, social capital and cultural capital. As well, Giddens' structuration theory, the notion of post-colonial subjectivity and the interrelationships with cultural hybridity models.

In addition, the empirical and theoretical reflexive analysis allow for a theorization of the structural, discursive and social-psychological context of democracy, social cohesion, social capital and gender hierarchies through a triangulation of empirical and theoretical data to make transparent the hidden cross cuttings of capitalism, modernization, globalization processes and their articulation within the post colonial polygamous family habitus. The pedagogical deconstructionist approach integrates a structural analysis of consciousness to unveil the construction, configuration and reproduction of complex gendered nexus identities in a context of double ontology, multi-dimensional relative vulnerability and pluralistic shifting social fields. Against this broad background, new aspects and building blocks for object oriented theory construction and hypothesis generation are discovered. The thesis generates theoretical-conceptual and praxis relevant impulses with major implications for social transformation that engages the linkages of theoretically and empirically driven research, educational, social policy, capacity building and social work with the ultimate objective of enhancing sustainable community building and democratization.

Zusammenfassung

Aufgrund einer Analyse der Arbeits-, Bildungs- und Sozialbiographien von anglophonafrikanischen Migrantinnen in (West)Deutschland und England wird die Genderisierung, Subjektivierung und Ethnisierung von internationalen Migrationsarbeitsmärkten im Kontext von Globalisierung, Postkolonialismus und Transnationalismus untersucht.

Im Zentrum des Erkenntnisinteresses stehen Hierarchisierungs-, Differenzierungs- und Marginalisierungsvorgänge auf der Basis von sich überschneidenden strukturellen Ausschließungsmechanismen, die an den komplexen Schnittstellen von Geschlechterverhältnissen, historischen institutionellen und rechtlichen Prozessen und Alltagspraktiken wirksam werden. Als Teil ihres methodologischen Ansatzes, der theoretische und empirische Reflexion mit transformativer Praxis verbindet, bezieht sich diese Studie auf Grounded Theory, Critical Pedagogy, postkoloniale und feministische Theorieansätze, um die Gleichzeitigkeit und strukturelle Artikulation von Ethnizitäts-, Geschlechter- und Klassenverhältnissen in der sozialen Konstruktion des Alltagslebens der Migrantinnen zu analysieren. Intersektionalität als eine Dimension und Perspektive in der Diversitäts- und Gender-Forschung wird erweitert um das Marxianische Modell der Politischen Ökonomie von Miles und um Bourdieus Konzepte zum Zusammenhang von Habitus, sozialem Kapital und kulturellem Kapital, ergänzt um Giddens' Theorie der Strukturierung, den poststrukturellen Begriff der cultural hybridity und den Begriff der post-kolonialen Subjektivität.

Ferner ermöglicht diese empirische und theoretische reflektierte Analyse eine theoretische Durchdringung der strukturellen, diskursiven und psycho-sozialen Kontexte von Demokratie, sozialer Kohäsion, Sozialkapital und Geschlechterhierarchien, indem sie unterschiedliche empirische und theoretisch reflektierte Daten trianguliert, durch die die versteckten Überschneidungen zwischen kapitalistischer Entwicklung, Modernisierung und Globalisierung, die innerhalb des postkolonialen polygamen Familien-Habitus zum Ausdruck kommen, transparenter gemacht werden können..

Mit einem dekonstruktionistischen pädagogischen Ansatz bezieht sie eine strukturelle Bewusstseinsanalyse mit ein, mit der die Konstruktion, Konfiguration und Reproduktion komplexer vergeschlechtlichter Nexus-Identitäten aufgedeckt werden sollen, die in einem Kontext von Doppel-Ontologie,

mehrdimensionaler relativer Verwundbarkeit und sich vielfältig verändernden sozialen Feldern wirksam werden.

Auf dieser Grundlage werden neue Aspekte und Bausteine einer gegenstands-begründeten Theoriebildung und Hypothesenbildung entdeckt. Diese Dissertationsschrift arbeitet theoretisch-konzeptuelle und praktisch relevante Impulse für eine soziale Transformation heraus, in der Verbindungen zwischen theoretischer und empirischer Forschungspraxis, bildungs- und sozialpolitischer Praxis und dem Aufbau von Kapazitäten der Gemeinwesenarbeit vorangetrieben werden, mit dem langfristigen Ziel der Förderung nachhaltiger Gemeinschaftsbildung und Demokratisierung.

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