


**Please cite the Published Version**

Arun, Shoba, Brahic, Benedicte  and Caselli, Marco (2024) Fault lines in the globalization of migration: frontline workers as embodied constituents of disjunctive globalization. *Global Perspectives*, 5 (1). 118285

**DOI:** <https://doi.org/10.1525/gp.2024.118285>

**Publisher:** University of California Press

**Version:** Published Version

**Downloaded from:** <https://e-space.mmu.ac.uk/635437/>

**Usage rights:**  In Copyright

**Additional Information:** Accepted for publication in *Global Perspectives*. © 2024 by the Regents of the University of California. Copying and permissions notice: Authorization to copy this content beyond fair use (as specified in Sections 107 and 108 of the U. S. Copyright Law) for internal or personal use, or the internal or personal use of specific clients, is granted by the Regents of the University of California for libraries and other users, provided that they are registered with and pay the specified fee via Rightslink® or directly with the Copyright Clearance Center (<http://www.copyright.com/>)

**Enquiries:**

If you have questions about this document, contact [openresearch@mmu.ac.uk](mailto:openresearch@mmu.ac.uk). Please include the URL of the record in e-space. If you believe that your, or a third party's rights have been compromised through this document please see our Take Down policy (available from <https://www.mmu.ac.uk/library/using-the-library/policies-and-guidelines>)

## Social Institutions, Organizations, and Relations

# Fault Lines in the Globalization of Migration: Frontline Workers as Embodied Constituents of Disjunctive Globalization

Shoba Arun<sup>1</sup><sup>a</sup>, Benedicte Brahic<sup>2</sup><sup>b</sup>, Marco Caselli<sup>3</sup><sup>c</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Essex Business School, University of Essex, Essex, UK, <sup>2</sup> Department of Sociology, Manchester Metropolitan University, Manchester, UK, <sup>3</sup> Catholic University of the Sacred Heart, Milan, Italy

Keywords: Global migration, frontline work, value, disjunctive globalisation, COVID-19

<https://doi.org/10.1525/gp.2024.118285>

---

## Global Perspectives

---

Globalization has become characterized by its disjunctions, which the COVID-19 crisis has thrown into sharp relief (Steger and James 2020). The contradictions (and disjunctures) between the dependence of receiving countries on economic migration and the visible tensions associated with migration, and the precarious experiences of migrants at the COVID-19 front line marked new insecurities in migratory paths and shocks to already insecure work circuits. The fault lines revealed by the COVID-19 crisis identified in this article raise fundamental questions for globalization and migration scholars and policymakers around the sustainability of the “migration/value” nexus. We advocate an approach that moves away from a reductivist conception of migration as solely legitimized via the generation of economic value, toward a sustainable recovery and future after the COVID-19 crisis. We argue for a human rights–based approach to migration that fosters mobilities and that ensures that all individuals are deemed of value, of public value. We believe this can inform and help set a tenacious framework that “resettles” the current disjunctures of globalization, through acknowledging different formations of mobilities through globalization for an inclusive global society. This article is part of the *Global Perspectives* “Interrogating Global Studies” special collection, guest edited by Jill Timms and Alison Hulme, as a tribute to Dr. Paul Kennedy, an ardent pioneer in the field of global studies.

## INTRODUCTION

The transformation of societies on account of Brexit, the COVID-19 pandemic, and political attitudes and policies to migration and the fast-changing nature of migration have all reshaped debates on global mobilities. Recent debates on the globalization of migration point to its asymmetric nature, spurred on by geopolitical and economic shifts with changes to the volume, diversity, and geography of migration (Czaika and De Haas 2014). Focusing on the Global North (Italy and the United Kingdom in particular), this article engages in a discussion of the political, economic, and social implications of the pandemic on frontline migrant workers, herein understood as embodied constituents of disjunctive globalization in the time of the Great Unsettling (Steger and James 2020). Steger and James (2020) indeed argue that the COVID-19 crisis combined with the instabilities of the global neoliberal order has exacerbated the contradictions / the disjunctive dimension of globalization as never before in human history. At this unprecedented juncture, we are compelled to try for a better understanding of the processes, drivers, and impacts of migration, and in

doing so forge discussions locating mobilities in a global interconnected society. The COVID-19 pandemic has revealed fault lines within migratory processes, debates, and outcomes through marked new insecurities in migratory paths, with accompanying shocks to already precarious work circuits, either through acute changes, job losses, or an increase in migrant exposure in COVID-19–related frontline work. We aim to capture a few of the new directions in the ongoing debates on global mobilities (such as processes, drivers, and impact) to grasp the complexity of migration and its embeddedness in processes of global transformation, as well as any potential future advances of this approach.

In this paper, we view migration as a global challenge, and its management as bordering on a “wicked problem”; that is, a situation requiring a solution that can be solved only by those responsible for this situation (see Levin et al. 2012). We argue that the proliferation of definitions concerned with what constitutes migration and who is a migrant, as well as the divergence of these definitions, ought to be read in relation to the question of value (often restricted to economic value) and the contemporary struggle

---

a Corresponding author: [shoba.arun@essex.ac.uk](mailto:shoba.arun@essex.ac.uk)

over values (herein understood as the fundamental principles societies believe in and seek to live by/enact). Despite recent advances with the Global Compact for Refugees (GCR) and the Global Compact for Safe, Orderly and Regular Migration (GCM), the struggle over definitions and value(s) brings into sharp relief the need for stronger institutions, structures, or processes for coordinating a solution at a global level (see Geuijen et al. 2017). Resurfacing the question of value/values in relation to migration debates with its direct consequences on the lives of migrants, this paper explores its centrality in the COVID-19 crisis and beyond.

