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BOOK REVIEWS

Cortés, A. Y Manjarrez, J. (eds.) (2018). *Género, migraciones y derechos humanos*. Barcelona: Edicions Bellaterra, S. L.

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The intensification of migration in recent decades has been accompanied by increasingly structured processes of management and securitization of national borders. These, together with other phenomena of a structural nature such as poverty and organized crime, make migrants even more vulnerable by exposing them to danger at all stages of the migration journey. For migrant women especially, this condition is intensified by being continually exposed to situations of sexual violence and abuse, which are often followed by impunity and invisibility. The gender order permeates the experiences of these women at all stages of the journey: from their countries of origin, from those fleeing from domestic and sexual violence; along the way, suffering violence and being exposed to kidnappings and trafficking; and when arriving at the borders, where control devices and border management are structured on gender orders.

This book adds to the debate of the mobility regimes from a feminist and gender perspective, studied by social scientists and particularly by anthropologists. The ten contributions contained in the text bring to light, reconstruct, and analyze the dynamics in which migrant women find themselves in relation to specific experiences and contexts of the European border and of the South and North of Mexico. It is divided into three

parts: the first part presents a reconstruction of the debate and the theoretical frameworks around sexual and gender violence and mobility regimes; while the second and third part consider specific cases occurred by the European borders and to the South and North of Mexico. In each part, the border dimension is approached from different theoretical perspectives, facilitating the approach to these complex regional contexts.

However, the rich variety of theoretical contributions and experiences that make up the text can also be seen as an opportunity to expand the range of reading keys, along with the one presented by the editors. We present hereby a proposal to read the contributions that divide and bring them together under three specific perspectives: firstly, contributions to the debate on mobility regimes and gender order accompanied by field work analysis will be considered; Secondly, reflections will be deepened on previous and current effects of policies concerning mobility and gender in Mexico, EU and in the system of International Cooperation and Humanitarian Aid. Finally, it is considered relevant to emphasize the ethnographic cases present in the book concerning the resistance strategies of migrant women.

Jane Freedman (2015), in the second edition of her book "Gendering the International Asylum and Refugee Debate" introduced the difficulties of carrying out gendered analysis arguing that the unequal power relations between the categories of women and men are invisible because they are inserted in a process of normalization. In the line of the work of Freedman, and of many more authors, this book moves in a theoretical and ethnographic dimension that seeks to break these normalized logics. The set of contributions faces this normalization through theoretical proposals and fieldwork analysis that articulate the migratory and border studies with a gender perspective, making visible how the migratory and border logics are permeated by regional gender orders and the ways in which they affect the lives of migrant women.

As commented, it will begin with collecting the contributions that reconstruct and enrich debate on mobility and gender order. In particular, chapters 1, 3, 7 and 10 are considered more relevant despite the fact that most of the contributions present in the book can fit in this perspective. In these chapters, the debate is also accompanied by the analysis of different field experiences, facilitating the contextualization of contributions to specific cases. It is considered important to rescue the firm theoretical constructions presented here as proposals for analysis and debate. Together, they represent an opportunity to build a framework of analysis in which the structural and subjective dimen-

sions intersect, making visible the different ways in which migrant women face and live the migratory journey. The fact that the crossing between migratory studies and gender perspective is something relatively recent in academia, it allows us to reflect on the structures that underlie this "delay" and, above all, on how to contrast and break with these logics of power that make inequality relationships invisible and reproduce them.

In the words of Segura and Zavella (2012) - in their construction of a feminist border analysis - when women become the center of analysis, core issues change and matters previously normalized and taken for granted suddenly become objects of investigation. Although the four chapters present incredibly different cases by border context (Mexico-US, chapters 1 and 7, North Africa and Europe, chapters 3 and 10), and cases of analysis (emergency, chapter 7, migratory path, chapters 1 and 10, of analysis of policies, chapter 3), they represent - according to Segura and Zavella - theoretical proposals focused on the experiences of migrant women, which allows to see how the dimensions in which these women find themselves are built and managed on regional gender orders. Theories that problematize mobility studies from a feminist gender perspective are highlighted, questioning and analyzing elements such as: women's body control and gender violence (chapters 1 and 10); the attitude of skepticism and lack of confidence at the institutional level (chapters 3 and 7); the specificity of the mobility experiences of migrant women, characterized by being continually exposed to sexual violence, dangers and trafficking.

The regulations of migration and asylum are translated in a gendered way, in articulation with other oppressions, such as racial and neoliberal oppression, which place migrant women in a position of vulnerability. In the face of theoretical approaches that emphasize the existence of a "gender privilege" and of the "private" spheres in the asylum application process, it is important to consider the author's proposal (chapter 9) to evidence a "gender burden" that affects migrant women throughout the migratory journey, including the asylum process. In addition, it is important to understand whether the specific actions of "response" to the complexity of the migratory contexts adopted by the International Cooperation and Humanitarian Aid (chapter 4) oppose these logics or, to the contrary, contribute to reinforce and reproduce them.

Finally, chapters 5, 6 and 8 will be discussed, which, through the presentation of ethnographic cases, emphasize and analyze experiences of resistance strategies of migrant women. The three cases presented, two located in Mexico (chapters 5 and 6) and one on

the Moroccan-Spanish border (chapter 8), disclose speeches, practices and specific experiences of women's response to contexts of oppression in which gender is interrelated with other oppressive categories, such as race and neoliberalism. These specific experiences, reconstructed in these chapters, represent an opportunity to overcome, as according to Kron (2011), an image of a hegemonic and homogenizing border structure that places migrant women in a position of vulnerability and as passive victims to events, making visible the ways in which women develop strategies of survival and resistance in the face of risks and dangers of the migratory route. These contributions seek to break with victimizing discourses and categorizations imposed by deepening personal and community survival experiences.

The cases that have been presented allow for reflections on how migration - on a personal level - represents, on the one hand, an opportunity to question the order of gender and, on the other, its reproduction and reinforcement. It would be interesting to explore, for example, in the line of chapter 5, the logics related to the construction and location of the category of "woman" in a specific gender role and how migration could be considered, in this line, a transgression. The complexity of discourses generated as a result of this debate requires the exploration of categorizations, personal questions, suffering, but also ruptures with gendered power structures. In the lines of chapters 6 and 8, one could also ask how the relationship between the control of the body of women by various actors (institutions, fellow migrants, border security corps, etc.) and the use that women themselves make of it, forcedly or less, in the migratory project (contraceptives, pregnancies, sexual relations). These contributions represent an opportunity to overcome a homogeneous and passive vision of migrant women, landing on personal experiences issues that complicate and problematize elements such as vulnerability and paternalism towards whom undertakes a migratory project.

The book is composed, as could be seen, by a set of diverse contributions built on theoretical approaches and field works that look at migratory contexts from a feminist and gender perspective. Looking at it together, the text is an opportunity to approach the migratory contexts from very different nuances, which enriches the debate by making the cases studied more complex, in this case those of the European and Southern and Northern borders of Mexico. Gender violence occupies a central role in these studies, in which intimate experiences and discourses of migrant women are revealed. In these, in addition to evidencing the mechanisms of violence they face, problematize

categories built around their migratory projects, aiming to demonstrate how vulnerability is not inherent to them, but is distributed according to specific mechanisms of control and oppression for which they look for strategies and answers. The set of contributions presented here shows and demonstrates the need to continue studying migrations from a feminist and gender perspective to counteract and deconstruct the processes of invisibility and normalization of gender violence experienced by migrant women.

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