

INTRODUCTION

Intimate Mobilities and Mobile Intimacies

Christian Groes and Nadine T. Fernandez

In this age of globalization and transnational encounters, people's mobility often intersects with intimate issues such as love and sex, reproduction and obligation, and family and conjugal matters. Such intimate issues shape mobility across and between countries, and at the same time, transnational spaces and movements also shape people's intimate choices. Much migration research remains desexualized and overlooks emotional and intimate relationships. This book explores the entanglement of mobility and intimacy in various configurations, at various levels, and in diverse geographic locations. The purpose of the book is to cut across a disparate literature that treats various types of mobility and migration as distinct and unrelated phenomena rather than as variations of cross-border mobilities facilitated by and deeply entwined with issues of gender, power, kinship and sexuality that constitute the field and potential of intimacy in a disparate world.

For us, 'intimate mobilities' involve all forms of mobility shaped, implied or facilitated by bodily, sexual, affective or reproductive intimacy, spanning what has been coined as marriage migration, family migration, sexual migration, romance travel, erotic adventure, sex work migration and sex tourism, as well as any kind of mobility motivated by emotions, desires or pleasures, or conditioned by kinship, family ties or reproductive ambitions.

Until recently, different disciplinary interests and theoretical approaches have separated these fields of study and types of mobility. By contrast, the current volume highlights the cultural, social and political practices, structures and interests that bind these forms of mobility together by engaging

the complex and yet powerful ways in which intimacy and mobility are entangled. Poor people migrating from the less affluent regions in the world to wealthier regions often share common challenges such as strict migration laws, social marginalization, racism and risks of deportation. Yet, such mobility also gives them a way of improving their living standards, pursuing personal dreams, finding new partners and lovers, living with loved ones or having the ability to support children, spouses or extended kin networks back home. At the same time, people from wealthier regions often move to places where their currencies are stronger and convert their privilege into adventures, love affairs and erotic encounters. The intimate encounters that ensue between rich and poor, women and men, black and white, old and young, as a consequence of new forms of mobility and immobility, give rise to all sorts of mixed relationships in which desire, lust, power, hope, romance, anxiety and the uncanny tend to blend and transform each other. Thus, this publication attempts to traverse fields of study that have hitherto been seen as separate by illustrating how transnational mobilities are often related to intimacy, and how intimacy enables people's movement.

Shifting governments of the Global North, especially in Europe, have inadvertently fostered different migration routes, which are all linked to intimacy. At a time when immigration policies, and control of labour migration in particular, have been tightened, the only loopholes left that will allow migrants legal access to European countries often entail some sort of intimacy. As scholars have argued, these can be seen as policies of exception, based on new forms of humanitarianism and biopolitics (Ticktin 2011; Fassin 2011; De Genova 2013; Loftsdóttir and Jensen 2016). Outside of family relations, only a few migrants are welcome due to extraordinary circumstances. Although high-skilled workers are often able to obtain temporary residence permits, unskilled or low-skilled persons generally cannot enter these countries legally, unless they perform highly unregulated work characteristic of the care sector, or can prove an intimate connection to citizens of the nation.

Au pairs and adoptees, for example, are desired migrants, and many nation states tolerate the immigration of family members and spouses of national citizens. The adoptee migrant is desired because of his or her perceived permanent attachment to the nation of her adoptive family, and the au pair migrant is desired precisely because of her more temporary attachment to the nation and the valuable care work she provides to the host family (Myong and Trige Andersen 2015). Marriage migrants and family migrants comprise an even more significant group that has become part of this process and these politics of exception. The family or spouse with citizenship in Europe or the United States, for example, in a sense becomes the nation's extended arm, as caretaker, protector and sponsor

of the migrant-spouse or migrant-kin. Together these forms of alternative or exceptional attachments to the receiving nation point to an ‘intimitization’ of mobility, sometimes linked to national attachment of spouses and kin, encompassing particular notions of race, culture and gender (Groes 2016), and sometimes related to affective needs in, for example, European and American middle-class households (see also Ehrenreich and Hochchild 2004; Myong and Trige Andersen 2015).

Although most chapters address mobility and dreams of relocation from one place to another, the movement of the groups represented in this volume is certainly not unidirectional. Whether hoping to move out of Cuba through intimate liaisons, settling in the Spanish sex industry or being assisted by kin and family on the journey, people’s movement is open-ended, and the conditions of mobility, physical or social, are constantly reshaped by social networks and political and economic changes, both locally and on the global stage. Ultimately, some migrants may return to their home countries to buy houses or set up family businesses with money saved from working abroad (Carling and Erdal 2014; Baldassar and Merla 2014).

At a time when a high number of refugees and migrants from the Middle East and North Africa are heading towards Europe to avoid conflict and war, some governments and populations are becoming evermore inclined to close the borders, thereby limiting the mobility of large groups of people (*Huffington Post* 2015; *The Guardian* 2016). The so-called ‘refugee crisis’ in 2015 highlighted the political challenges around immigration in the EU, and affected the ability of people to move between countries. The ‘Brexit’ vote in the UK in 2016 marked a new direction in Europe, where nationalist tendencies have put pressure on the political class to halt humanitarian policies and keep refugees and migrants from entering the EU. This sceptical attitude towards refugees and migrants is increasingly dominant, and yet, it is sometimes suspended allowing for intimacy-based migrations mentioned above. One reason for this is perhaps that citizens across Europe actively seek spouses from other parts of the world, and this affective need to marry non-Europeans and settle with them in a European country is taken into consideration when politicians form new and more strict immigration policies.