This paper is informed by a series of provocative talks held as part of the online Global Studies Association (GSA) colloquium in 2021 and focusing on topical global issues and their impact on our understanding of the global system. More specifically, papers by Prof. Laura Zanfrini (Università Cattolica, Milan) and Prof. John Eade (Roehampton University, London) exploring old and new (in)equalities in relation to migrations, mobilities, and integration in a pandemic era inspired this paper and provided a good foundation for it. Using a narrative literature review approach (following Collins and Fauser 2005), our paper is based on a purposive selection of secondary studies that comprehensively reflect the scope and diversity of the issues affecting the conceptualization of, policy concerned with, and lived experiences of migrants in the Global North. Herein, we focus on mobilities to the United Kingdom, a context with a long history of diverse migration, and the European Union / Italy. This has allowed us to describe and compare the differential impact on different social groups and characteristics (gender, ethnicity, regions, and skills) to understand how differences in migration policy approaches can influence migration-related and societal outcomes, providing unique insights into challenges and gaps that need addressing. Focusing on the lived experiences of migrants during the COVID-19 crisis and the concomitant exacerbation of the question of value/values in migration debates during the acute phase of the pandemic and beyond, our paper contributes to recent substantive literature on migration by providing key insights derived from our discussion.

Limitations to our approach ought to be acknowledged: our literature review is not exhaustive, and focuses on the specific contexts of the United Kingdom and the European Union / Italy, seeking to provide a cross-sectional overview of different types of migration. In terms of organizing this paper, first, we discuss some recent debates and approaches on global migration, and then we examine the case of frontline economic migrant workers who disproportionately form the essential-sector workforce in many countries, before asking some questions on public value and values that we can extract from this discussion.

## GLOBAL MOBILITIES, OR THE IMPACT OF THE NARROWING PRISM OF VALUE (OVER VALUES): A SHORT DISCUSSION

We undeniably live in an age of heightened and diverse migration, as illustrated by both the rising trends in the in-

ternational movements of different groups of people crossing borders for a growing range of reasons and the growing space occupied by migration-related questions in public debates. While there are changes to destination countries, new patterns in geopolitical shifts based on migration governance policies and immigration systems, the broad consensus is that migration is here to stay. Theorists have long discussed the need to go beyond the push-pull framework to capture the complexity of contemporary migration(s), as the global flow of people is now an integral part of society, accompanied and shaped by processes of social change, be they geopolitical shifts, social and demographic trends, economic restructuring, and/or technological progress. Meanwhile, the Brexitization of societies (Verhofstadt 2018) and changing political attitudes toward and policies on migration, as well as the skewed nature of postcolonial migration, have reshaped debates on global mobilities. However, the structural shifts in demand for care labor and receiving countries' dependence on economic migration (see for example, Williams 2011), irrespective of skill sets, for the delivery of essential services, social care, and economic production demonstrably expose the framing of skill set-based immigration policies in some countries (Zanfrini 2019). Played out in a global field, mobility is an integral part of the neoliberal era in which economic migrants are key stakeholders in the growth of developed economies (Kesselring 2014; Bauder 2012; Arun 2018). Arun, Brahic, and Taylor (2019) place the processes and forms of migrant transnationalism firmly in the context of wider economic and political processes; neoliberal globalization and the neoliberalization of societies intensify precarity, which increasingly becomes a structuring element of migrants' lives, as made apparent by the COVID-19 crisis and explored in this paper. Notwithstanding this, it is important to note here that not every country joins this competition to attract skilled workers with equal commitment, as shown by the substantial failure of the EU "Blue card" program (De Lange 2020). Italy, for instance, never planned a selection of immigrants based on their skills, and, on the contrary, the country seems to exert "a particular attraction towards low educated immigration" (Zanfrini 2022, 52). However, the stress that both scientific and political debate puts on the relevance of highly skilled migrants for developed countries sometimes seems to hide the essential role played, for these same countries, by the large mass of unskilled migrants (Glick Schiller 2011). Needless to say, the pandemic contributed to highlighting this continued relevance around the complexities of migration processes.

As is often the case with forms of crises—such as the 2007–9 global Great Recession and/or Brexit in the United Kingdom, for example—studies have pointed to the moral view of the self-sufficient migrant (Anderson 2010; Root et al. 2014) or the risky alignments for resourceful, skilled economic migrants (Arun 2018) alongside the emphasis on the economic value of the frontline migrant workers during the COVID-19 pandemic or that of the unskilled workers in times of skill shortages (Zanfrini 2022), rather than reaching out to other resource-demanding migrant groups, such

