Sarah Van Walsum Honorary Lecture

Global Social Protection: Providing and Protecting
Outside the Framework of the Nation-State
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It is a great privilege and honor to deliver the first Sarah Van Walsum lecture.[1] Sarah was a dear friend and respected and valued colleague. She shared her intelligence, her friendship, and family with me, as I know she did with many of the people in this audience, and for that I know that we are all grateful and that we miss her a lot. Many of the ideas I want to share with you today are things that we hoped to work on together. I want to lay them out to you and then speak briefly about the ongoing work that her research group is doing which continues to contribute to this dialogue. I also want to give credit to Jocelyn Viterna, Armin Mueller, Charlotte Lloyd, Erica Dobbs, and Sonia Parella who are also fellow travelers on this journey.

Sarah's Legacy

Sarah cared deeply about migrants' rights and how laws and legal categories both enable and thwart access to protection. How families are defined, how legal structures and processes are inherently gendered, and how this affects migrants and workers are just some of the questions that drove Sarah's work. Sarah's 2008 book, *The Family and the Nation: Dutch Family Migration Policies in the Context of Changing Family Norms*, was about

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[1] This lecture draws strongly on a forthcoming article in Oxford Development Studies co-authored with Jocelyn Viterna, Armin Mueller, and Charlotte Lloyd. Erica Dobbs, Sonia Parella, and Alisa Petroff also contributed greatly to the development of these ideas.

the complex relationship between transnational families and the Dutch Nation. The legal connotations of "family life" meant different things for Dutch family law and for Dutch immigration law. These two legal canons diverged and converged since the post-war period and Sarah wanted to understand what that meant for social inclusion and exclusion, for men and for women, for children and adults, and how those processes were gendered. The world in which she wrote was moving toward greater global governance. At the same time, the post-war welfare state was still organized around the idea of the male as the primary breadwinner. "The imagined communities of family and nation," she wrote, "have continued to be mutually constitutive and at times mutually disruptive but the dynamics of this relationship have been subject to change" (Van Walsum 2008, 10). A particular combination of dynamics is producing, she went on, "a new organizing logic as constitutive of foundational realignments inside the state" (Van Walsum 2008, 17). Her intellectual project became therefore to understand whether or not it was possible to establish parallels between the dynamics that led to the current restrictive family migration policies in the Netherlands and earlier dynamics of family norms and racist modes of exclusion in the Dutch East Indies. In other words, how are Dutch family policy and Dutch immigration policy mutually imbricated across time and space? Have new technologies of exclusion and marginalization been created that respond to heightened globalization? To what extent is the "sedimented knowledge" of the colonial past informed by the production of such technologies?

These questions foreshadow the themes that Sarah's research group is currently working on and the questions we began to work on together. In a world on the move, in which states increasingly extend their grasp across borders, how and through what kinds

of institutions are people protected and provided for? What do we do when the people live transnational lives but the social contract between citizen and state remains national?

Let me now move to share how the work we began together has evolved and then highlight some of the connections with the work of Sarah's research team.

Background Framing

Imagine an undocumented Mexican migrant in Denver, Colorado unable to access the US health care system who takes her child to the Mexican consulate to be vaccinated so she can enroll her in a US public school. A young German family that is struggling to care for elderly grandparents given the retrenchment of state-supported welfare hires a low-wage Filipino migrant to provide elder care in their home who, in turn, sends her wages back to the Philippines to support her family. An Indonesian construction worker in Australia cannot access social security or public health services while in Australia although he receives the portion he was required to pay into the system when he returns to Jakarta. An aging Ethiopian with permanent resident status has been working as a custodian in a US university for twenty years but wants to spend his retirement years with his family. Despite paying twenty years worth of social security taxes to the US government, his payments will be stopped if he moves back to his native country. Meanwhile, the Ethiopian government struggles to pay for the education of its youth and for elder care, in part because so many of its working-age citizens pay taxes to the governments where they are living rather than where they were born. As a result, transnational humanitarian NGOs are increasingly responsible for building Ethiopian schools, training teachers, designing the curriculum, and providing free education, sometimes implementing these social protections in partnership with the Ethiopian government.

These vignettes reflect just how much we live in a world on the move. More and more, people choose or are pushed into lives that cross national borders—earning livelihoods, raising their political voices, caring for family members, and saving for retirement in more than one nation state. These migrants call many places home—the scattered sites where their dispersed family members live, where they work or study, the places they remember, and the homes they long to return to and rebuild. Increasingly, international finance and development organizations look to migrants to drive economic growth, development, and political activism in their homelands. The economic remittances they send, fund the health, education, and social services that the sending-country governments can often ill-afford and the social remittances, or the knowledge, practices, and skills that migration also introduces; transform social and economic life in positive and negative ways.

While there is a growing body of scholarship about several aspects of transnational livelihoods, we still know very little about the questions raised by the vignettes with which I began. When and how are people on the move protected and provided for outside the traditional framework of the nation-state? How is the social welfare of the young and the elderly in societies of origin guaranteed when people who would normally provide and fund such services migrate? And what new institutional arrangements—or forms of *global social protection*—are emerging in response to these changing dynamics?