Besides entering and settling in the Global North through marriage, irregular migrants only receive attention and assistance in such rich countries when perceived as exceptional victims in the eyes of the public. The female subject of human trafficking or so-called sex trafficking is a case in point, precisely because she epitomizes the pure victim that the nation must protect to fulfil its image as an agent of justice, and ideas of humanitarian nationhood (Ticktin 2011). Notably, the majority of non-coerced sex

workers who embark on the journey from Africa, Asia or Latin America to the Global North do not receive the same degree of attention or protection from the state (Agustin 2007). As some chapters in this volume point out, sexworker migrants have a hard time navigating the sex industry and finding ways to enter and remain in Europe by legal and legitimate means. The sexworker migrant going to Europe from Africa or Latin America responds at a structural level to an affective and sexual demand among a particular group of mostly male sex purchasers in the Global North. Yet, what the public often seem to ignore is that sex worker migrants also respond to an affective demand among poor families back home who benefit from a daughter selling sex on the streets of Europe in order to ensure the social reproduction of households (Casas 2010; Parreñas 2011; Peano 2013; Plambech 2014).

Conceptual Groundings and New Directions: (Im)mobilities and Intimacy

Conceptually, mobility and migration have very different genealogies and discourses attached to them. While migration has mainly referred to the actual physical, spatial and geographical movement of people, due to poverty, search for labour or seeking new lives in more affluent countries, regions or cities, the concept of mobility not only deals with people's movement but also the connected flux of materialities, money, ideas, images, knowledge and technologies, and the way such diverse mobilities are restricted, facilitated or understood.

Migration studies were initially marked by economic analysis of so-called push-and-pull factors, sometimes understood as part of a world system of rich centres and poorer peripheries. Lewis (1954) introduced the dual-economy models in the 1950 and 1960s, in which migration occurs as a result of differences in the supply and demand of labour between the rural and urban sectors. The Harris-Todaro models of the 1970 and 1980s augment these models to account for specific migration patterns. Other macro-theories included the world systems theory and dual labour market theory (Piore 1979), which explains migration as the result of a temporary pull factor, namely strong structural labour demand in developed countries. The world systems theory (Wallerstein 1974), which takes a historical structural approach, stresses the role of disruptions and dislocations in peripheral parts of the world – a result of colonialism and the capitalist expansion of neoclassical governments and multinationals. Only later, more intimate questions of family and gender were introduced. As Morokvasic (1984) pointed out, women migrate not only because of economic motives, but

also to get married, due to social constraints, inadequate rights and lack of protection against domestic violence. Sandell (1977) and Mincer (1978) saw migration as a family decision, where the total income of the family and its ability to sustain the household was of central significance. Later scholars like Massey (1990) argued that the factors that influence migration to begin with could be very different from the conditions that make migration continue, or perpetuate. After an initial phase of pioneer migration, migration becomes more common in a community, with more and more people imitating earlier migrants and developing migrant communities. In another vein of literature, often with a more postcolonial or post-modern approach, migrant communities, identities, networks and politics were addressed as what has been referred to as diasporas (Hall 1990; Safran 1991; Clifford 1997; Van der Veer 1995). Overall, from various disciplinary perspectives and levels of analysis, (micro and macro) migration theory has largely taken a rationalist approach to understanding movement (Brettell and Hollifield 2014).

The concept of mobility is of more recent origin. It emphasizes the fluid nature of movement and offers a framework for understanding the relationships between movers and non-movers, and the irregular movement of not only people, but also goods, ideas, services and images (Hannam, Scheller and Urry 2006; Salazar 2010; Cohen and Sirkeci 2011). Rather than viewing people's cross-border movement as being a result of rational choice, pure necessity or merely an individual or collective strategy, mobility could encompass all sorts of journeys, including those sparked by hopes, obligations, nostalgia, desire, images, symbols, and cultural practice, or enabled by changing technologies, or triggered by broader unforeseeable life trajectories (Constable 2003; Olwig 2007; Vigh 2009; Piot 2010; Salazar 2010; Cohen and Sirkeci 2011). Mobility studies began in the 1990s when scholars began announcing the 'mobility turn' in the social sciences. Historian James Clifford (1997) advocated for a shift from cultural and social analysis of particular places to the routes connecting them, and anthropologist Marc Augé (1995) discussed the analytical potential of an anthropology of 'non-places' like airports and motorways that are characterized by constant transition and temporality. Mobilities emerged as a critique of contradictory orientations towards what was called 'sedentarism' on the one hand and 'deterritorialization' on the other. People had often been seen as static individuals tied to specific places, or by contrast as nomadic and placeless in an elusive and globalized existence (Hannam, Scheller and Urry 2006). Mobility studies criticized the focus on spatial mobility in migration studies because it tends to focus on movement in space-time rather than on the interaction between actors, structures and context. Thus, transitions and reconfigurations related to, for example, class, race and gender may

become obscured. In order to address more clearly the close tie between spatial mobility and movement and social mobility, some scholars began to discuss the concept of ‘motility’, which they understood as the way entities such as goods, information and people become mobile in social and geographic space, or the way these entities apply the capacity for socio-spatial mobility according to circumstances (Kaufmann, Bergman and Joye 2004).

Empirical investigations of motility were supposed to focus fundamentally on the temporal changes that are sometimes overshadowed by addressing spatial changes and mobilities. In the same vein, several of the contributors to this volume make use of concepts such as circuits, trajectories and life narratives, which point equally to spatial and social mobility and the concrete experience and reconfigurations that take place in the intimate encounters and conflicts they address.

The link between mobility (or motility) and intimacy has only recently been explicitly addressed by scholars (González-López 2005; Mai and King 2009; Beck-Gernsheim 2011; Boehm 2012; Fernandez 2013; Cole and Groes 2016). In particular, scholars have unravelled the connection between social mobility, territorial movement and the intimacies that facilitate these or that these enable through transnational and binational mixed marriages, sex tourism, and the sex industry (Cole 2004; Brennan 2004, Piscitelli 2007) sometimes conditioned by ‘alternative global circuits’ (Sassen 2003) and highlighting the recurring feminization of mobility and immobility (Ehrenreich and Hochschild 2004; Gündüz 2013).