as refugees affected by conflicts and human rights abuse. A narrow view of migration, or a unidirectional policy, complemented by the economic forces of neoliberalism (has-tened by skill shortages) has charged debates on the precarity and complexity of global migration (Standing 2011). Evidence points to how migrant workers are preponderant in low-skilled sectors, with insecure contracts, lower social security, or protection with temporary forms of citizenship and marked by extreme social inequalities (Reid-Musson 2014; Standing 2011), characterized as the “3 D” jobs: dirty, dangerous, and demanding (Castles 2002). Thus, for a long time, global migration has exposed the tip of the iceberg on deep-seated and masked inequalities, which are often gendered and racialized (Arun, Brahic, and Taylor 2019; Raghuram 2014; McDowell 2008; Purkasyasta 2005), revealing the broad spectrum of migrant experiences. For example, the increasing presence of migrant care workers, many of them women, brings in a new political economy of care (Arun 2009; Kofman and Raghuram 2015; Dyer, McDowell, and Batnitzky 2008; Williams 2011). On the other hand, the feminization of international migration continues to reshape women’s experiences and patterns of migration, including transnational family relations. For example, the impact of uncertain migratory contexts and citizenship status brought by Brexit affects European migrant mothers’ lives and migrant community building (Brahic 2020), pointing to the affective, racialized, and gendered dimensions of citizenship statuses and their susceptibility to changing political contexts. Such contradictions and complexities in women’s lives also redefine relationships between migrants and their integration into “our” larger global society. Furthermore, the pattern of historical migration in the Global North has not only conflated issues of race, ethnic inequalities, and migration but also raised questions about migrants’ integration; thus scholars call for new lines of inquiry that highlight the underlying racialized power and inequalities that structure im/migration incorporation that recognizes coloniality of power within the intersection of race and migration (Arun et al. 2023; Olmos 2019). Often migrants (foreign-born workers) are not only based on their Black, Asian, and Minority Ethnic (BAME) status but also framed as socially constructed racialized categories reflecting the demographic fabric of the host society, which are hierarchical and unequal, as seen through the impact of the pandemic (Eade 2021; Flynn 2021). Perhaps the question is to what extent the debates around migration should include its (economic) value to both the host and home countries, and to migrants themselves. To provide an example of migration governance in the European Union, taking the case of Italy: the debate on immigration is focused only marginally on economic issues. The Italian debate is articulated mostly between, on the one side, the value of solidarity as a pillar of Italian culture and tradition and, on the other side, the menace of migration toward security and Italian identity (Urso 2018).

## FRONTLINE WORK AND MIGRANT WORKERS, OR THE STRUGGLE FOR THE RECOGNITION OF RISKS AND COSTS IN THE CHANGING—YET STILL HEGEMONIC—LANDSCAPE OF “VALUE” IN THE COVID-19 CRISIS

The previous section offered a discussion of some of the salient issues shaping current migration debates. As suggested above, the question of value is ubiquitous and central in these debates, as it is in globalization debates, particularly on wicked problems. For example, Geuijen et al. (2017, 636) argue how such a framework “enables a vision of value that is global, collective and public, by including voices of ‘all affected interests’ even when discourses prove to be extremely conflicting.” The subsequent section explores the theme of value in the context of work on the front line during the COVID-19 pandemic.

The COVID-19 pandemic has disrupted health systems, social structures, economies, politics, and the daily lives of various social groups across the globe, but evidence suggests a disproportionate impact on migrant workers (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development 2020; Caselli, Dürrschmidt, and Eade 2024). In many countries, the pandemic revealed how many societies are “empirically multicultural and, indeed, could not function without their ethnic minority citizens and migrant populations, both settled and temporary” (Bhambra 2021, 1). In Italy, the pandemic contributed to raising public awareness about this dependence, resulting in the Italian government launching an amnesty to regularize undocumented migrants working in the care and agricultural sectors, to support the national economy (Zanfrini 2022). What happened showed once more the contradictions of the Italian approach to immigration, which swings between political rejection and economic acceptance (and need) of immigration (Ambrosini 2013). Yet, despite being central to the fabric and functioning of societies, ethnic minorities and migrant background communities often remain marginalized and face inequality rooted in the intersections of race, gender, class, and migration status, among other factors. Migrant youth and young adults are some of the most vulnerable in society, experiencing oppression, alienation, and marginalization. Migrant youth have larger gaps in educational outcomes compared to their peers, due to a lack of resources to support their integration into education, language differences, institutional systems, and other factors (Ribeiro et al. 2019). They often face a complex combination of intersecting barriers that make it difficult to transition and succeed into further education and/or the world of work. These preexisting challenges alongside structural socioeconomic inequalities—and access to housing, education, and health services, in particular—have been heightened by the COVID-19 crisis (Santagati 2022).

A report by the Overseas Development Institute (Kumar et al. 2021) calls for the recognition and valuing of the fundamental contribution of migrant workers as key workers in our societies and economies throughout the COVID-19 pandemic. In addition to their work in the low-paid labor

market, evidence from many countries shows that many of these workers have risked their lives disproportionately by being on the front line of the crisis as nurses, security guards, drivers, and so forth, deprived of the privileges (e.g., work-from-home option) or levels of social protection (sick or statutory leave) other workers enjoyed. In the United States, before the COVID-19 pandemic, more than thirty million US workers were employed in six broad industries that came to form the front lines of the response, including grocery store clerks, nurses, cleaners, warehouse workers, and bus drivers, among others. They were essential before the pandemic hit, yet also overworked, underpaid, underprotected, and underappreciated (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development 2020). Furthermore, people of color are overrepresented in many occupations within frontline industries. “Just over four-in-ten (41.2 percent) frontline workers are Black, Hispanic, Asian-American/Pacific Islander, or some category other than white” (Rho, Brown, and Fremstad 2020, 3). All this unequal incorporation in the economy and society was accentuated with the pandemic as highlighted in the initial evidence on the unequal impact of COVID-19. For example, a report commissioned by the UK Labour Party in 2020 found that structural racism had led to the disproportionate impact of the coronavirus pandemic on BAME communities as they were “overexposed, under protected, stigmatised and overlooked” (Lawrence 2020, 4). Such structural inequalities are deep-seated, exposing inequalities in housing and health services affecting BAME communities in the United Kingdom. A Women and Equalities Committee Report (Mrc 2020) found that ethnicity is an important factor in overcrowding, as one in three Bangladeshi families live in overcrowded housing, which is around 33 percent compared to 2 percent of white British households and approximately 15 percent of black African households, which substantially increased exposure to COVID-19 infection as social distancing was more difficult, particularly within multigenerational households and those migrant groups affected by No Recourse to Public Funds (NRPF) visa conditions. In Italy, COVID-19 had a particularly severe impact on irregular immigrants. In many cases, they lost their jobs and, given their irregular status, were unable to benefit from the subsidies implemented by the state. Furthermore, they often did not access the health services guaranteed to all (including irregular migrants) for fear of being reported and expelled from the country even if, according to Italian law, irregular migrants cannot be reported to and by the police when accessing health facilities and structures. It is interesting to note here that the aforementioned amnesty launched at the beginning of the pandemic by the Italian government did not improve this situation: procedures for amnesty were managed at a dramatically slow pace, creating a large group of people who actually did not know if they could be considered regular or irregular migrants (Caselli, Dürschmidt, and Eade 2024).