National and global systems of social protection have undergone powerful transformations across the last several decades, yet scholars have only recently begun to identify and analyze the consequences of this fundamental reorganization. We wanted to help bridge this gap by bringing existing theories of welfare states, global social policy,

development, and migration into line with increasingly transnational social realities. Studying global social protection is also important because it will bring to light which policies and strategies can efficiently provide for and protect the wellbeing of individuals in our increasingly transnational world. We also need to identify new or widening "holes" in existing systems of social protection, find out who is most likely to fall through them, and how individuals piece together their own strategies to fill these gaps.

So what I would like to do is briefly discuss some of the relevant theories upon which we are building and signal what they miss by not taking transnational factors into account. I'll then define what I mean by global social protection. Third, I'll introduce the idea of a "resource environment" as a heuristic tool that helps us map and analyze variations in global social protection over time, through space, and across individuals. Fourth, I'll include some empirical examples to put flesh and bones on our argument and then I'll speak briefly about how Sarah's research group is driving this agenda forward.

What Theory has Missed

Mainstream migration scholarship still suffers from methodological nationalism (Wimmer and Glick Schiller 2003). Because US and European research continues to be overwhelmingly focused on processes of incorporation and assimilation into host countries, it generally ignores how migrants protect and provide for themselves across borders. When we learn of transnational health or educational schemes, it is primarily from health and education researchers. On the other hand, strands of transnational migration scholarship take migrants' simultaneous embeddedness in multiple societies into account and provide us with important foundations upon which to build (Glick Schiller and Faist 2009; Levitt 2012; Mazzucato 2011). Research on how families raise children and care for

the elderly across borders using formal and informal networks, for example, is well underway. Sarah contributed valuably to this. She also contributed to the body of research on the rights of domestic workers (Lutz 2008; Parreñas 2005; Van Walsum 2011). The role of hometown associations in sending community development is another well-developed strand of this fabric. Levitt (2001), Glick Schiller and Salazar (2013), Faist (2014), and Boccagni (2014) document similar dynamics for class and inequality. These conversations which, to date, have evolved separately, must be brought into a more integrated, expanded dialogue that sees health, education, secure retirement, and social security as also increasingly constructed within and beyond the nation-state.

A step forward is to use a transnational social field approach which knits together allegedly separate sending and receiving country spaces into a single, sometimes seamless, and sometimes deeply fractured social, political, and emotional imaginary. Categories such as class, inequality, and development can then be revisited and reworked by taking into account not only the ways in which they are constituted across space but also the ways in which health, education, and social security are constructed within and beyond national borders and the interactions between them.

The literature on welfare state regimes as institutions of social protection, most prominently articulated by Esping-Andersen (1990), is also an important piece of this puzzle. Esping-Andersen divided European and North American countries into three types of welfare regimes based on their level of de-commodification (measuring reliance on the market) and de-familization (measuring reliance on the family)—what he calls the "peculiar public-private sector mix" of each nation. This typology has been used to investigate the scope and patterning of specific social protections provided by states, like

Orloff's (1993) work on how states structure protections differently for men and women. By its very nature, however, this research remains closely tied to the nation state as a unit of analysis. It generally does not consider how a person might piece together a package of protections from more than one nation-state.

So we need to move beyond classic, state-based approaches and debates about their classification (Arts and Gelissen 2002; Aspalter 2011; Esping-Andersen 1990) to consider how at least some individuals are embedded in transnational social fields, and how multiple state and non-state actors protect and provide for them. Our agenda builds, in particular, on the growing body of work on "global social policy" that has emerged since the 1990s. This research examines how international actors' discourses about and practices around social policy affect national policy. Ostensibly "national" welfare systems are seen as strongly influenced by transnational, global, and sub-national actors (Deacon 2007; Kaasch 2013; Yeates 2006).

Development scholarship is a third thread we want to incorporate. This work would also benefit from using a transnational optic in two ways. First, developing states, looking to capitalize on and serve their growing diasporas, are extending social protections across national borders. As my opening vignette demonstrates, the Mexican government often provides health care services to documented and undocumented migrants at its consular offices throughout the United States. At the same time, it benefits significantly from the individual and collective remittances these migrants send back, particularly their support of hometown associations that have become major drivers of local community development. A second way in which development scholarship contributes to our agenda is the work concerned with non-state actors, such as humanitarian INGOs and NGOs, which

often ends its analysis at the national border (Banks, Hulme, and Edwards 2015; Gaventa and Barrett 2010; Hickey and Sen 2015). However, many of these groups are transnational actors: their organizational structure, their financing, or their activities operate across borders. Therefore, understanding development requires a transnational lens regardless of whether it is measured at the level of the state or the individual.

We believe a necessary next step is to bring individuals back into this conversation by looking not only at how they use services available from two discrete nation states but also at how bi-national and supranational policies expand their access to care. We also want to look outside the U.S. and European context to see how informal security regimes" which are the rule rather than the exception in many developing countries, fill out this picture. In these contexts, where states are often weak or even absent, community and family institutions, or the forces of insecurity that disrupt them, are only indirectly bound to the logic of nation states (Gough and Wood 2004).