Overall, we hold, as do Hannam, Scheller and Urry, that ‘the concept of mobilities encompasses both the large-scale movements of people, objects, capital and information across the world, as well as the more local processes of daily transportation, movement through public space and the travel of material things within everyday’ (Hannam, Scheller and Urry 2006: 1). Even though this volume is mostly concerned with the movement and non-movement of people in and across specific national and transnational contexts, we also acknowledge the importance of the flow of money, images, knowledge and various cultural and social practices that move alongside people or independently of them (see Appadurai 1997). The ‘mobility turn’ has transformed the social sciences, in the sense that it cuts across disciplinary boundaries and questions the ‘territorial’ precepts and methodological nationalism of earlier approaches in social science (Wimmer and Glick Schiller 2002; Hannam, Scheller and Urry 2006; Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2009; Glick Schiller 2013). Yet, mobilities cannot be understood without attention to the spatial and institutional moorings that configure, enable or constrain mobilities, since different hierarchies of power and questions of race, gender, age and class are ever present, and the ability and rights to travel, for example, are highly skewed (Hannam, Scheller and Urry 2006;

Glick Schiller and Salazar 2013). Clearly, and this is part of what we want to show, physical, spatial and geographical movement is closely related to upward or downward social mobility, to access to jobs and opportunities, and to personal senses of fulfilment and success, or isolation and failure. Such processes are closely linked to changing notions of gender and flexible performances, and pursuits of idealized masculinities and femininities. Moving to another place or country can be a source of status and power, and of new gendered expressions for business travellers and tourists, as well as for migrants seeking a better life for themselves and their families. Addressing mobility and immobility also requires that attention be given to the governance of mobility, in particular by nation states and supranational entities such as the UN and EU. At a time when the EU attempts to close off more and more borders through institutions like FRONTEX, in charge of surveillance and the control of entry points for member countries, the question now is how mobility is being affected and whether new journeys are made impossible.

This book extends these debates by challenging what Salazar and Smart (2011) have noted as some commonly held assumptions that mobility is implying an ‘ease’ of movement and that it leads to improvement or progress for migrants and their kin. The chapters in this volume engage in a range of new approaches, in which mobility is anything but ‘self-evident’, and the correlation between geographic movement and gains in financial or social status is not always straightforward. The empirical work here addresses how global power relations, policies, and economic flows intersect with gender, sexuality, kinship, race and class across national boundaries. The book does not argue that such divergent forms of mobility are necessarily part of the same global tendency to move across national boundaries. Instead it does point to certain ways in which we might talk about mobility being increasingly linked to intimacy, perhaps developing a set of ideals and norms that privilege some bodies and desires over others, and at the same time open for opportunities among hitherto immobilized people, whose mobility is conditioned by the mobility of others, such as tourists, expatriates men looking for future wives, and women looking for erotic adventure. The relation between intimacy and mobility is open-ended, just as the connection between social mobility and spatial or geographical mobility. Moving to another country can be seen as a step up the social ladder, but it may result in personal isolation and dependence, and can also lead to ruined relationships while benefiting one’s family, all at the same time.

Several chapters tackle the thorny issue of interest and affect, questioning the line often drawn between sexual, emotional and monetary exchanges (e.g. chapters by Piscitelli and Simoni) and engaging with the grey zones of

sex work and the multiple strategies of gender, race and kinship that women employ to migrate (e.g. chapters by Oso, Groes and Spanger). The latter are also grounded in research demonstrating the fundamentally gendered nature of transnational mobility (Mahler and Pessar 2006). Studies of the ‘feminization of migration’ have emphasized how an increasing number of women travel from developing countries to the Western world to earn incomes as maids, nannies, au pairs and sex workers (Ehrenreich and Hochschild 2004). The book extends this research by examining not only physical labour, but also how emotional/affective labour can be integral in the migration process for both female and male migrants. If some patterns of mobility can be seen as feminized, they can certainly also be addressed as part of a general movement conditioned by a variety of gender identities and sexualities. Thus, the attention to queer migration, and attempts to counter the heterosexual bias in migration studies (Gorman-Murray 2007; Luibhéid 2008), has been extremely important in order to understand how mobility can be tied to a pursuit of greater chance of personal fulfilment among gays, lesbians, bisexuals and transgender people, for example, or how mobility is sometimes motivated by harassment and persecution of homosexuality or what is seen as morally unacceptable behaviour in one’s country of origin (Lewis 2014; Brown and Browne 2016). Although the chapters in this volume do not explicitly address these questions, we urge readers to keep such matters in mind when reflecting about the conundrums of intimate mobilities.

All the chapters are empirically grounded, drawing on original research and ethnographic studies by scholars across several continents (Asia, Europe, Africa, North and South America). The diverse disciplines and geographical perspectives represented in the book capture the flexibility, irregularity and messiness of intimate mobilities and migratory trajectories. The breadth of the research shows how such intimate mobilities are patterned by particular institutional and cultural contexts the migrants encounter at both ends of their trajectory.

Entangled Fields of Intimate Mobility: A Continuum with a Fractal Dimension

One can argue that with the increased possibility and necessity of mobility, social relations have become geographically dispersed, impersonal, and often mediated by broader political-economic or capitalist processes, and that intimate and personal relations have, at the same time, become more commodified, as shown, for example, in the case of so-called mail-order brides (Constable 2003; Plambech 2010), a booming sex industry, and

the sex tourism sector (Brennan 2004; Cabezas 2009). In some places this commodification is seen as problematic and dangerous, while in others it is perceived as giving new hopes for social mobility since it provides new jobs and incomes (Constable 2009). In intimate encounters between a person from a part of the world where commodification is fought and seen as the root of evil and corruption, and a partner who holds other beliefs and exchange logics, conflicting views may cause severe challenges. Western values and principles of not mixing money and love, or sex and gifts, are questioned in intimate encounters with people from other social, cultural and ideological backgrounds, and as a result transnational couples may attempt to find a middle ground where these differences can be negotiated (see chapters by Simoni and Piscitelli in this volume; also Zelizer 2007; Cole 2014; Groes 2016).