In general, migrants as a group were adversely affected in many ways during the pandemic. In an effort to recognize the economic contribution of migrants during the pandemic, some positive efforts were put in place to redress

structural and legal inequalities. For example, in the United Kingdom, despite the long-standing widespread resistance to easing migration against the backdrop of Brexit, the Home Office relaxed visa regulations for foreign care workers and farmworkers (from the European Union) because of labor shortages. From December 2021, care staff was added to the Shortage Occupation List in response to the pandemic pressures. These workers could bring their families, enabling a settlement route in the United Kingdom. In addition to this, the immigration health surcharge reimbursement scheme was put in place to exempt all health and care workers from the surcharge following outstanding efforts throughout the pandemic. Nonetheless, organizations supporting migrant rights continue to call for more protection and extension of social citizenship rights for all migrants irrespective of status, as well as to demand that immigration policies no longer take a “skill-based” approach based on inflexible “low” and “high” skills classifications, as workers of all skill levels will be essential in the long path to recovery (Migrants’ Rights Network et al. 2020). One key aspect here is that some migrant groups are restricted in their access to public services by their legal status and are without recourse to public funds (“NRPF”), with an increased number of migrant women with NRPF at risk of destitution due to the devastating impact of the pandemic on their lives and livelihoods (Brahic, Heyes, and Arun 2024, forthcoming). A report found that 14 percent of those with NRPF have been unable to pay their rent or mortgage on time, compared to 2 percent of those with recourse to public funds (Migrants’ Rights Network et al. 2020). As migrants are overrepresented in those sectors most affected by the pandemic, such as the hospitality industry, emerging evidence shows that in European OECD countries, the initial impact has been disproportionately negative on immigrants in the vast majority of countries, even when job retention schemes have been put in place to alleviate the impact of the lockdowns (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development 2020), where many migrants have then returned to their home countries as they fell outside such safety nets, or have fallen prey to further exploitation in their workplace.

## PUBLIC VALUE OF MIGRANT WORK AND/OR PUBLIC VALUES TOWARD MIGRATION

The highly skewed spatial impacts of globalization also seem to be reflected in shifts in global migration patterns (De Haas, Castles, and Miller 2020). As in the United Kingdom, Anderson (2010) argues how, while immigration controls are often presented by government as a means of ensuring “British jobs for British workers” and protecting migrants from exploitation, in practice such mobilities can often undermine labor protections. Such mechanisms also curtail flexibility of mobility and full integration into the economy and society that migrants live in. The fault lines revealed by the COVID-19 crisis and identified in this article raise fundamental questions for globalization and migration scholars as well as policymakers around the sustainability of the nexus between neoliberal skill-based migra-

tion policies, external dependence on frontline workers, and the future of the health and care system, a key sector for the public good.

The direct and associated impact of the pandemic, through lockdowns, travel bans, and work effects, has led to a paradigm shift in general changes in social attitude and economic behavior. It cannot be denied that migrants as a social category faced many adversities, the imagery captured by the long queues of desperate internal migrants in India, walking hundreds of miles to reach the safety of their homes. Thus, for scholars like Massey (2019), such disruptions to patterns of mobilities compel social scientists to pay more theoretical and empirical attention to “perceived threats” due to forced migration with the need for more nuanced understanding of mobilities.

Here we propose to define public value, borrowing from Benington (2009, 233): “public value can be thought of in two main ways: first, what the public values; second, what adds value to the public sphere.” Exploring the experiences of migrant workers in frontline occupations during the pandemic reveals some of the core contradictions paralyzing global migration into a state of permanent crisis and, in turn, inhibiting progress toward a human, fair, and sustainable governance of migration. During the pandemic, overwhelming evidence shows how disproportionately migrants were exposed to the risk of infection because of their low-skilled jobs (in agriculture, logistics, home care, etc.), which were nevertheless essential in order to allow other people to stay safe at home (Fondazione Ismu 2022). As discussed above, global migration and its management are the product of globalization as we know it, both disjunctive and unsettled (Steger and James 2020). Crucially, both are regulated by the logic of the neoliberal project, which sees “value” as its central legitimizing principle. Yet as value as a rationale for action grows more central and unchallenged, its meaning appears to shrink to match the contours of productive value / the value of paid work. The centrality but narrowness of the rhetoric of value gives rise to a series of contradictory trends and tensions gripping global migration (and inhibiting the conceptualization of global migration as a global social issue, as opposed to one contained by nation-states). Furthermore, the focus on productive value leads to the hierarchization of migrants, blighting lives and marginalizing many (even further).

The notion of value is core to the categorization of migrants, it being in everyday life, in policy work, and/or in academic research. Commonly accepted categorizations of migrants (privileged/lifestyle-related, migrant workers, asylum-related, irregular, and dependents/family), however contested or fallacious they may be, are framed in terms of value. Privileged migrants, often self-styled expats, are framed and explicitly regulated in terms of value. From “high net worth” individuals engaged in migration investment purchasing “golden entry tickets” to more “modest” self-reliant migrants demonstrating financial self-sufficiency to be granted right of abode, privileged migrants bring their value and pay up front, which, in turn, appears to free them from the questions (suspicions) migrants commonly experience in relation to (their) value. However, be-

ing “beyond” (public) value can be a fleeting privilege, as British expats who had retired in southern Europe found out when free movement (and its associated integrated systems in relation to health care and to a lesser extent pensions) stopped for British citizens after the United Kingdom left the European Union. More recently, in the context of the invasion of Ukraine by Russian forces, Russian oligarchs established in London under the now defunct Tier 1 investor visa (or Tier 1 investor migrant dependent), which allowed so-called “high value” individuals with at least two million pounds of investment funds to apply for residency rights, found themselves threatened with financial sanctions and dragged onto the terrain of values, facing suspicion that their political allegiances/values may pose a threat to the United Kingdom (with suspicion of interference with UK democratic processes). These recent examples highlight some of the limits associated with placing “value”—interpreted narrowly as financial/monetary value—at the center of migration policies.