We take up our task with a keen eye toward the current geopolitical moment. Throughout the Global North, basic social welfare entitlements are shrinking and are often replaced by an increasingly unregulated, unaffordable private market for basic services. More people work at insecure, part-time, low-paying jobs that come with few benefits and pay too little to allow them to purchase benefits through the market. Mobility is encouraged (either for schooling, medical care, or work) for educated, high-skilled professional migrants and is often thwarted or even criminalized for the low-skilled, giving rise to two classes of privileged and disadvantaged migrants. Countries of destination often use social protection to regulate migration by blocking access to services so that migrants

will return home. By deeming them ineligible for basic services and rights, states ensure enduring social marginalization (Bommes and Geddes 2000).

On the sending state side, since the 1980s, liberalization and structural adjustment programs have thwarted the development of comprehensive welfare states in much of the Global South. While the idea of "social protection" is used in place of "social welfare" or "social policy" in many developing countries, they are not necessarily synonyms. More sending states have instituted policies designed to help migrants provide for their families and communities and to manage remittance transfers more effectively. Migrant earnings substitute for the state—they fund the health, education, and social services the state cannot afford. In this way, social welfare is increasingly framed as the handmaiden to growth rather than vice versa, and migrants are supposed to foot the bill. According to Avato, Koettl, and Sabates-Wheeler (2010, 463), "migration itself is a social protection tool for many people, especially poorer families who are able to use remittances and migration-specific income to ensure basic needs and at times build up some assets."

Defining Global Social Protection and Resource Environments

The OECD subsumes the following variables under the category "social protections."

Old Age	Pensions, Cash Benefits, Residential Care/Home help
Survivors	Pensions, Cash Benefits, Funeral Services
Incapacity	Disability Pensions, Paid Sick Leave (occupational

	injury and disease), Cash Benefits, Residential Care/Home Help
Health	Health Care
Family	Family Allowances, Maternity and Parental Leave, Early Childhood Education and Care, Cash Benefits
Active Labor Market Programs	PES, Training, Employment Incentives, Supported Employment and Rehabilitation, Job Creation, Start Up Incentives. To this we add efforts to protect worker safety and rights
Unemployment	Unemployment Compensation, Severance Pay, Early Retirement
Housing	Housing Assistance
Education	Knowledge and skill production, credentialing

To these we add education to capture the growing number of bi-national teacher training, student retention, and reciprocal credentialing schemes that are being put in place. We also add, under the category of labor, the efforts of states and NGOs, such as unions, to protect workers.

The OECD, however, still measures social protection nationally. In addition, while the OECD emphasizes the role of states in providing social protection, our analysis includes three additional sources: social protections can be purchased privately through the *market*, obtained from *third sector actors*, like NGOs or churches, or provided by an *individuals'* *personal networks*.
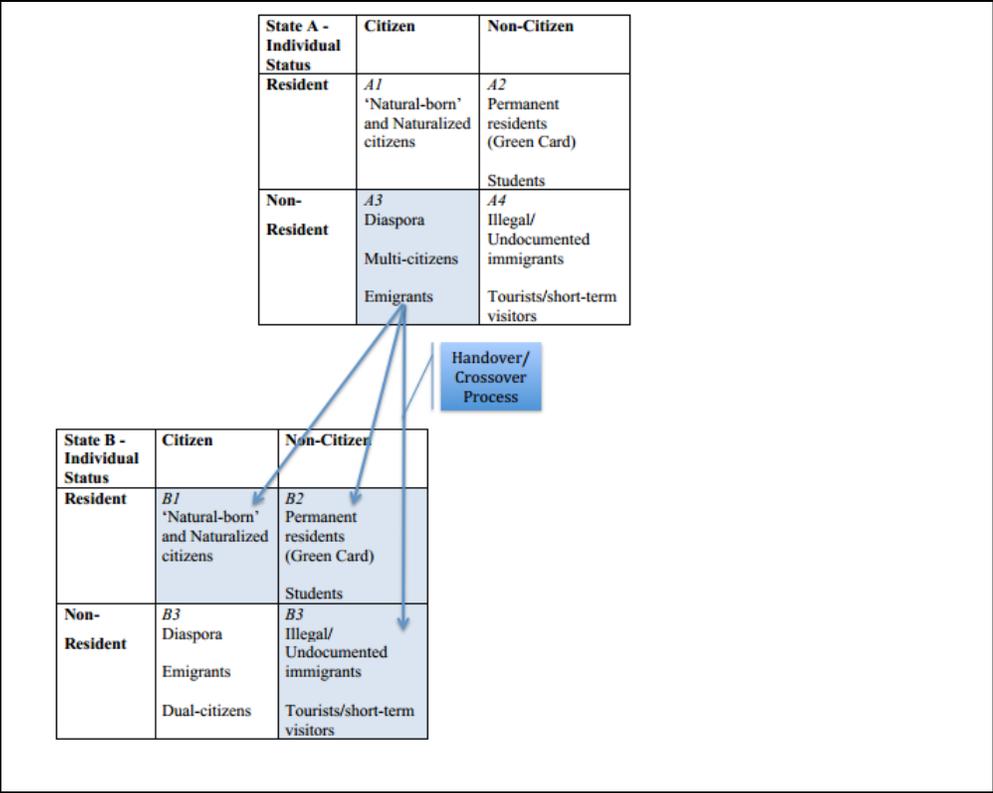
We define global social protection as the policies, programs, people, organizations, and institutions that provide for and protect individual migrants, whether they be voluntary "permanent," short-term, or circular, in the areas I mentioned in a transnational manner. Non-migrants and refugees can also benefit from these policies and programs but our main focus is on social protections for mobile individuals. We include grounded actors that provide for and protect people who move transnationally; transnational actors who provide for and protect grounded individuals; and transnational actors that provide for and protect transnational individuals.