A strong global reconfiguration of gender roles and division of labour is an equally urgent challenge to current mobilities research. Sassen (2003) discussed new processes of mobility and immobility as counter-geographies of globalization and the feminization of survival, which develop as unemployment in the South rises and opportunities shrink for formal male employment. Others have pointed to the disappearance of traditional sources of income and profit, with structural adjustment programmes leading to privatization and undermining national companies and formal labour markets (Ferguson 2006). In this situation households and communities are increasingly reliant on women for their survival and prosperity, and so allow or encourage them to embark on journeys to greener pastures for the benefit of those left at home (Ehrenreich and Hochschild 2004; Yeates 2012). By moving northwards, women from the Global South become providers instead of local men, and hope that their relocation to a wealthier setting can eventually bring with it some sort of social mobility and hope for themselves and their kin. In relations with Western men, as their husbands, sex customers, employers or patrons, power and gender inequality become tangible in everyday life. But such questions of power also apply to men and transgender people from the Global South when entering into intimate relationships with women from the Global North as a consequence of sex tourism, romance travel, marriage or sex work. Although power is often exercised by the stronger party in a strict sociological sense, in terms of financial power, gender privilege, race or nationality, it can sometimes, albeit often temporarily, be challenged or suspended by emotional, sexual or bodily performances, resources and ‘love games’.

In attempting to shed light on and grasp the complexity of these issues, this volume addresses three highly entangled and interchangeable fields of intimacy and mobility, and these provide the headings for its three parts: (I) Migration Regimes and their Intimate Discontents; (II) Circuits of Sex, Race

and Gendered Bodies; and (III) Moralities of Money, Mobility and Intimacy. We might see these three fields as part of a continuum with a fractal dimension. At one end of the continuum we have the field of marriage mobilities, with a focus on marriage practices within transnational movements, localized and place-bound or in liminal international (legal or illegal) spaces. At the other end of the continuum is the field of sex work mobilities, addressing the selling of sex in more or less formal settings, and exploring how this opens for or motivates journeys to others parts of the world and leaves sex workers in a very particular situation as foreigners or nationals, as exotic, stigmatized or socially situated. In between these two fields, associated with very different gender roles, sexualities, responsibilities, vulnerabilities and agency, we find what we call ‘sexscape mobilities’, characterized by a range of intimacies that cannot easily be reduced to either sex work or marriage/love couples – that is, transactional sex and informal bodily and material exchanges in romance travel, erotic adventures, sex tourism, and transnational expat settings, for example. Yet, being engaged in one of these fields does not exclude being part of or active in the other, and the same person may in some cases be involved in all of them, and/or move between these fields over time, as shown by several authors in this book (see chapters by Spanger, Piscitelli, Oso, Groes and Simoni). Hence, intimate mobilities not only relate to spatial and social mobility, but are also enmeshed with mobility between different forms of intimacy. Traversing all these three fields are powerful actors that govern, facilitate or have an impact on mobilities and immobilities. These actors include states and supranational entities and their laws and policies of inclusion and exclusion when it comes to migration and intimacy; commercial institutions enacting certain labour demands and excluding others; and kin and family networks having a say in the extent to which intimacy and mobility is motivated or restricted, and creating senses of obligation or belonging. In most chapters in this book these actors figure centrally.

Migration Regimes and their Intimate Discontents

Policies increasingly restrict labour migration to richer parts of the world, such as Europe and North America, thereby limiting the immigration of people from poorer regions. In many cases legal entrance and permanent residence in these national spaces is only possible through marriage or other intimate arrangements and successful family reunification applications. These restrictions make intimate connections with, for example, an EU or US citizen one of the only gateways to enter these rich and privileged parts of the world (Fernandez 2013; Cole and Groes 2016). State

regulations determine which binational couples can maintain their relationships and which ones will never be able to gain legal status. This can result in failed transnationalism where migrants are forced to creatively circumvent existing laws and regulations (e.g. chapter by Constable, this volume), or situations where state officials decide the legitimacy of intimate relations, and in so doing shape transnational family-formation strategies (e.g. chapters by Bofulin and Maskens, this volume). Global processes of migration regimes, economic redistribution and geopolitics exert influence on people's everyday intimate lives and decisions, but these decisions, actions and practices in turn sustain or transform the global flows. As Martina Bofulin shows in her chapter, the well-established migration flows and the networks that span the globe have been enabling young people to access foreign lands in various ways. One of the preferred options for decades, especially for Chinese women, was migration through marriage, often initiated through the practice of matchmaking, in which kin play a central role. Maïté Maskens, in her chapter, makes the case that the Belgium state, via its agents the civil registrars, applies new normative expectations of egalitarianism and romantic love when evaluating the 'veracity' of binational marriages between a Belgian citizen and a non-EU migrant. Marriages between people of different races, ages and nationalities in certain configurations become highly suspect. These new screening measures, Maskens argues, are evidence of European countries' attempts to limit the legal ways for migrants to enter so-called 'fortress Europe'. In this context, marriage is the 'last loophole' remaining in policies designed to restrict migration. These encounters between the state and binational couples make evident that the state is not an abstract entity, but is personified in the daily work of its agents, whose administrative perception of intimacy relies on an implicit idea of an 'acceptable romantic' relationship (see also Maskens 2013; Neveu Kringelbach 2013; Lavanchy 2014). This implicit idea becomes a practical norm in evaluating binational couples; it goes beyond the required legal framework, and illustrates the space between the official goal (to prevent marriage fraud as a means to enter Europe) and the biopolitical and civilizing project at work.