The generation/creation of economic value through work has historically been a core driver of migration. In countries regulating incoming migration around labor needs, from guest worker programs to skills-based migration systems (with the distinction between skilled and unskilled work underpinning migration policies), migration policies have been designed to maximize the value derived from the arrival of migrant workers (and minimize the perceived costs associated with the migration of their families/significant others). By contrast, in countries that do not have a consolidated and well-defined migration policy, such as Italy, the “policy” on migration seems to be more oriented to minimize the risks connected to migration than to maximize the advantages (Zanfrini 2019). Through work, migrant workers ought to sustain themselves and their families but also generate value (in responding to a perceived need). Work has hitherto been the preferred pathway for integration and citizenship and is promised to socialize adult migrants into the host society. Paradoxically, as discussed in the case of frontline work during the pandemic, the perception that certain types of occupations are taken on by migrants can lead to their devaluation (in real and symbolic terms) and their “feminization” as described by Standing (2011). As pointed out by Zanfrini (2022), the dominant working inclusion model used to legitimize migration by proponents of pro-migration discourses dangerously insists on the benefits associated with having a docile and disposable workforce at the ready. Rationalizing the value of migration (and migrants) through the lens of human capital marginalizes many (already marginalized along the lines of race, ethnicity, gender, age, health, and disability) and limits long-term prospects of civic “incorporation” into the social contract, beyond work (and beyond first generations). Here we draw on Ruhs’s work (2013) articulating the trade-off between the rights afforded to migrant workers and the openness of labor migration regimes. Ruhs’s argument shows the complex interplay between rights and migration, particularly one that is based on economic considerations. This conflict is played out in high-income countries, which rely on migrants working at lower costs

even when their rights are constrained. We see this in the recent changes to the immigration and visa rules for incoming care migrant workers who can no longer bring dependents to the United Kingdom after March 2024, despite the health and social care sector being highly dependent on foreign workers to undertake care work in nursing homes. Here the right of workers to have a family life, or the right of the children of migrants to enjoy a secure and full childhood, is fully denied.

The question of value becomes acute for migrants crossing borders outside a context of paid work. At best their arrival is met with suspicion (Borrelli, Lindberg, and Wyss 2021); at worst it is criminalized. Individuals crossing borders to study or to live with significant others face a growing number of barriers and controls assessing their “worth.” In the case of students, their “value” is derived from the fees paid to educational institutions and stipend spent locally and/or from the prospect of trainees plugging a gap in the economy. Applications on grounds of family ties tend to be assessed in relation to value/worth (disposable income) of the applicants’ sponsors. The logic of value (narrowly understood as “economic value” in migration systems) reaches a breaking point in the case of asylum-related migration when it collides with the demands of “our” (moral) values. The so-called migration crisis stems from the neoliberal diktat of “economic” value being central to and increasingly becoming the sole rationale in the management of global migrations and being that which leads states and their citizens to relinquish their duties to uphold basic human rights. In practical terms, the contradictions perceived between the economic imperative to generate value, or to prevent a value loss, and the moral imperative to defend human rights/values result in the criminalization of asylum, with a shift toward restrictive, “controlled” schemes (as seen with the growing number of resettlement schemes—in contrast to “traditional” asylum routes) and temporary and precarious statuses, as well as the externalization, privatization, and deterritorialization of its management. This bid to deliver humanitarianism within the bounds of austerity results in generalized moral failure and a collective loss of values (in the name of economic value). States, institutions, and markets have followed suit in pursuing “entrepreneurial” strategies for bringing in migrant workers to reduce economic costs in host nations, primarily in the Global North. We argue that public value should delve into the concept of social value, which will allow us to reflect on public value beyond conventional economic measures, and profit maximization, inclusion, and well-being. We draw on literature such as that of social enterprises, which is commonly used for leveraging welfare of society without referring to ethical measures and often deployed as neoclassical economic-oriented utilitarian paradigms (Korsgaard and Anderson 2011; Lautermann 2013).

This narrow view of economic paradigm is also applied in migration discourses with a solution through economic management. Migration is seen to be an economic problem both in terms of solving labor shortages and as a drain on the welfare state. Another illustration of these contra-

dictions is the strong financial support offered in recent years by the European Union to the countries of transit of migrants—to Turkey in particular (European Commission 2016), leaving it the “dirty job” of stemming migratory flows. The plan is to stop migrants before they reach Europe’s borders, so that EU countries can (apparently) escape the moral issues related to rejection and forced return (Caselli 2019).

The logic of value comes to a head with the elusive category of irregular migrations, which has attracted growing attention in the political/public discourses. By definition, irregular migration is difficult to know both in quantitative and in qualitative terms. Because of the dominant framing of undocumented migrants as standing outside of legality (made transparent by the growing use—deliberate or unknowing—of the problematic term “illegal migrant”), undocumented migrants wrestle with dehumanization (stemming from the fact that they cannot be “known” and monitored in ways other individuals are, such as migrants and nonmigrants) and demonization (framed in legal terms, they are also “evaluated” on the terrain of moral righteousness [Watkins 2020]). Dehumanization and demonization aggravate their vulnerability as undocumented migrants, prevent their visibility and representation, and cast them as “valueless” and undeserving (of rights, protection, and support).