I want to suggest that the concept of a "resource environment" to help scholars map, analyze, and understand these rapidly changing forms of global social protections. An individual's resource environment is made up of a combination of all the possible protections available to them from our four potential sources in both the sending and receiving countries. Not all of these resources are present in the mix at the same time; nor do they contribute equally to it. The cluster of protections that is ultimately available depends upon the nature of the market, the strength and capacity of sending and receiving states, the third sector organizational ecology (i.e. the number and types of organizations, what they do, and their capacity to provide), and the characteristics of the individual migrant and their family. And resource environments also, undoubtedly, change over time.

For migrants, access to formal social protection provided by state and public institutions depends largely on their legal and residency status in relation to their home and host countries. The status matrix, as illustrated in Figure 1, combines both a migrant's residence status (resident or non-resident) and citizenship status (citizen or non-citizen). In the home country, a migrant will usually have A3 status –diaspora, multi-citizen, or emigrant.[2] In the host country, the migrant can have the status of a naturalized citizen (B1), a permanent resident, green card holder, or student (B2), or of an illegal or undocumented migrant (B4). Depending on the nation, access to social protections can be based directly on citizenship or residency, or it can be based on contributions. This access is often dependent on participation in the formal labor market that in turn relies primarily on the migrant's residence status. Some portion of migrants' resource environments often overlap with the resource environments of their non-migrant family members and friends, especially in cases where non-migrants depend on migrants for basic social support and care.

Figure 1: Status Matrix

State A - Individual Status	Citizen	Non-Citizen
Resident	*A1* 'Natural-born' and Naturalized citizens	*A2* Permanent residents (Green Card) Students
Non-Resident	*A3* Diaspora Multi-citizens Emigrants	*A4* Illegal/ Undocumented immigrants Tourists/short-term visitors

Handover/ Crossover Process

State B - Individual Status	Citizen	Non-Citizen
Resident	*B1* 'Natural-born' and Naturalized citizens	*B2* Permanent residents (Green Card) Students
Non-Resident	*B3* Diaspora Emigrants Dual-citizens	*B3* Illegal/ Undocumented immigrants Tourists/short-term visitors

While the logic of coverage in receiving states tends to be administered and regulated at the nation level, in many countries, particularly those with highly decentralized political systems, access and benefits vary considerably across states and regions. In the US and China, for example, sub-national and local jurisdictions have a great deal of discretion with respect to migrant coverage. Migrants' access to public systems of health insurance and health care provision, schooling, social welfare, and pensions largely depends on place of residence and legal status. Therefore, as we discuss more fully below, an undocumented Mexican migrant from Puebla who settles in New York City will have access to a package of resources and benefits based on what she is eligible for in her village of birth, as a resident of the state of Puebla, and as a Mexican national, as well as the services offered by New York City, New York State, and the United States. Her resource

environment will differ markedly from a similarly undocumented Mexican counterpart from Zacatecas who moves to Los Angeles, because the services provided at each level of governance, in each country, are not equal.
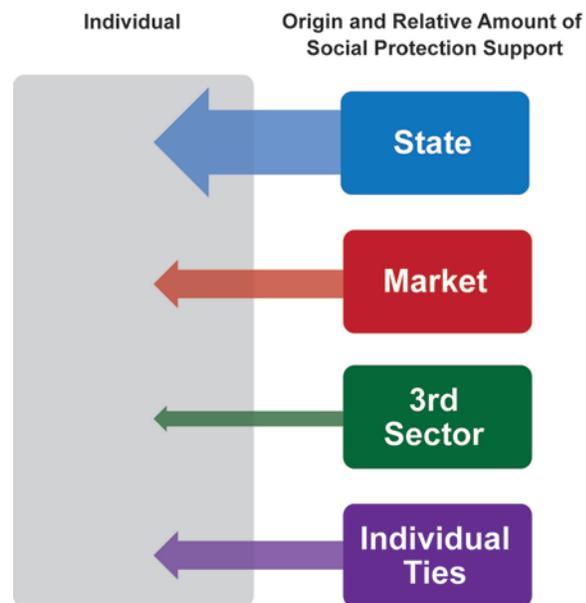
The portion of the resource environment that comes from the migrants' sending country depends upon the extent to which that nation extends its social services across borders to cover citizens living outside them. For sending countries, such initiatives sometimes function as mechanisms for offsetting "youth drain" brought about by migration: people leave when they are young and healthy but, had they stayed, they would have contributed more to health and pension systems than they took out. Instead, when they return, they have aged, and are in more intense need of care.