People moving to another part of the world in order to fulfil the dream of marriage and social mobility, or marrying in order to be able to remain in the country of one's loved ones, to help relatives back home, or kin arranging for their sons and daughters to get married abroad, are all commonplace in today's transnational space of opportunities (Palriwala and Uberoi 2008; Faier 2009; Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2010; Charsley 2012; Constable 2005). As Bofulin's chapter illustrates, Chinese families encourage migrant kin living in Europe to visit their home region in order to marry a Chinese partner. In the regions heavily influenced by out-migration, families arrange

for male migrants to come home and meet potential female partners at ‘matchmaking ceremonies’ (*xiangqin*). Chinese media expose the worrisome attitude – the ‘problem’ – that some facets of Chinese society have with young adults, particularly women, who fail to fulfil society’s expectations to marry by their mid-twenties. The derogatory term ‘leftovers’ is common, and the imagined solution to this widespread gender conundrum is to have male migrants marry these women left at home, and take them with them to Europe. As Bofulin argues, such transitional transnational marriage practices become an innovative way of integrating marriage in a global arena into the social fabric of Chinese migrants’ place of origin, including the role of parents, kin and friends, as well as a way of sustaining or negotiating transnational (and mostly male) migration. However, today, young people have much more to say in the matter of marriage than in the past, and their changing hierarchies of (desired) locations as well as desired lifestyles make marriage to a migrant a less attractive affair today than it was a decade ago. Still, for many young Qingtianese, a marriage to a migrant abroad remains the ‘passage to hope’ – a life overseas with freedom of movement and financial stability, if not affluence and social status. For others, though, marriage may rather represent the vision that this ‘passage to hope’ cannot be achieved in China.

Although not legally recognized, intimate arrangements by couples called ‘marriages’ or ‘like-marriages’ also take place within migratory spaces, and Nicole Constable (in Part I of this volume) turns our attention to this previously neglected topic. At best, she argues, these relationships are side issues in migration studies in general, and in studies of labour and marriage migration in particular. Focusing on women and men engaged in such relationships in Hong Kong, she contends that there is a lot to learn by putting these couples centre stage. They illustrate how migration experiences challenge normative expectations about marriage, intimate lives and social relationships. The marriage-like relationships Constable investigates provide insights into intimate lives that mobile people struggle to create within marginal migratory social spaces. Laws that prohibit temporary migrants or asylum seekers from becoming residents, and polices that allow migrant workers only one day off per week, in addition to employer-imposed curfews and rules against pregnancy, deter migrant women workers from having private lives, sex and children, and yet some manage to do so anyway. The intimate relationships of migrant workers and asylum seekers, and the experiences of those who migrate and later marry, show how conceptualizations of ‘labour migrants’ or ‘marriage migrants’ as two distinct categories are analytically too narrow and confining. As Constable argues, such divisions between categories of migrants obscure the connections between work and marriage migration. Often it also subordinates love to instrumental or

material motives by assuming that women migrate either to gain material benefits through work or to gain them through marriage.

Each of the three chapters in Part I push beyond what Groes (2016) calls ‘methodological conjugalism’, which is a logical extension of methodological nationalism. While Wimmer and Glick Schiller criticized methodological nationalism as a perspective taking as a point of departure nation states, their policies and ideologies as an analytical framework when analysing cross-border migration (Wimmer and Glick Schiller 2002), Groes questions methodological conjugalism as a tendency to see marriage as the norm, the ideal, and the natural end of a migratory path of women from the Global South migrating with Europeans and settling in Europe. This perspective is powerfully reflected in European nation states’ ideologies and policies where family reunification laws make immigration dependent on marriage, a perspective that scholars inadvertently risk reproducing if marriage is seen as the normative outcome of or means for mobility. By contrast, he argues, looking at migrants’ exchanges with family and partners within the same framework allows for moving beyond an isolated focus on the migration of couples or individuals, and revealing a broader moral economy shaping women’s choices. Thus, methodological conjugalism, with its tendency to focalize on marriage, couples and dyads within the framework of the nation state, should be replaced by addressing affective exchange triads and transnational ties in their multiplicity and potentiality. Moving beyond methodological conjugalism also means avoiding a view of migration as necessarily linear, planned, and agreed upon by two compatible partners, instead being attentive to unpredictable journeys sustained by ties to shifting partners and to kin or others to whom migrants are affectively related (Groes-Green 2014, Groes 2016).

Beck and Beck-Gernsheim point to another questionable tendency to focus on intimate migrations as either based on love or on interest – the former being the ideal, the latter being suspicious and instrumental. The former tends to be stuck in a Western conception in which marriage is the ideal form of relationship and love is the true foundation and condition of marriage (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2010). This line of thought upholds the Western nation state’s privileging of egalitarian love-based marriage over and in opposition to partnerships defined by kin, rank and social inequality, or asymmetrical gendered exchanges between men and women (Fernandez 2013). As Fernandez argues in her study of Cuban-Danish marriages, ‘these ideals of a love-based companionate marriage rooted in autonomy and individualism are evident in Danish family reunification policy and political discourses against forced migration and marriage of convenience’, and unions not solely based on romance ‘are seen as immoral and threatening to the state’ (*ibid.*: 274). Thus, by approaching marriage

migration as ideally love-based we risk reproducing the core principles of methodological nationalism by which states define, control and idealize some forms of migration over others. Consequently, we must be attentive to mechanisms in European state regulations through which methodological conjugalism and methodological nationalism simultaneously reinforce each other.