## CONCLUDING REMARKS

As argued in this paper, the concept of value needs to be systematically resurfaced and critically examined in the study of global migration. The unique set of conditions of the pandemic have opened up/amplified the space of moral righteousness (doing what is right by opposition to what is legal or illegal—e.g., adopting preventative COVID-19 measures to protect public health) as a means for migrants to “be of value.” Recast as heroes, frontline workers saved the day. While it may temporarily amplify the contribution of migrants in societies, this discourse can also be dangerous (Cox 2020) and lead to the perception that the value of migrants resides with their self-sacrifice, overwork, and dutiful selflessness (which in turn puts their protection in jeopardy).

Thus, as migration discourses continue to be dominated by neoliberal, nation-state, and ethnicity-centric epistemologies that produce reductionist understandings of migrants as social categories within the field of global studies (Arun et al. 2023), we make a call to address this epistemological pitfall within global studies research for renewed definitions, conceptualizations, and praxis around global migration. As human activity is increasingly becoming migratory and in motion, we add to the plea for a new paradigm shift that centers mobility and motion, rather than fixity and stasis (Nail 2019; Arun et al. 2023). This will also enable the reframing of migrant categories within dominant narratives in relation to the “other.”

Shaping a fair, post-pandemic world where no one is left behind (UNEP 2021) is the defining issue of our times. The OECD (2020) highlights how resilient recovery from

the COVID-19 crisis depends on investment in training schemes and transition into the labor market. While this is a start, it will not be enough. Reductivist conceptions of migration as solely justified/legitimized via the generation of economic value are problematic in many ways, not least because economic value is situational and transient (putting humans and the environment at risk). We argue that a sustainable recovery and future can be based only on a human rights-based approach to migration (and its corollary “integration”), which does not exclude integration to the labor market (but actually fosters it) and ensures that individuals outside of it (temporarily and permanently) are deemed of value—of public value.

.....

## COMPETING INTERESTS

No potential competing interest was reported by the authors.

## AUTHOR BIOGRAPHIES

**Shoba Arun** is Reader in Work and Organization Studies at Essex Business School. Prior to joining Essex Business School in 2023, she was Professor of International Sociology at Manchester Metropolitan University and at the University of Greenwich, contributing to research, teaching, and senior academic leadership. Arun’s research interests have a strong international and comparative dimension with expertise on emerging economies such as India and Africa in the nexus of their global work, neoliberal regimes, organizations and labor markets, migration, digital technology, and global value chains with a focus on social justice and well-being. She has been recently awarded a UKRI funded project exploring autonomy in the garment sector workplaces of Leicester and Dhaka, focusing on workplace control and autonomy. Her monograph *Development and Gender Capital in India: Change, Continuity and Conflict in Kerala* (Routledge, 2018) uses a feminist Bourdieusian frame of analysis of gender capital to examine

gendered issues in the economy and society. In her latest (co)edited volume, *Global Migration and Diversity of Educational Experiences in the Global South and North*, just published by Routledge, she focuses on decolonizing migration studies and educational experiences. She is a Senior Fellow of the Higher Education Academy and member of the British Sociological Association and the Global Studies Association, United Kingdom. She serves on the Editorial Board of the British Sociological Association (BSA)’s *Work, Employment and Society Journal*.

**Benedicte Brahic** is a Senior Lecturer in Sociology at Manchester Metropolitan University (United Kingdom), where she co-convenes the Migration and Interdisciplinary Global Studies (MIGS) research group. Her research interests concern the intersections of gender and bordering in migratory and educational contexts. Her more recent work explores the impact of uncertain migratory contexts and citizenship status on female migrants and their families in Brexit Britain and during the COVID-19 pandemic. She is the Principal Investigator for the Global Challenges Research Fund project “Higher Educational Attainment Inequalities and Single Parent Families in South Africa (HEAPS): Differences by Region, Gender, and Race.”

**Marco Caselli** is Professor of Sociology and Methodology of Social Research at the Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, Milan, where he also holds the role of Director of the University Centre for International Solidarity. From 2017 to 2021 he was Coordinator of RN15 “Global, Transnational and Cosmopolitan Sociology” at ESA (European Sociological Association). His publications include *Trying to Measure Globalization: Experiences, Critical Issues and Perspectives* (2012), *Globalization, Supranational Dynamics and Local Experiences* (with Guia Gilardoni, ed., 2018), and *Migrants’ (Im)mobilities in Three European Urban Contexts—Global Pandemic and Beyond* (with Jörg Dürrschmidt and John Eade, eds., 2024).