Transnational health insurance or pension schemes can help balance out the allocation of costs between sending and receiving countries. Portuguese migrants who went to Canada in the 1940s and 50s, for example, returned home with the pension contributions they accrued in Canada because of special bilateral agreements. Some bilateral social insurance agreements, such as those between Germany and South Korea and China, extend the sending country's entire social insurance system to the receiving country for emigrants living abroad for a limited period. Even when sending country institutions are not extended, they can still function as fallback options for emigrants. When migrants are ineligible for benefits from the British National Health Service or the US Medicare program, those who can afford to can return to their sending countries for care.

Let me now offer several illustrations to make these ideas clearer. The resource environment of a college educated, employed Swedish citizen residing in Sweden might look something like the graphic below. This graphic shows each of the four sources of social

protection from which our hypothetical Swedish citizen could access support, with the size of the arrow reflecting the relative proportion of social protection coming from each source. This particular individual has access to a wide array of social protections from the state, including affordable child care, paid parental leave, excellent schools, old age pensions, and so on. Given her education and employment, she is also probably in a position to buy additional protections from companies in the private market, to access benefits from third sector organizations, and to avail herself of supports provided by family and friends. Her resource environment is largely found within her nation-state, and she has little difficulty meeting her needs, even in emergency situations or medical crises.

Figure 2: College-educated, employed Swedish citizen

As Figure 2 reveals, all four sources contribute to the creation of this individual's resource environment, although the state predominates.

In contrast, the next figure represents what the resource environment of a college-educated, employed US citizen residing in the US might look like. The resources available from the state have shrunk in comparison to Sweden (thus the smaller arrow), and the market becomes a bigger factor in covering needed protections, precisely because the state is a less important provider and protector than in Sweden and because this individual can afford to purchase care from the private market. This individual is also quite able to get help from NGOS and from her social networks. For example, when an elderly parent becomes ill and homebound, this person could rely on the state's Medicare program to cover health costs, may purchase additional pharmaceutical insurance coverage from the market, but may also access not-for-profit organizations working with the elderly to support her parents with home visits and other forms of emotional assistance.

Figure 3: College-educated, employed US citizen
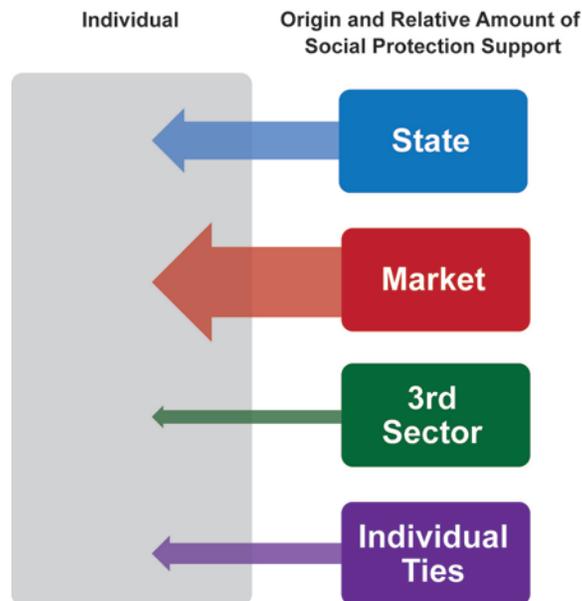
In contrast to Figure 2, this individual purchases most

of her social protection from the market.

If we were to next imagine the resource environment of a US citizen living below the poverty line, her resource environment would again differ. In this case, the state would offer additional (means-tested) social protections, while the market would offer fewer; if she were unable to purchase care from the market, the size of this arrow would be negligible or non-existent. Instead, she would most likely rely on social protections provided by third sector actors (humanitarian NGOs, food pantries, charitable organizations, etc.), and on informal support from social networks of friends, family members, neighbors, and co-workers.

But what we are really interested in here is how people combine our four sources of protection across borders. Let us imagine that the hypothetical person in Figure 4 is an undocumented Mexican citizen who currently lives in Los Angeles. She works in the informal economy, cleaning houses and preparing traditional Mexican foods to sell to Mexican construction workers at their work sites. Because of her undocumented status, she has no access to social protection provided by the US federal government, nor does she make enough money to purchase protections from the US market.

But, our hypothetical subject can access some social protections from the Mexican government. It created the Instituto de los Mexicanos en el Exterior (IME or Institute of Mexicans Abroad) to serve emigrants, such as the one in my vignette, so she can access an array of civic, health, education, and financial services from the Mexican state through its programs. Moreover, if she returns to Mexico when she retires, she will also be insured by the Seguro Popular system in Mexico (although she cannot access these supports while

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living in the US). Our migrant has also purchased a form of social protection from the Mexican market; she invested in a property in her home community where she will live when she retires.