As demonstrated by a number of scholarly studies, sex work migration has been increasing between various regions of the world, in particular from Latin America, Asia and Africa to Europe (Spanger in this volume; Agustin 2007; Oso Casas 2010; Plambech 2014), but also increasing interregional movements to sex industries in larger cities around the globe (Fouquet 2007; Kempadoo et al. 2012). In general terms, however, much mobility and migration research has ignored the labour aspect of sex work migration in favour of an intense concentration on trafficking and the coercive aspects of sexual migration. As Agustin (2007) has argued, women have not been seen as voluntary migrants to the same extent as men, especially when it comes to working in intimacy or sex-related businesses. Some have addressed sex work mobility as part of global care chains, connecting emotional and sexual work in Western countries with the need for incomes to care for impoverished families in the Global South (Ehrenreich and Hochschild 2004; Yeates 2012). When it comes to sex work as part of care chains, scholars mention certain determining pull factors such as the demand for sex, particularly with exotic women, among men in these more affluent countries, and the demand for lower prices for sexual services. Push factors mentioned are poverty among women, lack of opportunities, male disengagement in household economies and childcare, often due to massive male unemployment (Sassen 2003; Ehrenreich and Hochschild 2004). Although such attempts at broader global analysis of sex work mobility have been of great significance, especially as a path towards labour- and rights-oriented understandings of prostitution and the transnational sex industry, the approach of this book is more directed at the highly complex interpersonal and translocal entanglements. In between or besides these often-cited push and pull mechanisms, which are sometimes perhaps too mechanistic to reflect the reality of what conditions mobility according to recent ethnographic studies, there are sex work mobilities and migratory trajectories that are far from being unilineal, foreseeable or understandable from a macroeconomic labour perspective. As some chapters illustrate, personal incidents like breakdowns in love relationships, violent marriages at home, love for one's family, kin and friends, or images of wealth in foreign a country are sometimes cited by sex workers as decisive when they move abroad and sell sex at their (at least temporary) destination (Oso Casas 2010; Groes-Green 2014; Plambech 2014).

Women's migration for sex work has commonly been addressed in relation to trafficking (Kempadoo 2012; Carling 2006). Studies investigating sex trafficking from the perspective of migration often challenge the assumed correlation between sex trafficking and organized crime. These studies have also shown that such an understanding of trafficking fails to address the convergence between anti-trafficking and anti-immigration policies. Moreover, the international instruments set in place to counter trafficking (such as the Palermo protocol) have been criticized for actually facilitating the cooperation between states to prevent irregular migration, rather than protecting or giving restitution to the victims of crime or migrants in situations of labour exploitation (Agustin 2007). Building on this critique of immigration control and its challenge to the category of the 'victim', scholars have developed a more nuanced reading of the anti-immigration/sex-trafficking nexus in order to broaden the understanding of anti-trafficking policies beyond merely being tools for the straightforward exclusion of migrants, or for their inclusion under the respective headings of 'agents' or 'victims' (Andrijasevic 2010; Spanger 2013; Plambech 2014).

Circuits of Sex, Race and Gendered Bodies

Masculinities, as well as femininities, are affected in gendered ways by recent changes in global economies and globalized forms of intimacy, sometimes inverting gender stereotypes of the male breadwinner and the domestic woman. The focus on men highlights alternative forms of manhood and the specificities of the male migration experience in different settings (Donaldson et al. 2009). For both men and women, some migrations to other parts of the world emerge from sexual desires and orientations, curiosity and adventure, or are conditioned by sexual or gendered discrimination in the sending country. Some people go far away in order to escape the moral constraints or financial demands of communities and kin, or to seek cosmopolitan lifestyles as an alternative to patriarchal and oppressive heterosexual matrices at home (Mai 2013). In all of these cases, gender figures centrally. As migration and mobility research has for a long time mostly been attentive to female migration as survival strategy, or focused almost exclusively on the less skilled women (Kofman 2004), new approaches and frameworks are needed to understand inversions of gender roles and new gendered configurations (Hondagneu-Sotelo 1994). Race is equally central to understanding the inequalities and attractions that pave the way for social and geographical mobility and immobility. Being with a white woman or man may be seen as prosperous and a corporeal testimony of a person's success in the sexual economy or in life in

places where whiteness is appraised and idealized due to specific colonial histories and postcolonial developments.

In Part II of this volume, Christian Groes shows how Mozambican women's use of sexual capital opens a path for mobility out of the country and towards Europe with white expatriates. What *curtidoras* strive for, whether in Mozambique or Europe, is a middle-class position where they feel 'respected'. In Mozambique this is within reach due to a combination of having easy access to rich expatriate men willing to support them, having the ability to move up in society, being respected as middle-class people with fashionable clothes, cars and conspicuous consumption, having a maid and benefiting from sustained kin support vis-à-vis their partners. However, by going to Europe they risk having their privileges reduced or reconfigured, which is why more and more migrants realize that unless certain criteria are met, it might be preferable to stay in Maputo with a husband. Studies of sex tourism, romance travel and transactional sex explore the intimate transnational encounters that occur in spaces such as tourist resorts and cosmopolitan cities. These encounters are not locally understood as or practised as prostitution or sex work, nor can they be seen as marriage-like or fulfilling ordinary notions of a romance-based egalitarian couple (Kempadoo 1999; Brennan 2004; Sanchez-Taylor 2006; Venables 2008; Cabezas 2009; de Sousa e Santos 2009; Bergan 2011; Frohlick 2013; Hoefinger 2013; Farrer and Field 2015; Hunter 2015; Meiu 2015).

The sharp distinction between sex work and other kinds of intimate labour or activity blurs the manifold and interchangeable identities and interests involved. Marriage, if seen as emotional labour, and wifehood as an occupation, as de Beauvoir ([1953] 2011) would have it, then the question is how this kind of labour is related to gendered bodies working with sexual services. Although performances of 'the housewife' and 'the prostitute' seen as work or gender roles are certainly distinct in many ways, the ways in which they are performed by the same person has largely been neglected. As Marlene Spanger notes in Part II of this volume, exchanges between female and transgender Thai migrants and Danish men take place in a space between sex work and marriage. Thus, the relationships existing between the Danish men and the Thai migrant sex workers are somewhat fluid, since sex work, friendship, marriage, love and patronage are not rigidly compartmentalized. For instance, the brothels and the bars do not just function as workplaces for the women, but also as a space of leisure; a place where they hang out and meet potential boyfriends and husbands. Sex work and prostitution must be seen as part of broader sexual economies or 'nightscapes', as she calls it, citing Farrer and Field (2015), pointing to a range of exchanges in married relationships and broader sexual networks, and relating to obligations towards children and kin at home. Another way