Submitted: October 11, 2022 PDT, Accepted: March 17, 2024  
PDT



## REFERENCES

- Ambrosini, M. 2013. "Immigration in Italy: Between Economic Acceptance and Political Rejection." *Journal of International Migration and Integration* 14: 175–94.
- Anderson, B. 2010. "Migration, Immigration Controls and the Fashioning of Precarious Workers." *Work, Employment and Society* 24 (2): 300–317. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0950017010362141>.
- Arun, S. 2009. "Caring Professionals: Global Migration and Gendered Cultural Economy." In *Work and Life in the Global Economy: A Gendered Analysis of Service Work*, edited by D. Howcroft and H. Richardson, 124–41. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- . 2018. "All about My Skills, Not Me or Mine: Vignettes of Precarity among Skilled Indian Professionals in the UK." In *India Migration Report 2018*, 280–93. India: Routledge.
- Arun, S., K. Badwan, H. Taibi, and F. Batool, eds. 2023. *Global Migration and Diversity of Educational Experiences in the Global South and North: A Child-Centred Approach*. Taylor & Francis. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003343141>.
- Arun, S., B. Brahic, and S. Taylor. 2019. "Global Mobilities: United by Dividing and Accelerating Precarities." *Migration and Development* 9 (1): 1–7.
- Bauder, H. 2012. "The International Mobility of Academics: A Labour Market Perspective." *International Migration* 53 (1): 83–96.
- Benington, J. 2009. "Creating the Public In Order To Create Public Value?" *International Journal of Public Administration* 32 (3–4): 232–49.
- Bhambra, G. 2021. "Editorial: Rethinking Modern Migration." *Discover Society: New Series* 1 (1). <https://doi.org/10.51428/dsoc.2021.01.0001>.
- Borrelli, L., A. Lindberg, and A. Wyss. 2021. "States of Suspicion: How Institutionalised Disbelief Shapes Migration Control Regimes." *Geopolitics* 27 (4): 1025–41.
- Brahic, B. 2020. "From Expat Mothers to Migrant Mothers: Narratives of Transformations, Lost Privileges, and the 'Quieter' Everyday in Brexit Britain." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 48 (9): 2168–86.
- Brahic, B., K. Heyes, and S. Arun. 2024. "At Whose Cost? Vulnerable Female Migrants with No Recourse to Public Funds (NRPF) during the COVID-19 Crisis in England." In *Women and COVID-19. A Clinical and Applied Sociological Focus on Family, Work, and Community*, edited by M. Seedat-Khan and J. Zulueta, 227–42. Routledge.
- Caselli, M. 2019. "'Let Us Help Them at Home': Policies and Misunderstandings on Migrant Flows Across the Mediterranean Border." *Journal of International Migration and Integration* 20: 983–95.
- Caselli, M., J. Dürschmidt, and J. Eade, eds. 2024. *Migrants' (Im)Mobilities in Three European Urban Contexts. Global Pandemic and Beyond*. London: Palgrave. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-53773-8>.
- Castles, S. 2002. "Migration and Community Formation under Conditions of Globalization." *International Migration Review* 36 (4): 1143–68.
- Collins, J. A., and B. C. Fauser. 2005. "Balancing the Strengths of Systematic and Narrative Reviews." *Human Reproduction Update* 11 (2): 103–4. <https://doi.org/10.1093/humupd/dmh058>.
- Cox, C. L. 2020. "Healthcare Heroes': Problems with Media Focus on Heroism from Healthcare Workers during the COVID-19 Pandemic." *Journal of Medical Ethics* 46 (8): 510–13. <https://doi.org/10.1136/medethics-2020-106398>.
- Czaika, M., and H. De Haas. 2014. "The Globalization of Migration: Has the World Become More Migratory?" *International Migration Review* 48 (2): 283–323.
- De Haas, H., S. Castles, and M. Miller. 2020. *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World*. New York: The Guilford Press.
- De Lange, T. 2020. "A New Narrative for European Migration Policy: Sustainability and the Blue Card Recast." *European Law Journal* 26: 274–82.
- Dyer, S., L. McDowell, and A. Batnitzky. 2008. "Emotional Labour/Body Work: The Caring Labours of Migrants in the UK's National Health Service." *Geoforum* 39 (6): 2030–38. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2008.08.005>.
- Eade, J. 2021. "Old & New (In)Equalities: Migrations, Mobilities & Integration in Pandemic. Inequalities and Integration in a Pandemic Era: London as a Global City Case Study." Presented at the Global Studies Association Colloquium (online), June 21.
- European Commission. 2016. "Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the European Council, the Council and the European Investment Bank on Establishing a New Partnership Framework with Third Countries under the European Agenda on Migration." Brussels: COM (2016) 385 final. <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX%3A52016DC0385>.
- Flynn, M. 2021. "Global Capitalism, Racism, and Social Triage during COVID-19." Presented at the Global Studies Association Colloquium (online), June 21. <https://doi.org/10.15367/kf.v8i1-2.369>.
- Fondazione Ismu. 2022. *Ventisettesimo Rapporto sulle migrazioni 2021*. Milano: Angeli.
- Geuijen, K., M. Moore, A. Cederquist, R. Ronning, and M. Van Twist. 2017. "Creating Public Value in Global Wicked Problems." *Public Management Review* 19 (5): 621–39. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14719037.2016.1192163>.
- Glick Schiller, N. 2011. "A Global Perspective on Migration and Development." In *The Migration-Development Nexus*, edited by T. Faist, M. Fauser, and P. Kivisto, 29–56. London: Palgrave Macmillan. [https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230305694\\_2](https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230305694_2).