Nevertheless, most of this migrant's social protection in the US and Mexico is derived not from states or markets but from social ties and third sector support. Her California church has a food pantry that she accesses when work is hard to find. She also takes free English classes offered by a migrant-support NGO operating in Los Angeles. And she relies heavily on family and friends in Los Angeles to provide temporary housing, credit, and job references. Meanwhile, her son lives in Mexico, and she relies on social ties in Mexico (specifically her mother) to raise him in her absence. Her child's social protections are also increasingly transnational, even though he has never left her home village. He relies on the Mexican state for health care and market-based supports paid for by remittances from his mother. Moreover, the child benefits from an early-education intervention program provided by a local Mexican not-for-profit organization but funded by a grant from the Netherlands.

Figure 4: Primary-educated, undocumented, Mexican migrant living in California and working in the informal sector.
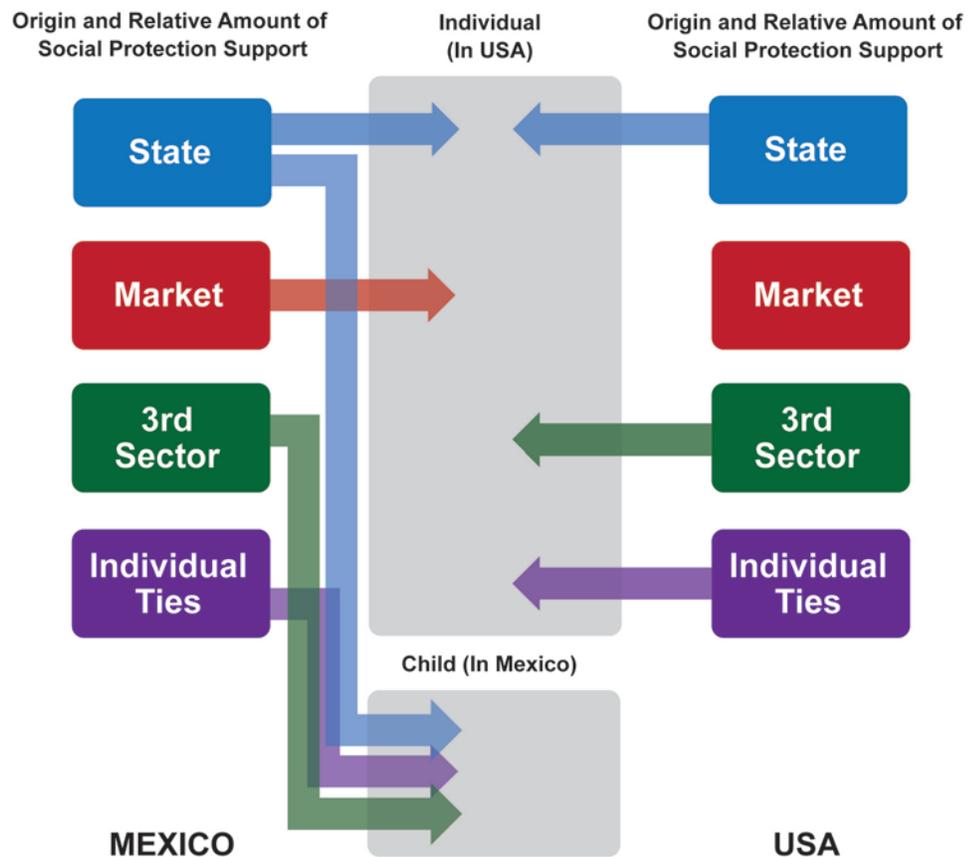

Figure 4 reveals a resource environment created from the intersection between sending and receiving country sources. This undocumented Mexican migrant is ineligible for federal government protections in the US and cannot afford to purchase them from the market. While she is eligible for some minimal services from the state of California, she relies primarily on support from NGOs and from her personal social networks. She combines these with other supports available in Mexico (a home she purchased through the market where she will live when she retires and support she receives to care for her child still in Mexico from the state, the third sector, and her social networks).

Three things stand out in Figure 4. First, rather than having most of her needs provided by one, nationally-bound source (e.g. the state in Figure 2 or the market in Figure 3), this woman must piece together social protection for herself and her family from a large number of *disparate, informal,* and *transnational* sources. Second, none of the possible social protection sources from which she draws can cover her major social protection needs alone, as indicated by the relative thinness of each arrow. Third, the largely transnational sources on which she relies are in no way contractually guaranteed, and thus are relatively unreliable and ephemeral.