in which this volume redirects the attention towards ‘in-between’ practices within an intimate and moral grey zone, and points to new gender, sexual and marriage configurations, is illustrated by Spanger’s argument that Thai women and transgender people who have moved to Denmark and married Danish men identify as wives, workers and mothers all at once. They are, in a sense, both marriage migrants and sex worker migrants, and in another sense, they are neither. Although married to Danish men, they engage in selling sex services, more or less formally, at bars and nightclubs. Spanger shows how marriage is often juxtaposed to prostitution in Western and other contexts, and vice versa, but that female Thai migrants who are married to Danish men find ways to sell sex and strike a balance between the two by performing various roles in the nightscape of Copenhagen. By redirecting the attention away from ideas that marriage is necessarily equal to heterosexual Western notions of monogamous conjugal relationships, we also open up for a critique of some methodological challenges and biases in migration and mobility studies.

As recent studies show, people travelling to other countries to engage in sex work often share the same ideas, dreams and ambitions as other kinds of migrants. In her chapter, Laura Oso describes women, mainly from Colombia and Brazil, who as a strategy for economic or social mobility decide to travel to Spain, aware that they will be working as prostitutes, regardless of their means of entry, autonomously or by small-trade debt. She argues that the migratory projects are very similar to those of women who migrate in order to work in other sectors, such as domestic service. In both cases the driving force behind migration is typically the need to support a family or a desire for upward social mobility. Nevertheless, migrant women who decide to work in the sex industry and whose migration strategy is to pursue social mobility are no less exempt from abuse and exploitation by third parties. A trafficking discourse that points exclusively to pimps, prostitution rings and mafias as the ‘baddies’ overlooks the responsibilities of other social actors such as governments, politicians, business people, police, lawyers, clients and other parties governing intimate mobilities, especially with regard to the exploitation and poor working and living conditions of sex workers. The inclination to see all ties between mobility and sex work as instances of coercion and human trafficking has been criticized and nuanced by a number of studies, in particular by anthropologists and sociologists investigating the sex industry and following migrants from their home countries to their destinations, or through various countries and cities (Andrijasevic 2010; Jacobsen and Skilbrei 2010; Mai 2013; Plambech 2014). Along with these critical academic voices, Oso points to the inability of grand narratives about forced female victims to comprehend the complex reality and role of women who search for a better life for themselves

and their families. The main objective of her chapter is to highlight that Latin American women in Spain, as the main providers for families in their homeland and in transnational households, can opt for sex work as a social mobility strategy; however, this decision leaves them to deal with a multi-circuited maze that perpetuates social and gender inequalities in the framework of global capitalism. The ‘labyrinth’ here is a complicated system of paths or passages that people try to navigate. This concept demonstrates the intersection between agency and barriers. Instead of being mere victims or becoming trapped by these circuits, the women opt for action strategies in order to try to find their way through. If stuck in one passage, they will seek other routes to move forward. Occasionally, navigating such mazes or circuits entails trajectories where women attempt to leave sex work through building more emotionally intimate ties to sex customers, who may eventually become their boyfriends or husbands.

Moralities of Money, Mobility and Intimacy

Another less investigated form of mobility is that involving so-called ‘expats’ or mobile professionals (Fechter and Walsh 2012). These people migrate to another country and settle there for a longer period in order to advance their career and/or experience the culture and conditions of another country. They are often middle class, have higher education and a cosmopolitan lifestyle or orientation (*ibid.*). Understanding intimate mobility, the encounters that occur between mobile professionals and locals must be attended to in a way that gives insight into the conditions for social mobility, and the status, fulfilment and despair experienced in these spaces. The term ‘sexpatriates’ has been applied to point to ‘a strong vein of imperialism’ in those relationships in which Western men find that their status as white men gives them the racialized privilege to pick and choose local women in order to fulfil erotic and exotic desires (Seabrook 1996: 33; O’Connell Davidson 2001). Yet, local men and women may be very aware of using exotic images in order to attract and seduce white expatriates and travellers (Meiu 2009; Groes-Green 2013) – images that are actively drawing on globalized tourist fantasies of the ‘other’ (Salazar 2010). Furthermore, mobile professionals and tourists do not only have sexual liaisons with locals or necessarily always reproduce colonial structures and stereotypes – they also often marry them and decide to stay in a place for longer than anticipated due to strong emotional attachments. Sometimes they bring back them to their home country to begin a new life together (Brennan 2004; Cole 2010; Groes-Green 2014).

Groes-Green (2014) has shown how rich white expatriate men in Maputo, Mozambique sometimes end up in a vulnerable and unstable situation when they fall in love with and are ‘put in the bottle’ by younger Mozambican lovers, who are better prepared to avoid the trap of emotional attachment to these men, supported by female kin and local healers. In such situations, using their erotic power and kin support allows them to extract money from the men and gain a degree of control in love affairs. This puts the younger women in a position where they can at least momentarily feel a sense of power that stands in contrast to the enormous structural inequalities between them and their partners. Mobility can be a privilege and an opportunity, but it can also be a curse – as can one’s bodily and emotional resources that are applied in the process.