- Kesselring, S. 2014. "Corporate Mobility Regimes. Mobility, Power and the Socio-Geographical Structurations of Mobile Work." *Mobilities* 10 (4): 571–91.
- Kofman, E., and P. Raghuram. 2015. *Gendered Migrations and Global Social Reproduction*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. <https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137510143>.
- Korsgaard, S., and A. R. Anderson. 2011. "Enacting Entrepreneurship as Social Value Creation." *International Small Business Journal* 29 (2): 135–51. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0266242610391936>.
- Kumar, C., E. Oommen, F. Fracapane, and M. Foresti. 2021. "Beyond Gratitude: Lessons Learned from Migrants' Contribution to the Covid-19 Response." Working paper 605. ODI publishing. [https://cdn.odi.org/media/documents/hmi-migrant\\_key\\_workers-working\\_paper-final.pdf](https://cdn.odi.org/media/documents/hmi-migrant_key_workers-working_paper-final.pdf).
- Lautermann, C. 2013. "The Ambiguities of (Social) Value Creation: Towards an Extended Understanding of Entrepreneurial Value Creation for Society." *Social Enterprise Journal* 9 (2): 184–202. <https://doi.org/10.1108/SEJ-01-2013-0009>.
- Lawrence, D. 2020. "An Avoidable Crisis: The Disproportionate Impact of Covid-19 on Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic Communities. A Review by Baroness Doreen Lawrence." <https://www.lawrencereview.co.uk/chapters/foreword>.
- Levin, K., B. Cashore, S. Bernstein, and G. Auld. 2012. "Overcoming the Tragedy of Super Wicked Problems: Constraining Our Future Selves to Ameliorate Global Climate Change." *Policy Sciences* 45 (2): 123–52. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11077-012-9151-0>.
- Massey, D. S. 2019. "Economic Development and International Migration in Comparative Perspective." In *Determinants of Emigration from Mexico, Central America, and the Caribbean*, 13–47. Routledge.
- McDowell, L. 2008. "Thinking through Work: Complex Inequalities, Constructions of Difference and Transnational Migrants." *Progress in Human Geography* 32 (4): 491–507.
- Migrants' Rights Network, Kanlungan Filipino Consortium, The 3 Million, and Migrants at Work. 2020. "The Effect of Covid-19 on Migrant Frontline Workers and People of Colour (December 2020)." <https://migrantsrights.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2020/12/THE-EFFECTS-OF-COVID-19-ON-MIGRANT-FRONTLINE-WORKERS-AND-PEOPLE-OF-COLOUR.pdf>.
- Mrc, A. 2020. "Women and Equalities Committee: Unequal Impact: Coronavirus (Covid-19) and the Impact on People with Protected." UK Research and Innovation. <https://policycommons.net/artifacts/2479554/women-and-equalities-committee/3501726/>.
- Nail, T. 2019. *Being and Motion*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780190908904.001.0001>.
- Olmos, D. 2019. "Racialized Im/Migration and Autonomy of Migration Perspectives: New Directions and Opportunities." *Sociology Compass* 13 (9): e12729. <https://doi.org/10.1111/soc4.12729>.
- Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. 2020. "What Is the Impact of the COVID-19 Pandemic on Immigrants and Their Children?" OECD Publishing.
- Purkasyasta, B. 2005. "Skilled Migration and Cumulative Disadvantage: The Case of Highly Qualified Asian Indian Immigrant Women in the US." *Geoforum* 36: 181–96. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2003.11.006>.
- Raghuram, P. 2014. "Brain Circulation or Precarious Labour? Conceptualising Temporariness in the UK's National Health Service." In *Liberating Temporariness? Migration, Work, and Citizenship in an Age of Insecurity*, edited by L. F. Vosko, V. Preston, and R. Latham, 177–200. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Reid-Musson, E. 2014. "Historicizing Precarity: A Labour Geography of 'Transient' Migrant Workers in Ontario Tobacco." *Geoforum* 56: 161–71. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2014.07.005>.
- Rho, H., H. Brown, and S. Fremstad. 2020. "A Basic Demographic Profile of Workers in Frontline Industries." Center for Economic and Policy Research. <https://www.eeoc.gov/sites/default/files/2021-04/4-28-21%20Meeting%20%2005%20Ramirez%20-%20Supporting%20Materials.pdf>.
- Ribeiro, N., C. Malafaia, T. Neves, and I. Menezes. 2019. "Immigration and the Ambivalence of the School: Between Inclusion and Exclusion of Migrant Youth." *Urban Education* 54 (9): 1290–1318. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0042085916641172>.
- Root, J., E. Gates-Gasse, J. Shields, and H. Bauder. 2014. "Discounting Immigrant Families: Neoliberalism and the Framing of Canadian Immigration Policy Change." Working Paper No. 7. Ryerson Centre for Immigration & Settlement (RCIS).
- Ruhs, M. 2013. *The Price of Rights: Regulating International Labor Migration*. Princeton University Press.
- Santagati, M. 2022. "School closure and learning experience in Italy. Giving voice to students, families, and teachers during the Covid-19 pandemic." *Rassegna Italiana di Sociologia* 63 (1): 91–117.
- Standing, G. 2011. *The Precariat: The New Dangerous Class*. London: Bloomsbury Academic. <https://doi.org/10.5040/9781849664554>.
- Steger, M., and P. James. 2020. "Disjunctive Globalization in the Era of the Great Unsettling." *Theory, Culture & Society* 37 (7–8): 187–203. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0263276420957744>.
- UNEP. 2021. "2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development." Online. <https://wedocs.unep.org/bitstream/handle/20.500.11822/36251/ERPNC.pdf>.
- Urso, O. 2018. "The Politicization of Immigration in Italy. Who Frames the Issue, When and How." *Italian Political Science Review/Rivista Italiana Di Scienza Politica* 48 (3): 365–81. <https://doi.org/10.1017/ipo.2018.16>.
- Verhofstadt, G. 2018. "The Brexitization of European Politics." <https://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/brexit-and-eu-politics-by-guy-verhofstadt-2018-10>.

- Watkins, J. 2020. "Irregular Migration, Borders, and the Moral Geographies of Migration Management." *EPC: Politics and Space* 38 (6): 1108–27.
- Williams, F. 2011. "Towards a Transnational Analysis of the Political Economy of Care." In *Feminist Ethics and Social Policy: Towards a New Global Political Economy of Care*, 21–38. <https://doi.org/10.59962/9780774821070-003>.
- Zanfrini, L. 2019. *The Challenge of Migration in a Janus-Faced Europe*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-01102-4>.
- . 2022. "From Slaves to Key Workers? How the Covid-19 Pandemic Questions the Sustainability of the Italian Model of Migrants' Integration." *Rassegna Italiana Di Sociologic* 63 (1): 35–62.