Research on social protection needs to examine not only the number and size of an individual's arrows over time and across individuals; it also needs to unpack the contents of the arrows themselves. Let's return to the example of the poorly educated undocumented Mexican from Zacatecas living in Los Angeles and compare her this time to a similarly poorly educated, undocumented Mexican immigrant from Puebla living in Wyoming, a rural state with relatively few migrant relatives. Her resource environments will differ because of the very different US and Mexican federal, state, and city-level government benefits provided to immigrants and non-migrants. So what Puebla provides is different than Zacatecas and what Los Angeles and California provide is different that what is available in Wyoming. But they will also differ because the third sector might be much more plentiful, varied and well established in Los Angeles than in Wyoming. The strength of the labor market in each locale will also be different because the varying numbers and types of employers will be more or less amenable to hiring undocumented workers and to offering them benefits. Finally, that migrants would be more visible in Wyoming may make it more dangerous for them to access resources even when they are available.

Global Social Protection: Sectoral Illustrations

So now, I want to give some examples from the range of practices we believe should be understood and studied as global social protection: senior care, education, and labor. I want to stress once again that not all function across borders. That is, it is useful to distinguish between the different dimensions of the "global social protectors" and to compare how they work in relation to each other. Some transnationally organized and funded institutions of global protection protect and provide in one place. Therefore, we must assess how organizations are structured, led, and financed in relation to where they deliver their services and where their greatest impact is felt. We find several examples of policies and programs where structures and financing are organized across borders but the services that are delivered and the impact of these efforts are not.

Labor

Since so many people move to find work, it is not surprising that transnational schemes have been put in place to protect migrant workers, who are often more vulnerable to economic and physical abuse than laboring citizens. In some cases, extending global social protections to workers gives rise to new legal statuses that broaden existing protections to include new categories of migrants. For instance, New Zealand's Recognized Seasonal Employers Scheme was started in 2006 to offset shortages in the horticulture and viticulture industries by bringing in temporary workers but also by curbing "labour and immigration violations through the expansion of regular labour migration avenues" (International Labour Organization 2014). More than 100 New Zealand firms registered with this program that hires 8,000 workers from Pacific Island countries annually. As documented migrants, seasonal workers entering New Zealand even for a few short

months are entitled to regular work protections including minimum wage, paid public holidays, sick leave, workplace safety training, and accident compensation.

In cases where labor migrants are not afforded sufficient social and legal protections in host countries, sending countries often step in. Saudi Arabia is notorious for failing to extend basic rights and services to the more than 1.5 million migrant domestic workers, largely from Asia, who work within its borders. Domestic workers are subject to harsh and often violent treatment by their employers who control their passports and prevent them from communicating with the outside. When accused of crimes, domestic workers enter a hostile legal environment where they may not have access to translators or basic legal services, even if they face execution (Human Rights Watch and Varia 2008). Such circumstances led Indonesia to institute an extreme measure of social protection for its citizens: a total ban on migration to Saudi Arabia to perform domestic labor. The ban was lifted in 2014 following the successful negotiation of an agreement between the Indonesian and Saudi government which guarantees Indonesian domestic workers the right to monthly pay, time off, the ability to communicate with their families, and to retain their passports ("Indonesian Maids" 2014).

While the Filipino government does not prohibit its workers from leaving, it is one of the most actively involved with its citizens abroad through the efforts of private, public and third sector actors. This is important because workers are one of the country's biggest "exports" and the government relies heavily on the remittances they send home. The Philippine Overseas Employment Administration (POEA) is responsible for processing workers' contracts and pre-deployment checks, as well as for licensing, regulating, and monitoring private recruitment agencies. This is not just a state function. Because demand

is so high, thousands of licensed and unlicensed recruitment agencies are also active in the market. The Overseas Workers Welfare Administration (OWWA) is responsible for migrants and their non-migrant family members once they leave the country, providing programs and services to permanent emigrants. Taken together, this package of services is one of the most comprehensive in Asia, extending from pre-departure to return and reintegration (Asis 2006).

Education

Global social protection in education often develops in response to large migrant populations who emigrate from one country and settle in another. While both countries have their own domestic education systems, some bilateral, cooperative research and education activities often take shape. These become increasingly institutionalized, through partnerships between ministries and publicly funded actors. Take the example of the 3 million people of Turkish origin living in Germany. In higher education, several joint programs are run through the German Research Foundation and the German Academic Exchange Program. A public German-Turkish University is under construction in the city of Istanbul. Three public Goethe Institutes in Ankara, Istanbul, and Izmir provide basic language education. Moreover, there have been several high-level public discussions about coordinating teacher training between the two countries. In 2008, Prime Minister Erdogan offered to send teachers to Germany to provide Turkish language instruction to German educators. Chancellor Merkel and the German government, however, chose to emphasize German-language education, preferring to train people of Turkish origin to become teachers in the German school system and to teach in German (Kooperation International n.d.).

Senior Care

Due to its rapid demographic transition, the high cost of labor, and labor shortages, Germany has become a leader in outsourcing elder care. Even though long-term care insurance has been mandatory in Germany since 1995, it is still too expensive for many families. Therefore, caring for the elderly in the long-term care facilities of neighboring countries with lower labor costs, such as Poland, Slovakia, or the Czech Republic, is a more attractive option. In 2012, about 7,000 German pensioners were living in facilities abroad. Countries like Spain and Thailand are also becoming increasingly popular destinations (Connolly 2012; "*Deutsche Rentner*" 2014; Schölgens 2013).