In his contribution to Part III of this volume, Valerio Simoni illustrates what is at stake in these ‘sexscapes’, where tourists going to Cuba and the locals with whom they engage need to figure out the trustworthiness and potential of lover relationships to avoid deception and falling in love with the wrong person. One of his informants, a Norwegian man called Jan who was dating younger women in Cuba, was tormented by negative experiences with Cuban girlfriends, one of whom was now carrying his child. According to Jan, local women he met were often deceptive and merely seeking material gain. His relationships with them had led him to confront the challenges and complications of ‘falling in love’, as a foreigner, with a Cuban. These ‘failed relationships’ had brought Jan ‘back to earth’, and made him realize the predominance of *jineterismo*, the local word for tourist hustling, which is why he had to seek proof of love and reliability among the women he encountered. Yet, Simoni also came across relationships that seemed to live up to – at least for a while – notions of ‘true love’. The relationship between the Italian man Gianluca and Cuban Yara lasted for a longer time not only because he was assisting her financially while he was in Cuba but also through supporting her while he was away in Italy. Via mobile phone communication and monthly allowances, he was able to assure her of his dedication and help her with the money she required to satisfy her everyday needs, so that she would not have to continue hustling in Havana to get by. Gianluca treasured his feelings for Yara, and felt that such feelings were reciprocated, and they strove to build a path that could help them reach beyond the scenarios of a cunning and deceptive love. Simoni also shows how Cuban men struggle to find a balance between strategic seduction of white female tourists and intense emotional involvement. One of his male Cuban informants, Carlos, describes how falling in love with a female Swiss tourist made him lose control of the situation and forget his objective, which, the reasoning implied, was to get married and join his female lover in Switzerland. ‘The error of the spy’, as this excessive emotional involvement

was called, made him lose track of his ultimately instrumental goal. The logic of the love game is that such relationships ought to be informed by cunningness, by skilful and detached playing with emotions and love, and not end up affecting the player to an extent where he might end up nowhere, in the sense of becoming too emotionally dependent on one woman or man and therefore losing control. In spite of his decade-old experience in dealing with tourists, Simoni shows, Carlos had obviously failed to maintain such detachment. However, Carlos was also torn between his attempt to build intimate relationships with tourists and making friends benefit from being in such relationships, by using the money from such affairs to party with other Cuban men. Because of the desire for ‘pride’ (*orgullo*), which can only be gained from other men by showing off girlfriends from abroad while taking advantage of them economically, he also forgot to play the love game properly – and so he lost his girlfriend.

In her chapter, Nadine Fernandez heads away from instrumentality and towards an emotional turn in migration studies. Cuban men’s narratives of marriage migration reveal a moral discourse tied to self-making, which emerges in these heterosexual, and mostly interracial, unions. Using the concept of ‘dialogic morality’ she shows how the transformation of the post-Soviet Cuba has resulted not in a moral decline, but rather a dialogic reworking of ideas about people’s obligations as they respond to changing economic conditions, social structures and social mores. Thus, she contributes to the growing literature on moralities of migration in which gender figures centrally (Åkesson, Carling and Drotbohm 2012 Gallo 2013; Groes 2014). In the Cuban men’s narratives, we see a moral discourse of their migration experiences that shows an unfolding and interconnecting of self and different aspects of masculinity, such as the manly lover, the autonomous modern subject, and the family breadwinner. Shifting the gendered focus from mobile brides from the Global South, to mobile grooms from the Global South, she explores how the Cuban men themselves understand these relationships in terms of morality and masculinity. Adriana Piscitelli’s chapter of this book provides another example of how certain ideals and notions of love, marriage and transactional sex are reconfigured. The trajectories of her informants suggest that with the transnationalization of sex markets, the modalities of sexual and economic exchanges are altered in diverse ways. And the shifting styles of affection are related to these changes. Some women move from informal sex work (*programas*), conducted on a cottage scale in Brazil, to sexual and economic exchanges in a European sex industry that require more intensive work, but which offer much higher incomes. In the tourist circuits of Fortaleza, sometimes the lines between prostitution and other sexual and economic exchanges are blurred. Some women shift from sexual and economic exchanges aimed at survival and

consumption with local partners to relationships based on the logic of ‘help’ offered by foreign visitors that enlarge the possibilities to improve life in Brazil and could also pave the road to become part of the sexual economy in Southern Europe. The imbrications between material benefits and feelings present in the economic, sexual and affective exchanges analysed in her chapter point to multiple possibilities. The acknowledgement of inequalities connected to nationality, class, race and gender combined with the desire to ‘improve one’s life’ are central elements of the relationships established in transnational spaces.

In summary, this book contributes to recent trends rethinking the fields of intimacy and transnational mobility, conceptually and methodologically. It adds to studies of intimate economies of mobility and migration that challenge widespread dichotomies and assumptions that separate money and sex, intimacy and power, love and labour, bodies and material resources (e.g. see Cabezas 2009; Piscitelli 2007; Mai and King 2009; Casas 2010). Furthermore, all the chapters explore how the ‘intimitization’ of migration has a radical impact on meanings of kinship, race and gender, which unsettle notions of family, equality and belonging.

Christian Groes, an anthropologist, is associate professor and head of studies at Cultural Encounters, Roskilde University, Denmark. He has co-edited two books: *Affective Circuits: African Migration to Europe and the Pursuit of Social Regeneration* (University of Chicago Press 2016) with Professor Jennifer Cole; and *Studying Intimate Matters: Engaging Methodological Challenges in Studies on Gender, Sexuality and Reproductive Health in Sub-Saharan Africa* with Barbara Ann Barrett (Fountain Publishers, Kampala 2011). He has published articles in *American Ethnologist*, *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, *Anthropological Theory*, *Men and Masculinities*, and several book chapters. In 2008 he was a PhD research fellow at Columbia University, and in 2012 he received the Young Elite Researcher Prize from the Danish Council for Independent Research.

Nadine T. Fernandez, a cultural anthropologist, is an associate professor and chair of the Social Science Department at the State University of New York / Empire State College. Her publications include *Revolutionizing Romance: Interracial Couples in Contemporary Cuba* (Rutgers University Press 2010), and several book chapters. Her articles appear in the *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *Identities*, *Latin American Perspectives*, and *Temas*. She was a guest researcher at the Copenhagen University Anthropology Institute (2010), and the Danish National Centre for Social Research (2011). In 2015, she received the SUNY Chancellor’s Award for Excellence in Scholarship and Creative Activities.

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