Private companies are quickly jumping on this bandwagon, developing transnational models for long-term care, most commonly in Eastern Europe and South-East Asia. In Eastern Europe, some German and local private investors received support from the European Union to upgrade elder care facilities. Although they create high-end institutions that provide excellent care to elderly Germans who can afford them, they are often beyond the reach of the local population. A kind of two-tier system is created by this medical tourism that diverts resources from locals to attract high-end, self-paying tourists. Critics claim that the influx of German pensioners into neighboring countries like Poland creates capacity shortfalls that then necessitate the relocation of Polish seniors to other, cheaper countries such as the Ukraine.

These European dynamics reflect broader global trends as baby-boomers around the world reach pension age and increasingly need long-term care. Singapore is also outsourcing elder care to Malaysia where private investors are exploring underdeveloped markets (Shobert 2013). Similarly, US senior citizens increasingly move to Mexico to retire,

because the costs of living and long-term care are much lower than in the US. While

Medicare benefits are not accessible outside of the US, there are increasing demands that

the program be extended across borders (Blahnik 1999; Paxson 2012).

The Research Being Done Here at the VU

Similar themes and questions infuse the work of Sarah's team and their collective

project. I cannot describe all of this important work but let me briefly mention some

studies to make clear just how they also address the questions about which Sarah cared

deeply: fairness, gender equity, and the changing levels and scales at which laws are made

and deployed.

Maybritt Jill Alpes' work analyzes what happens to migrants who are forced to

return when they actually arrive in their country of origin. In Cameroon, returned migrants,

whose emigration project to the Global North fails, are treated as criminals. Border control

and connected anti-fraud programs weaken and undermine family-based forms of

solidarity and instead give precedence to subjectivities rooted in state-managed forms of

national identity. Her work illustrates how efforts to combat fraud fuel corruption in

returnees' social networks, so that instead of receiving remittances, families in emigration

countries have to use them to rescue their returning family members out of police stations

or prison complexes.

Younous Arbaoui's work looks at how the law intervenes to protect transnationally

constituted families in asylum cases. His first case looks at how the family is defined among

left-behind children who seek reunification with their parents who are asylum holders in

the Netherlands. The second case concerns women claiming asylum because of an actual or

future forced marriage in their country of origin. Based on a review of policy documents

and case law between 2004 and 2014, the two cases allegedly represent "opposite" levels

of family protection and both reflect the dialectical nature of the family. On the one hand,

there is concern for the protection of family unity and, on the other hand, there is concern

for the protection of individuals against dis-functioning families. The key issue here is how

to accommodate family and cultural diversity without jeopardizing the individual freedoms

of the family members involved.

Joanna Sondergaard's work begins with a puzzle. Even though policy is supposed to

be consistent across the EU, family reunification policies differ widely across member

states with respect to things like income requirements for sponsors and what someone

who has recently arrived must do to get an autonomous residence permit. Joanna wants to

know whether this lack of harmonization in policies arises from differences in public

opinion about gender roles and/or about immigration across the EU. Using data from the

European Social Survey (2002-2012), the European Value Study (1990-2008), and the

Migrant Integration Policy Index database (2007 and 2010), she finds that there is

circumstantial evidence for the relation between family migration policies and public

opinion. Her findings suggest that as gender egalitarianism in a country increases,

traditional gender role norms of dependency are projected onto the migrant "other", as

expressed in more restrictive family migration policies.

And, finally, Nadia Ismaili's work looks at how conflicts between different state

interests play out in immigration law. The state enjoys broad discretion when it comes to

economic welfare and public order but how should these interests stack up against the

rights of immigrant parents and their individual children. Nadia finds that in many cases there is a disconnect between immigration law and (international) family law, particularly when one member of a family is threatened with expulsion.

All of these studies, which take as their starting point that families are transnationally constituted, reveal how different kinds of laws fall short or conflict with each other and how new mechanisms are needed to protect and provide in different ways.

Looking Forward

In today's world, more than 220 million people live in a country that is not their own. This is almost ten times larger than the entire population of Australia, and six times larger than the entire population of Canada. At current growth rates, the population of this "nation" of immigrants will soon surpass that of the United States, constituting the fifth largest "nation" on earth (Iyer 2013).

That more and more people live aspects of their lives across borders runs parallel to the increasing cross-border movements of markets, firms, churches, labor unions, and humanitarian organizations. Even national governments are carrying out what we once thought of as national-level activities transnationally.

Yet despite these pockets of institutional change, the provision of social protection, and the policy-making that undergirds it, remains largely confined to the nation. As a result, many migrants must turn to non-state systems of global social protection to piece together coverage to meet their basic needs. To date, we know little about which protections exist, which protections travel across borders, who can access them, and who is left out. We do not know enough about the hidden costs of providing and accessing global social protections. We suspect, however, that while these newly emerging forms are changing in

response to our world on the move, they still come up short, particularly among poor and

under-resourced individuals. There is, as Sarah knew and cared deeply about, much work

to be done.

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